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STRABO

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THE
GEOGRAPHY
OF
STRABO

LITERALLY TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES

THE FIRST SIX BOOKS

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THE REMAINDER

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.



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NOTICE.

THE present translation of Strabo, the great Geographer of Antiquity, is the first which has been laid before the English public. It is curious that a classic of so much renown and intrinsic value should have remained a comparatively sealed book to this country for so many centuries; yet such is the fact. It is true that the imperfect state of the Greek text, and the difficulty of geographical identification, have always been appalling obstacles; yet, after the acute and valuable labours of Gosselin, Du Theil, Groskurd, and especially of Gustav Cramer of Berlin, (whose text is followed in the present volume,) we might fairly have expected that some English scholar would have ventured to enter the field. But the task, like many in a similar position, has been reserved for the publisher of the Classical Library, and he trusts it will be found conscientiously fulfilled.

The translation was, in the first instance, intrusted to Mr. H. C. Hamilton, whose knowledge of the subject, and familiarity with the various languages concerned, peculiarly fitted him for the undertaking. His official

duties, however, added to his anxious examination of every thing which tended to illustrate his author, prevented his proceeding with much speed; and it was only after the lapse of three years that he had reached the end of the sixth book. In the mean time it transpired that Mr. W. Falconer, son of the editor of the Oxford edition of the Greek text, had, after several years of care and attention, produced a very excellent translation, meaning to publish it. Under the circumstances it was deemed advisable to amalgamate the rival undertakings, and it is a source of gratification to the publisher that the respective translators were each so well satisfied with the labours of the other, that they assented readily to his proposal of associating their names.

This is all it seems necessary to state here. In the third volume will be given some account of the life and labours of Strabo, and of the manuscripts and principal editions; also a complete index of the places mentioned in the text, accompanied, where possible, by the modern names.

H. G. B.

STRABO'S GEOGRAPHY.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.

SUMMARY.

That geographical investigation is not inconsistent with philosophy.—That Homer gives proof of it throughout his poems.—That they who first wrote on the science have omitted much, or given disjointed, defective, false, or inconsistent accounts.—Proofs and demonstrations of the correctness of this statement, with general heads containing a summary description of the disposition of the whole habitable earth.—Credit to be attached to the probabilities and evident proofs that in many regions the land and sea have been shifted, and exchanged places with each other.

CHAPTER I.

1.¹ If the scientific investigation of any subject be the proper avocation of the philosopher, Geography, the science of which we propose to treat, is certainly entitled to a high place; and this is evident from many considerations. They who first ventured to handle the matter were distinguished men. Homer, Anaximander the Milesian, and Hecataeus, (his fellow-citizen according to Eratosthenes,) Democritus, Eudoxus, Dicæarchus, Ephorus, with many others, and after these Eratosthenes, Polybius, and Posidonius, all of them philosophers.

Nor is the great learning, through which alone this subject can be approached, possessed by any but a person acquainted with both human and divine things,² and these attainments constitute what is called philosophy. In addition to its vast importance in regard to social life, and the art of government, Geography unfolds to us the celestial phenomena, acquaints us

¹ The chapters and sectional divisions of Kramer's edition of the Greek text have been generally followed in this translation.

² τὰ θεία καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, "the productions of nature and art."

with the occupants of the land and ocean, and the vegetation, fruits, and peculiarities of the various quarters of the earth, a knowledge of which marks him who cultivates it as a man earnest in the great problem of life and happiness.

2. Admitting this, let us examine more in detail the points we have advanced.

And first, [we maintain,] that both we and our predecessors, amongst whom is Hipparchus, do justly regard Homer as the founder of geographical science, for he not only excelled all, ancient as well as modern, in the sublimity of his poetry, but also in his experience of social life. Thus it was that he not only exerted himself to become familiar with as many historic facts as possible, and transmit them to posterity, but also with the various regions of the inhabited land and sea, some intimately, others in a more general manner. For otherwise he would not have reached the utmost limits of the earth, traversing it in his imagination.

3. First, he stated that the earth was entirely encompassed by the ocean, as in truth it is; afterwards he described the countries, specifying some by name, others more generally by various indications, explicitly defining Libya,¹ Ethiopia, the Sidonians, and the Erembi (by which latter are probably intended the Troglodyte Arabians); and alluding to those farther east and west as the lands washed by the ocean, for in ocean he believed both the sun and constellations to rise and set.

“ Now from the gently-swelling flood profound
The sun arising, with his earliest rays,
In his ascent to heaven smote on the fields.”²

“ And now the radiant sun in ocean sank,
Dragging night after him o’er all the earth.”³

The stars also he describes as bathed in the ocean.⁴

¹ Africa.

² Then indeed the sun freshly struck the fields [with its rays], ascending heaven from the calmly-flowing, deep-moving ocean. *Iliad* vii. 421; *Odyssey* xix. 433. These references relate to the Greek text; any one wishing to verify the poetic translation will find the place in Cowper, by adding a few lines to the number adapted to the Greek. The prose version is taken from Bohn’s edition.

³ And the bright light of the sun fell into the ocean, drawing dark night over the fruitful earth. *Iliad* viii. 485.

“ Bright and steady as the star
Autumnal, which in ocean newly bathed,
Assumes fresh beauty.” *Iliad* v. 6.

4. He portrays the happiness of the people of the West, and the salubrity of their climate, having no doubt heard of the abundance of Iberia,¹ which had attracted the arms of Hercules,² afterwards of the Phœnicians, who acquired there an extended rule, and finally of the Romans. There the airs of Zephyr breathe, there the poet feigned the fields of Elysium, when he tells us Menelaus was sent thither by the gods:—

“Thee the gods
Have destined to the blest Elysian isles,
Earth’s utmost boundaries. Rhadamanthus there
For ever reigns, and there the human kind
Enjoy the easiest life; no snow is there,
No biting winter, and no drenching shower,
But Zephyr always gently from the sea
Breathes on them, to refresh the happy race.”³

5. The Isles of the Blest⁴ are on the extreme west of Maurusia,⁵ near where its shore runs parallel to the opposite coast of Spain; and it is clear he considered these regions also Blest, from their contiguity to the Islands.

6. He tells us also, that the Ethiopians are far removed, and bounded by the ocean: far removed,—

“The Ethiopians, utmost of mankind,
These eastward situate, those toward the west.”⁶

¹ Gosselin remarks that in his opinion Strabo frequently attributes to Homer much information of which the great poet was entirely ignorant. the present is an instance, for Spain was to Homer a perfect *terra incognita*.

² The Phœnician Hercules, anterior to the Grecian hero by two or three centuries. The date of his expedition, supposing it to have actually occurred, was about sixteen or seventeen hundred years before the Christian era.

³ But the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain, and the boundaries of the Earth, where is auburn-haired Rhadamanthus; there of a truth is the most easy life for men. There is nor snow, nor long winter, nor even a shower, but every day the ocean sends forth the gently blowing breezes of the west wind to refresh men.” *Odyssey* iv. 563.

⁴ The Isles of the Blest are the same as the Fortunate Isles of other geographers. It is clear from Strabo’s description that he alludes to the Canary Islands; but as it is certain that Homer had never heard of these, it is probable that the passages adduced by Strabo have reference to the Elysian Fields of Baïa in Campania.

⁵ The Maurusia of the Greeks (the Mauritania of the Latins) is now known as Algiers and Fez in Africa.

⁶ The Ethiopians, who are divided into two divisions, the most distant of men. *Odyssey* i. 23.

Nor was he mistaken in calling them separated into two divisions, as we shall presently show : and next to the ocean,—

“ For to the banks of the Oceanus,
Where Ethiopia holds a feast to Jove,
He journey’d yesterday.”¹

Speaking of the Bear, he implies that the most northern part of the earth is bounded by the ocean :

“ Only star of these denied
To slake his beams in Ocean’s briny baths.”²

Now, by the “ Bear ” and the “ Wain,” he means the Arctic Circle ; otherwise he would never have said, “ It *alone* is deprived of the baths of the ocean,” when such an *infinity* of stars is to be seen continually revolving in that part of the hemisphere. Let no one any longer blame his ignorance for being merely acquainted with one Bear, when there are two. It is probable that the second was not considered a constellation until, on the Phœnicians specially designating it, and employing it in navigation, it became known as one to the Greeks.³ Such is the case with the Hair of Berenice, and Canopus, whose names are but of yesterday ; and, as Aratus remarks, there are numbers which have not yet received any designation. Crates, therefore, is mistaken when, endeavouring to amend what is correct, he reads the verse thus :

Οἶος δ’ ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν,

replacing οἶη by οἶος, with a view to make the adjective agree

¹ For yesterday Jove went to Oceanus, to the blameless Ethiopians, to a banquet. Iliad i. 423. The ancients gave the name of Ethiopians, generally, to the inhabitants of Interior Africa, the people who occupied the sea-coast of the Atlantic, and the shores of the Arabian Gulf. It is with this view of the name that Strabo explains the passage of Homer ; but the Mediterranean was the boundary of the poet’s geographical knowledge ; and the people he speaks of were doubtless the inhabitants of the southern parts of Phœnicia, who at one time were called Ethiopians. We may here remark too, that Homer’s ocean frequently means the Mediterranean, sometimes probably the Nile. See also p. 48, n. 2.

² But it alone is free from the baths of the ocean. Iliad xviii. 489 ; Odyssey v. 275.

³ We are informed by Diogenes Laertius, that Thales was the first to make known to the Greeks the constellation of the Lesser Bear. Now this philosopher flourished 600 years before the Christian era, and consequently some centuries after Homer’s death. The name of Φοινίκη which it received from the Greeks, is proof that Thales owed his knowledge of it to the Phœnicians. Conf. Humboldt’s Cosmos, vol. iii. p. 160, Bohn’s edition

with the Arctic Circle, which is masculine ; instead of the Arctic Constellation, which is feminine. The expression of Heraclitus is far more preferable and Homeric, who thus figuratively describes the Arctic Circle as the Bear,—“The Bear is the limit of the dawn and of the evening, and from the region of the Bear we have fine weather.” Now it is not the constellation of the Bear, but the Arctic Circle, which is the limit of the rising and the setting stars.

By the Bear, then, which he elsewhere calls the Wain, and describes as pursuing Orion, Homer means us to understand the Arctic Circle ; and by the ocean, that horizon into which, and out of which, the stars rise and set. When he says that the Bear turns round and is deprived of the ocean, he was aware that the Arctic Circle [always] extended to the sign opposite the most northern point of the horizon. Adapting the words of the poet to this view, by that part of the earth nearest to the ocean we must understand the horizon, and by the Arctic Circle that which extends to the signs which seem to our senses to touch in succession the most northern point of the horizon. Thus, according to him, this portion of the earth is washed by the ocean. With the nations of the North he was well acquainted, although he does not mention them by name, and indeed at the present day there is no regular title by which they are all distinguished. He informs us of their mode of life, describing them as “wanderers,” “noble milkers of mares,” “living on cheese,” and “without wealth.”¹

7. In the following speech of Juno, he states that the ocean surrounds the earth.

“For to the green earth’s utmost bounds I go,
To visit there the parent of the gods,
Oceanus.”²

Does he not here assert that ocean bounds all its extremities, and does it not surround these extremities? Again, in the

¹ Iliad xiii. 5. Gosselin says, Thrace (the present Roumelia) was indisputably the most northern nation known to Homer. He names the people *Ἰππημόλγοι*, or living on mares’ milk, because in his time they were a nomade race. Strabo evidently gives a forced meaning to the words of the poet, when he attempts to prove his acquaintance with the Scythians and Sarmatians.

² For I go to visit the limits of the fertile earth, and Oceanus, the parent of the gods. Iliad xiv. 200.

Hoplœcia,¹ he places the ocean in a circle round the border of Achilles' shield. Another proof of the extent of his knowledge, is his acquaintance with the ebb and flow of the sea, calling it "the ebbing ocean."² Again,

"Each day she thrice disgorges, and again
Thrice drinks, insatiate, the deluge down."³

The assertion of thrice, instead of twice, is either an error of the author, or a blunder of the scribe, but the phenomenon is the same, and the expression soft-flowing,⁴ has reference to the flood-tide, which has a gentle swell, and does not flow with a full rush. Posidonius believes that where Homer describes the rocks as at one time covered with the waves, and at another left bare, and when he compares the ocean to a river, he alludes to the flow of the ocean. The first supposition is correct, but for the second there is no ground; inasmuch as there can be no comparison between the flow, much less the ebb of the sea, and the current of a river. There is more probability in the explanation of Crates, that Homer describes the whole ocean as deep-flowing, ebbing, and also calls it a river, and that he also describes a part of the ocean as a river, and the flow of a river; and that he is speaking of a part, and not the whole, when he thus writes:—

"When down the smooth Oceanus impell'd
By prosperous gales, my galley, once again,
Cleaving the billows of the spacious deep,
Had reach'd the Ææan isle."⁵

He does not, however, mean the whole, but the flow of the river in the ocean, which forms but a part of the ocean. Crates

¹ The eighteenth book of the Iliad.

² Iliad xviii. 399; Odyss. xx. 65.

³ Thrice indeed each day it lets loose its waves, and thrice it ebbs them back. Odyss. xii. 105.

Gosselin remarks, "I do not find any thing in these different passages of Homer to warrant the conclusion that he was aware of the ebb and flow of the tide; every one knows that the movement is hardly perceptible in the Mediterranean. In the Euripus, which divides the Isle of Negropont from Bœotia, the waters are observed to flow in opposite directions several times a day. It was from this that Homer probably drew his ideas; and the regular current of the Hellespont, which carries the waters of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, led him to think that the whole ocean, or Mediterranean, had one continued flow like the current of a river"

⁴ Iliad vii. 422.

⁵ But when the ship left the stream of the river-ocean, and entered on the wave of the wide-wayed sea. Odyssy xii. 1.

says, he speaks of an estuary or gulf, extending from the winter tropic towards the south pole.¹ Now any one quitting this, might still be in the ocean; but for a person to leave the whole and still to be in the whole, is an impossibility. But Homer says, that leaving the flow of the river, the ship entered on the waves of the sea, which is the same as the ocean. If you take it otherwise you make him say, that departing from the ocean he came to the ocean. But this requires further discussion.

8. Perception and experience alike inform us, that the earth we inhabit is an island: since wherever men have approached the termination of the land, the sea, which we designate ocean, has been met with: and reason assures us of the similarity of those places which our senses have not been permitted to survey. For in the east² the land occupied by the Indians, and in the west by the Iberians and Maurusians,³ is wholly encompassed [by water], and so is the greater part on the south⁴ and north.⁵ And as to what remains as yet unexplored by us, because navigators, sailing from opposite points, have not hitherto fallen in with each other, it is not much, as any one may see who will compare the distances between those places with which we are already acquainted. Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses so placed as to prevent circumnavigation: how much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted! Those who have returned from an attempt to circumnavigate

¹ This direction would indicate a gulf, the seaward side of which should be opposite the Libo-notus of the ancients. Now the mutilated passage of Crates has reference to the opening of the twelfth book of the *Odyssey*, descriptive of Ulysses' departure from Cimmeria, after his visit to the infernal regions. Those Cimmerians were the people who inhabited Campania, and the land round Baïa, near to lake Avernus, and the entrance into Hades. As these places are situated close to the bay of Naples, which occupies the exact position described by Crates, it is probable this was the bay he intended.

² What Strabo calls the eastern side of the continent, comprises that portion of India between Cape Comorin and Tana-serim, to the west of the kingdom of Siam: further than which he was not acquainted.

³ Strabo's acquaintance with Western Africa did not go further than Cape Nun, 214 leagues distant from the Strait of Gibraltar.

⁴ By the south is intended the whole land from the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea to Cape Comorin.

⁵ From Cape Finisterre to the mouth of the Elbe.

the earth, do not say they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent, for the sea remained perfectly open, but through want of resolution, and the scarcity of provision. This theory too accords better with the ebb and flow of the ocean, for the phenomenon, both in the increase and diminution, is every where identical, or at all events has but little difference, as if produced by the agitation of one sea, and resulting from one cause.

9. We must not credit Hipparchus, who combats this opinion, denying that the ocean is every where similarly affected; or that even if it were, it would not follow that the Atlantic flowed in a circle, and thus continually returned into itself. Seleucus, the Babylonian, is his authority for this assertion. For a further investigation of the ocean and its tides we refer to Posidonius and Athenodorus, who have fully discussed this subject: we will now only remark that this view agrees better with the uniformity of the phenomenon; and that the greater the amount of moisture surrounding the earth, the easier would the heavenly bodies be supplied with vapours from thence.

10. Homer, besides the boundaries of the earth, which he fully describes, was likewise well acquainted with the Mediterranean. Starting from the Pillars,¹ this sea is encompassed by Libya, Egypt, and Phoenicia, then by the coasts opposite Cyprus, the Solymi,² Lycia, and Caria, and then by the shore which stretches between Mycale³ and Troas, and the adjacent islands, every one of which he mentions, as well as those of the Propontis⁴ and the Euxine, as far as Colchis, and the locality of Jason's expedition. Furthermore, he was acquainted with the Cimmerian Bosphorus,⁵ having known the Cimmerians,⁶ and that not merely by name, but as being familiar with themselves. About his time, or a little before, they had ravaged the whole country, from the Bos-

¹ The rocks of Gibraltar and Ceuta.

² The mountaineers of the Taurus, between Lycia and Pisidia.

³ A mountain of Ionia near to the Meander, and opposite the Isle of Samos.

⁴ The Sea of Marmora.

⁵ The Strait of Caffa, which connects the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof.

⁶ The Cimmerians, spoken of in Homer, were undoubtedly the inhabitants of Campania, not those of the Bosphorus.

phorus to Ionia. Their climate he characterizes as dismal, in the following lines:—

“With clouds and darkness veil’d, on whom the sun
Deigns not to look with his beam-darting eye,

* * * * *
But sad night canopies the woeful race.”¹

He must also have been acquainted with the Ister,² since he speaks of the Mysians, a Thracian race, dwelling on the banks of the Ister. He knew also the whole Thracian³ coast adjacent thereto, as far as the Peneus,⁴ for he mentions individually the Pæonians, Athos, the Axius,⁵ and the neighbouring islands. From hence to Thesprotis⁶ is the Grecian shore, with the whole of which he was acquainted. He was besides familiar with the whole of Italy, and speaks of Temese⁷ and the Sicilians, as well as the whole of Spain⁸ and its fertility, as we have said before. If he omits various intermediate places this must be pardoned, for even the compiler of a Geography overlooks numerous details. We must forgive him too for intermingling fabulous narrative with his historical and instructive work. This should not be complained of; nevertheless, what Eratosthenes says is false, that the poets aim at amusement, not instruction, since those who have treated upon the subject most profoundly, regard poesy in the light of a primitive philosophy. But we shall refute Eratosthenes⁹ more at length, when we have occasion again to speak of Homer.

¹ They are covered with shadows and darkness, nor does the shining sun behold them with his beams, but pernicious night is spread over hapless mortals. *Odyssey* xi. 15 and 19.

² The Danube.

³ Ancient Thrace consisted of the modern provinces of Bulgaria and Roumelia.

⁴ A river of Thessaly, named at present Salampria.

⁵ Now the river Vardari.

⁶ Thesprotis, in Epirus, opposite Corfu.

⁷ Afterwards named Temsa. This town was in Citerior Calabria. Some think Torre de Nocera stands on the ancient site.

⁸ This is a misstatement, as before remarked.

⁹ This writer occupies so prominent a position in Strabo’s work, that no apology I think will be needed for the following extract from Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*.

“Eratosthenes of Cyrene was, according to Suidas, the son of Aglaus, according to others, the son of Ambrosius, and was born B. C. 276. He was taught by Ariston of Chius, the philosopher, Lysanias of Cyrene, the grammarian, and Callimachus, the poet. He left Athens at the invitation

11. What we have already advanced is sufficient to prove that poet the father of geography. Those who followed in

of Ptolemy Euergetes, who placed him over the library at Alexandria. Here he continued till the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. He died at the age of eighty, about B. C. 196, of voluntary starvation, having lost his sight, and being tired of life. He was a man of very extensive learning: we shall first speak of him as a geometer and astronomer.

“It is supposed that Eratosthenes suggested to Ptolemy Euergetes the construction of the large *armillæ*, or fixed circular instruments, which were long in use at Alexandria; but only because it is difficult to imagine to whom else they are to be assigned, for Ptolemy the astronomer, though he mentions them, and incidentally their antiquity, does not state to whom they were due. In these circles each degree was divided into six parts. We know of no observations of Eratosthenes in which they were probably employed, except those which led him to the obliquity of the ecliptic, which he must have made to be $23^{\circ} 51' 20''$; for he states the distance of the tropics to be eleven times the eighty-third part of the circumference. This was a good observation for the times. Ptolemy the astronomer was content with it, and according to him Hipparchus used no other. Of his measure of the earth we shall presently speak. According to Nicomachus, he was the inventor of the *κόσκινον*, or Cribrum Arithmeticum, as it has since been called, being the well-known method of detecting the prime numbers by writing down all odd numbers which do not end with 5, and striking out successively the multiples of each, one after the other, so that only prime numbers remain.

“We still possess under the name of Eratosthenes a work, entitled *Καταπερισμοί*, giving a slight account of the constellations, their fabulous history, and the stars in them. It is however acknowledged on all hands that this is not a work of Eratosthenes. * * * The only other writing of Eratosthenes which remains, is a letter to Ptolemy on the duplication of the cube, for the mechanical performance of which he had contrived an instrument, of which he seems to contemplate actual use in measuring the contents of vessels, &c. He seems to say that he has had his method engraved in some temple or public building, with some verses, which he adds. Eutocius has preserved this letter in his comment on book ii. prop. 2, of the sphere and cylinder of Archimedes.

“The greatest work of Eratosthenes, and that which must always make his name conspicuous in scientific history, is the attempt which he made to measure the magnitude of the earth, in which he brought forward and used the method which is employed to this day. Whether or no he was successful cannot be told, as we shall see; but it is not the less true that he was the originator of the process by which we now know, very nearly indeed, the magnitude of our own planet. Delambre says that if it were he who advised the erection of the circular instruments above alluded to, he must be considered as the founder of astronomy: to which it may be added, that he was the founder of geodesy without any *if* in the case. The number of ancient writers who have alluded to this remarkable operation (which seems to have obtained its full measure of fame) is very great, and we shall not attempt to combine their remarks or surmises: it is enough to say that the most distinct account, and one of the earliest, is found in the remaining work of Cleomedes.

his track are also well known as great men and true philosophers. The two immediately succeeding Homer, according

“At Syene in Upper Egypt, which is supposed to be the same as, or near to, the town of Assouan, (Lat. $24^{\circ} 10' N.$, Long. $32^{\circ} 59' E.$ of Greenwich,) Eratosthenes was told (that he observed is very doubtful) that deep wells were enlightened to the bottom on the day of the summer solstice, and that vertical objects cast no shadows. He concluded therefore, that Syene was on the tropic, and its latitude equal to the obliquity of the ecliptic, which, as we have seen, he had determined: he presumed that it was in the same longitude as Alexandria, in which he was out about 3° , which is not enough to produce what would at that time have been a sensible error. By observations made at Alexandria, he determined the zenith of that place to be distant by the fiftieth part of the circumference from the solstice, which was equivalent to saying that the arc of the meridian between the two places is $7^{\circ} 12'$. Cleomedes says that he used the *σκάφη*, or hemispherical dial of Berosus, in the determination of this latitude. Delambre rejects the idea with infinite scorn, and pronounces Cleomedes unworthy of credit; and indeed it is not easy to see why Eratosthenes should have rejected the gnomon and the large circular instruments, unless, perhaps, for the following reason. There is a sentiment of Cleomedes which seems to imply that the disappearance of the shadows at Syene on the day of the summer solstice was noticed to take place for 300 stadia every way round Syene. If Eratosthenes took his report about the phenomenon (and we have no evidence that he went to Syene himself) from those who could give no better account than this, we may easily understand why he would think the *σκάφη* quite accurate enough to observe with at his own end of the arc, since the other end of it was uncertain by as much as 300 stadia. He gives 500 stadia for the distance from Alexandria to Syene, and this round number seems further to justify us in concluding that he thought the process to be as rough as in truth it was. Martianus Capella states that he obtained this distance from the measures made by order of the Ptolemies (which had been commenced by Alexander): this writer then implies that Eratosthenes did not go to Syene himself.

“The result is 250,000 stadia for the circumference of the earth, which Eratosthenes altered into 252,000, that his result might give an exact number of stadia for the degree, namely, 700; this of course should have been $694\frac{1}{5}$. Pliny calls this 31,500 Roman miles, and therefore supposes the stadium to be the eighth part of a Roman mile, or takes for granted that Eratosthenes used the Olympic stadium. It is likely enough that the Ptolemies naturalized this stadium in Egypt; but nevertheless, it is not unlikely that an Egyptian stadium was employed. If we assume the Olympic stadium, ($202\frac{1}{4}$ yards,) the degree of Eratosthenes is more than 79 miles, upwards of 10 miles too great. Nothing is known of any Egyptian stadium. Pliny asserts that Hipparchus, but for what reason he does not say, wanted to add 25,000 stadia to the circumference as found by Eratosthenes. According to Plutarch, Eratosthenes made the sun to be 804 millions of stadia from the earth, and the moon 780,000. According to Macrobius, he made the diameter of the sun to be 27 times that of the earth. With regard to the other merits of

to Eratosthenes, were Anaximander, the disciple and fellow-citizen of Thales, and Hecataeus the Milcsian. Anaximander

Eratosthenes, we must first of all mention what he did for geography, which was closely connected with his mathematical pursuits. It was Eratosthenes who raised geography to the rank of a science; for previous to his time it seems to have consisted, more or less, of a mass of information scattered in books of travel, descriptions of particular countries, and the like. All these treasures were accessible to Eratosthenes in the libraries of Alexandria; and he made the most profitable use of them, by collecting the scattered materials, and uniting them into an organic system of geography, in his comprehensive work entitled *Γεωγραφικά*, or as it is sometimes but erroneously called, *γεωγραφούμενα* or *γεωγραφία*. It consisted of three books, the first of which, forming a sort of Introduction, contained a critical review of the labours of his predecessors from the earliest to his own times, and investigations concerning the form and nature of the earth, which, according to him, was an immoveable globe, on the surface of which traces of a series of great revolutions were still visible. He conceived that in one of these revolutions the Mediterranean had acquired its present form; for according to him it was at one time a large lake covering portions of the adjacent countries of Asia and Libya, until a passage was forced open by which it entered into communication with the ocean in the west. The second book contained what is now called mathematical geography. His attempt to measure the magnitude of the earth has been spoken of above. The third book contained the political geography, and gave descriptions of the various countries, derived from the works of earlier travellers and geographers. In order to be able to determine the accurate site of each place, he drew a line parallel with the equator, running from the Pillars of Hercules to the extreme east of Asia, and dividing the whole of the inhabited earth into two halves. Connected with this work was a new map of the earth, in which towns, mountains, rivers, lakes, and climates were marked according to his own improved measurements. This important work of Eratosthenes forms an epoch in the history of ancient geography: but unfortunately it is lost, and all that has survived consists in fragments quoted by later geographers and historians, such as Polybius, Strabo, Marcianus, Pliny, and others, who often judge of him unfavourably, and controvert his statements; while it can be proved that in a great many passages they adopt his opinions without mentioning his name. Marcianus charges Eratosthenes with having copied the substance of the work of Timosthenes on Ports, (*περι λιμένων*), to which he added but very little of his own. This charge may be well-founded, but cannot have diminished the value of the work of Eratosthenes, in which that of Timosthenes can have formed only a very small portion. It seems to have been the very overwhelming importance of the geography of Eratosthenes, that called forth a number of opponents, among whom we meet with the names of Polemon, Hipparchus, Polybius, Serapion, and Marcianus of Heracleia. * * * Another work of a somewhat similar nature, entitled *Ἐρμῆς*, was written in verse, and treated of the form of the earth, its temperature, the different zones, the constellations, and the like. * * * Eratosthenes distinguished himself also as a philosopher, historian, grammarian, &c."

was the first to publish a geographical chart. Hecataeus left a work [on the same subject], which we can identify as his by means of his other writings.

12. Many have testified to the amount of knowledge which this subject requires, and Hipparchus, in his *Strictures on Eratosthenes*, well observes, "that no one can become really proficient in geography, either as a private individual or as a professor, without an acquaintance with astronomy, and a knowledge of eclipses. For instance, no one could tell whether Alexandria in Egypt were north or south of Babylon, nor yet the intervening distance, without observing the latitudes.¹ Again, the only means we possess of becoming acquainted with the longitudes of different places is afforded by the eclipses of the sun and moon." Such are the very words of Hipparchus.

13. Every one who undertakes to give an accurate description of a place, should be particular to add its astronomical and geometrical relations, explaining carefully its extent, distance, degrees of latitude, and "climate."² Even a builder before constructing a house, or an architect before laying out a city, would take these things into consideration; much more should he who examines the whole earth: for such things in a peculiar manner belong to him. In small distances a little deviation north or south does not signify, but when it is the whole circle of the earth, the north extends to the furthest confines of Scythia,³ or Keltica,⁴ and the south to the extremities of Ethiopia: there is a wide difference here. The case is the same should we inhabit India or Spain, one in the east, the other far west, and, as we are aware, the antipodes⁵ to each other.

14. The [motions] of the sun and stars, and the centripetal

¹ The ancients portioned out the globe by bands or zones parallel to the equator, which they named *κλίματα*. The extent of each zone was determined by the length of the solstitial day, and thus each diminished in extent according as it became more distant from the equator. The moderns have substituted a mode of reckoning the degrees by the elevation of the pole, which gives the latitudes with much greater accuracy.

² Literally, the heat, cold, and temperature of the atmosphere.

³ Tartary.

⁴ France.

⁵ Xylander and Casaubon remark that Strabo here makes an improper use of the term antipodes; the antipodes of Spain and India being in the southern hemisphere.

force meet us on the very threshold of such subjects, and compel us to the study of astronomy, and the observation of such phenomena as each of us may notice; in which too, very considerable differences appear, according to the various points of observation. How could any one undertake to write accurately and with propriety on the differences of the various parts of the earth, who was ignorant of these matters? and although, if the undertaking were of a popular character, it might not be advisable to enter thoroughly into detail, still we should endeavour to include every thing which could be comprehended by the general reader.

15. He who has thus elevated his mind, will he be satisfied with any thing less than the whole world? If in his anxiety accurately to portray the inhabited earth, he has dared to survey heaven, and make use thereof for purposes of instruction, would it not seem childish were he to refrain from examining the whole earth, of which the inhabited is but a part, its size, its features, and its position in the universe; whether other portions are inhabited besides those on which we dwell, and if so, their amount? What is the extent of the regions not peopled? what their peculiarities, and the cause of their remaining as they are? Thus it appears that the knowledge of geography is connected with meteorology¹ and geometry, that it unites the things of earth to the things of heaven, as though they were nearly allied, and not separated.

“As far as heaven from earth.”²

16. To the various subjects which it embraces let us add natural history, or the history of the animals, plants, and other different productions of the earth and sea, whether serviceable or useless, and my original statement will, I think, carry perfect conviction with it.

That he who should undertake this work would be a benefactor to mankind, reason and the voice of antiquity agree. The poets feign that they were the wisest heroes who travelled and wandered most in foreign climes: and to be familiar with many countries, and the disposition of the inhabitants, is, according to them, of vast importance. Nestor prides him-

¹ Meteorology, from *μετεώρος*, aloft, is the science which describes and explains the various phenomena which occur in the region of the atmosphere.

² Homer, *Iliad* viii. 16

self on having associated with the Lapithæ,¹ to whom he went, "having been invited thither from the Apian² land afar."

So does Menelaus:—

"Cyprus, Phœnicia, Sidon, and the shores
Of Egypt, roaming without hope I reach'd;
In distant Ethiopia thence arrived,
And Libya, where the lambs their foreheads show
With budding horns defended soon as year'd."³

Adding as a peculiarity of the country,

"There thrice within the year the flocks produce."⁴

And of Egypt:—"Where the sustaining earth is most prolific."⁵ And Thebes,

"the city with an hundred gates,
Whence twenty thousand chariots rush to war."⁶

Such information greatly enlarges our sphere of knowledge, by informing us of the nature of the country, its botanical and zoological peculiarities. To these should be added its marine history; for we are in a certain sense amphibious, not exclusively connected with the land, but with the sea as well. Hercules, on account of his vast experience and observation, was described as "skilled in mighty works."⁷

All that we have previously stated is confirmed both by the testimony of antiquity and by reason. One consideration however appears to bear in a peculiar manner on the case in point; viz. the importance of geography in a political view. For the sea and the earth in which we dwell furnish theatres

¹ A people of Thessaly, on the banks of the Peneus.

² The former name of the Morea, and more ancient than Peloponnesus. Iliad i. 270.

³ Having wandered to Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and the Egyptians, I came to the Ethiopians, and Sidonians, and Ereubi, and Libya, where the lambs immediately become horned. Odyssey iv. 83.

⁴ Odyssey iv. 86.

⁵ Homer says,

τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
Φάρμακα. Odyssey iv. 229.

Which Cowper properly renders:—

"Egypt teems
With *drugs* of various powers."

Strabo, by omitting the word φάρμακα from his citation, alters to a certain degree the meaning of the sentence.

⁶ Iliad ix. 383, et seq.

⁷ Odyssey xxi. 26.

for action; limited, for limited actions; vast, for grander deeds; but that which contains them all, and is the scene of the greatest undertakings, constitutes what we term the habitable earth; and they are the greatest generals who, subduing nations and kingdoms under one sceptre, and one political administration, have acquired dominion over land and sea. It is clear then, that geography is essential to all the transactions of the statesman, informing us, as it does, of the position of the continents, seas, and oceans of the whole habitable earth. Information of especial interest to those who are concerned to know the exact truth of such particulars, and whether the places have been explored or not: for government will certainly be better administered where the size and position of the country, its own peculiarities, and those of the surrounding districts, are understood. Forasmuch as there are many sovereigns who rule in different regions, and some stretch their dominion over others' territories, and undertake the government of different nations and kingdoms, and thus enlarge the extent of their dominion, it is not possible that either themselves, nor yet writers on geography, should be equally acquainted with the whole, but to both there is a great deal more or less known. Indeed, were the whole earth under one government and one administration, it is hardly possible that we should be informed of every locality in an equal degree; for even then we should be most acquainted with the places nearest us: and after all, it is better that we should have a more perfect description of these, since, on account of their proximity, there is greater need for it. We see there is no reason to be surprised that there should be one chorographer¹ for the Indians, another for the Ethiopians, and a third for the Greeks and Romans. What use would it be to the Indians if a geographer should thus describe Bœotia to them, in the words of Homer:—

“The dwellers on the rocks
Of Aulis follow'd, with the hardy clans
Of Hyria, Schœnus, Scolus.”²

To us this is of value, while to be acquainted with the Indies

¹ Chorography, a term used by Greek writers, meaning the description of particular districts.

² Iliad ii. 496. Four cities of Bœotia. The present name of Aulis is Vathi, situated on the Strait of Negropont. The modern names of the other three cities are unknown.

and their various territorial divisions would be useless, as it could lead to no advantage, which is the only criterion of the worth of such knowledge.

17. Even if we descend to the consideration of such trivial matters as hunting, the case is still the same; for he will be most successful in the chase who is acquainted with the size and nature of the wood, and one familiar with the locality will be the most competent to superintend an encampment, an ambush, or a march. But it is in great undertakings that the truth shines out in all its brilliancy, for here, while the success resulting from knowledge is grand, the consequences of ignorance are disastrous. The fleet of Agamemnon, for instance, ravaging Mysia, as if it had been the Trojan territory, was compelled to a shameful retreat. Likewise the Persians and Libyans,¹ supposing certain straits to be impassable, were very near falling into great perils, and have left behind them memorials of their ignorance; the former a monument to Salgameus on the Euripus, near Chalcis, whom the Persians slew, for, as they thought, falsely conducting their fleet from the Gulf of Malea² to the Euripus; and the latter to the memory of Pelorus, who was executed on a like occasion. At the time of the expedition of Xerxes, the coasts of Greece were covered with wrecks, and the emigrations from Æolia and Ionia furnish numerous instances of the same calamity. On the other hand, matters have come to a prosperous termination, when judiciously directed by a knowledge of the locality. Thus it was at the pass of Thermopylæ that Ephialtes is reported to have pointed out to the Persians a pathway over the mountains, and so placed the band of Leonidas at their mercy, and opened to the Barbarians a passage into Pylæ. But passing over ancient occurrences, we think that the late expeditions

¹ By Libyans are here intended Carthaginians. The events alluded to by Strabo may be found in Pomponius Mela and Valerius Maximus, whose accounts however do not entirely accord. That of Valerius Maximus, who is followed by Servius, tells us that Hannibal, on his return to Africa, observed his pilot Pelorus was taking the ships by the coast of Italy, and suspecting him therefore of treachery, caused him to be executed. He did not know at the time the intention of Pelorus to take him through the Strait of Messina, but afterwards, when aware of the excellence of the passage, caused a monument to be raised to the memory of the unfortunate pilot. Strabo, in his ninth book, gives us the history of Salgameus, and the monument erected to him on the shores of Negropent.

² The Gulf of Zeitun.

of the Romans against the Parthians furnish an excellent example, where, as in those against the Germans and Kelts, the Barbarians, taking advantage of their situation, [carried on the war] in marshes, woods, and pathless deserts, deceiving the ignorant enemy as to the position of different places, and concealing the roads, and the means of obtaining food and necessaries.

— 18. As we have said, this science has an especial reference to the occupations and requirements of statesmen, with whom also political and ethical philosophy is mainly concerned; and here is an evidence. We distinguish the different kinds of civil government by the office of their chief men, denominating one government a monarchy, or kingdom, another an aristocracy, a third a democracy; for so many we consider are the forms of government, and we designate them by these names, because from them they derive their primary characteristic. For the laws which emanate from the sovereign, from the aristocracy, and from the people all are different. The law is in fact a type of the form of government. It is on this account that some define right to be the interest of the strongest. If, therefore, political philosophy is advantageous to the ruler, and geography in the actual government of the country, this latter seems to possess some little superiority. This superiority is most observable in real service.

19. But even the theoretical portion of geography is by no means contemptible. On the one hand, it embraces the arts, mathematics, and natural science; on the other, history and fable. Not that this latter can have any distinct advantage: for instance, if any one should relate to us the wanderings of Ulysses, Menelaus, and Jason, he would not seem to have added directly to our fund of practical knowledge thereby, (which is the only thing men of the world are interested in,) unless he should convey useful examples of what those wanderers were compelled to suffer, and at the same time afford matter of rational amusement to those who interest themselves in the places which gave birth to such fables. Practical men interest themselves in these pursuits, since they are at once commendable, and afford them pleasure; but yet not to any great extent. In this class, too, will be found those whose main object in life is pleasure and respectability: but these

by no means constitute the majority of mankind, who naturally prefer that which holds out some direct advantage. The geographer should therefore chiefly devote himself to what is practically important. He should follow the same rule in regard to history and the mathematics, selecting always that which is most useful, most intelligible, and most authentic.

20. Geometry and astronomy, as we before remarked, seem absolutely indispensable in this science. This, in fact, is evident, that without some such assistance, it would be impossible to be accurately acquainted with the configuration of the earth; its climata,¹ dimensions, and the like information.

As the size of the earth has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall here take for granted and receive as accurate what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, that its surface is likewise spheroidal, and above all, that bodies have a tendency towards its centre, which latter point is clear to the perception of the most average understanding. However we may show summarily that the earth is spheroidal, from the consideration that all things however distant tend to its centre, and that every body is attracted towards its centre of gravity; this is more distinctly proved from observations of the sea and sky, for here the evidence of the senses, and common observation, is alone requisite. The convexity of the sea is a further proof of this to those who have sailed; for they cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but if raised on high, they at once become perceptible to vision, though at the same time further removed. So, when the eye is raised, it sees what before was utterly imperceptible. Homer speaks of this when he says,

Lifted up on the vast wave he quickly beheld afar.²

Sailors, as they approach their destination, behold the shore continually raising itself to their view; and objects which had at first seemed low, begin to elevate themselves. Our gnomons, also, are, among other things, evidence of the revolution of the heavenly bodies; and common sense at once shows us,

¹ Vide preceding note on this word, p. 13, n. 1.

² Odyssey v. 393.

that if the depth of the earth were infinite,¹ such a revolution could not take place.

Every information respecting the climata² is contained in the "Treatises on Positions."³

21. Now there are some facts which we take to be established, viz. those with which every politician and general should be familiar. For on no account should they be so uninformed as to the heavens and the position of the earth,⁴ that when they are in strange countries, where some of the heavenly phenomena wear a different aspect to what they have been accustomed, they should be in a consternation, and exclaim,

"Neither west
Know we, nor east, where rises or where sets
The all-enlightening sun."⁵

Still, we do not expect that they should be such thorough masters of the subject as to know what stars rise and set together for the different quarters of the earth; those which have the same meridian line, the elevation of the poles, the signs which are in the zenith, with all the various phenomena which differ as well in appearance as reality with the variations of the horizon and arctic circle. With some of these matters, unless as philosophical pursuits, they should not burden themselves at all; others they must take for granted without searching into their causes. This must be left to the care of the philosopher; the statesman can have no leisure, or very little, for such pursuits. Those who, through carelessness and ignorance, are not familiar with the globe and the circles traced upon it, some parallel to each other, some at right angles to the former, others, again, in an oblique direction; nor yet with the position of the tropics, equator, and zodiac, (that circle through which the sun travels in his course, and by which we reckon the changes of season and the winds,) such persons we caution against the perusal of our work. For

¹ Allusion is here made to the theory of Xenophanes of Colophon and Anaximenes his disciple, who imagined the earth bore the form of a vast mountain, inhabited at the summit, but whose roots stretched into infinity. The Siamese at the present day hold a similar idea.

² See note ¹, p. 13.

³ Περὶ τῶν οὐρανίων.

⁴ Meaning, the different appearances of the heavenly bodies at various parts of the earth.

⁵ Odyssey x. 190.

if a man is neither properly acquainted with these things, nor with the variations of the horizon and arctic circle, and such similar elements of mathematics, how can he comprehend the matters treated of here? So for one who does not know a right line from a curve, nor yet a circle, nor a plane or spherical surface, nor the seven stars in the firmament composing the Great Bear, and such like, our work is entirely useless, at least for the present. Unless he first acquires such information, he is utterly incompetent to the study of geography. * So those who have written the works entitled "On Ports," and "Voyages Round the World," have performed their task imperfectly, since they have omitted to supply the requisite information from mathematics and astronomy.*¹

22. The present undertaking is composed in a lucid style, suitable alike to the statesman and the general reader, after the fashion of my History.² By a statesman we do not intend an illiterate person, but one who has gone through the course of a liberal and philosophical education. For a man who has bestowed no attention on virtue or intelligence, nor what constitutes them, must be incompetent either to blame or praise, still less to decide what actions are worthy to be placed on record.

23. Having already compiled our Historical Memoirs, which, as we conceive, are a valuable addition both to political and moral philosophy, we have now determined to follow it up with the present work, which has been prepared on the same system as the former, and for the same class of readers, but more particularly for those who are in high stations of life. And as our former production contains only the most striking events in the lives of distinguished men, omitting trifling and unimportant incidents; so here it will be proper to dismiss small and doubtful particulars, and merely call attention to great and remarkable transactions, such in fact as are use-

¹ This sentence has been restored to what was evidently its original position. In the Greek text it appears immediately before section 23, commencing, "Having already compiled," &c. The alteration is borne out by the French and German translators.

² Strabo here alludes to his *Ἱστορικὰ Ὑπομνήματα*, cited by Plutarch (Lucullus, 28, Sulla, 26). This work, in forty-three books, began where the History of Polybius ended, and was probably continued to the battle of Actium. Smith, Gr. and Rom. Biog.

ful, memorable, and entertaining. In the colossal works of the sculptor we do not descend into a minute examination of particulars, but look principally for perfection in the general *ensemble*. This is the only method of criticism applicable to the present work. Its proportions, so to speak, are colossal; it deals in the generalities and main outlines of things, except now and then, when some minor detail can be selected, calculated to be serviceable to the seeker after knowledge, or the man of business.

We now think we have demonstrated that our present undertaking is one that requires great care, and is well worthy of a philosopher.

CHAPTER II.

1. No one can [justly] blame us for having undertaken to write on a subject already often treated of, unless it appears that we have done nothing more than copy the works of former writers. In our opinion, though they may have perfectly treated some subjects, in others they have still left much to be completed; and we shall be justified in our performance, if we can add to their information even in a trifling degree. At the present moment the conquests of the Romans and Parthians have added much to our knowledge, which (as was well observed by Eratosthenes) had been considerably increased by the expedition of Alexander. This prince laid open to our view the greater part of Asia, and the whole north of Europe as far as the Danube. And the Romans [have discovered to us] the entire west of Europe as far as the river Elbe, which divides Germany, and the country beyond the Ister to the river Dniester. The country beyond this to the Mæotis,¹ and the coasts extending along Colchis,² was brought to light by Mithridates, surnamed Eupator, and his generals. To the Parthians we are indebted for a better acquaintance with Hyrcania,³ Bac-

¹ The Sea of Azof.

² Mingrelia; east of the Euxine.

³ A large country of Asia to the south of the eastern part of the Caspian Sea. It became much restricted during the Parthian rule, contain-

triana,¹ and the land of the Scythians² lying beyond, of which before we knew but little. Thus we can add much information not supplied by former writers, but this will best be seen when we come to treat on the writers who have preceded us; and this method we shall pursue, not so much in regard to the primitive geographers, as to Eratosthenes and those subsequent to him. As these writers far surpassed the generality in the amount of their knowledge, so naturally it is more difficult to detect their errors when such occur. If I seem to contradict those most whom I take chiefly for my guides, I must claim indulgence on the plea, that it was never intended to criticise the whole body of geographers, the larger number of whom are not worthy of consideration, but to give an opinion of those only who are generally found correct. Still, while many are beneath discussion, such men as Eratosthenes, Posidonius, Hipparchus, Polybius, and others of their stamp, deserve our highest consideration.

2. Let us first examine Eratosthenes, reviewing at the same time what Hipparchus has advanced against him. Eratosthenes is much too creditable an historian for us to believe what Polemon endeavours to charge against him, that he had not even seen Athens. At the same time he does not merit that unbounded confidence which some seem to repose in him, although, as he himself tells us, he passed much of his time with first-rate [characters]. Never, says he, at one period, and in one city, were there so many philosophers flourishing together as in my time. In their number was Ariston and Arcesilaus. This, however, it seems is not sufficient, but you must also be able to choose who are the real guides whom it is your interest to follow. He considers Arcesilaus and Ariston to be the coryphæi of the philosophers who flourished in his time, and is ceaseless in his eulogies of Apelles and Bion,

ing only the north of Comis, east of Masanderan, the country near Corcan or Jorjan, (Dshirdshian,) and the west of the province of Khorassan.

¹ A country of Asia, on the west bounded by Aria, south by the mountains of Paropamisus, east by the Emodi montes, north by Sogdiana, now belongs to the kingdom of Afghanistan. Bactriana was anciently the centre of Asiatic commerce.

² A general name given by the Greeks and Romans to a large portion of Asia, and divided by them into Scythia intra et extra Imaum, that is, on either side of Mount Imaus. This mountain is generally thought to answer to the Himalaya mountains of Thibet.

the latter of whom, says he, was the first to deck himself in the flowers of philosophy, but concerning whom one is often likewise tempted to exclaim, "How great is Bion in spite of his rags!"¹ It is in such instances as the following that the mediocrity of his genius shows itself.

Although at Athens he became a disciple of Zeno² of Citium, he makes no mention of his followers; while those who opposed that philosopher, and of whose sect not a trace remains, he thinks fit to set down amongst the [great characters] who flourished in his time. His real character appears in his Treatise on Moral Philosophy,³ his Meditations, and some similar productions. He seems to have held a middle course between the man who devotes himself to philosophy, and the man who cannot make up his mind to dedicate himself to it: and to have studied the science merely as a relief from his other pursuits, or as a pleasing and instructive recreation. In his other writings he is just the same; but let these things pass. We will now proceed as well as we can to the task of rectifying his geography.

First, then, let us return to the point which we lately deferred.

3. Eratosthenes says that the poet directs his whole attention to the amusement of the mind, and not at all to its instruction. In opposition to his idea, the ancients define poesy as a primitive philosophy, guiding our life from infancy, and pleasantly regulating our morals, our tastes, and our actions. The [Stoics] of our day affirm that the only wise man is the poet. On this account the earliest lessons which the citizens of Greece convey to their children are from the poets; cer-

¹ This seems to be a paraphrase of Homer's verse on Ulysses, *Odyssey* xviii. 74.

Οἴην ἐκ ῥακέων ὁ γέρον ἐπιγοννίδα φαίνει.

What thews

And what a haunch the senior's tatters hide.

Cowper.

² Zeno, of Citium, a city in the island of Cyprus, founded by Phœnician settlers, was the son of Mnaseas.

³ *Περὶ τῶν Ἀγαθῶν*, is the title given by Strabo, but we find from Harpocrates and Clemens Alexandrinus, that properly it was *Περὶ Ἀγαθῶν καὶ Κακῶν*, or "Concerning Good and Evil Things" which we have rendered in the text "Moral Philosophy."

tainly not alone for the purpose of amusing their minds, but for their instruction. Nay, even the professors of music, who give lessons on the harp, lyre, and pipe, lay claim to our consideration on the same account, since they say that [the accomplishments which they teach] are calculated to form and improve the character. It is not only among the Pythagoreans that one hears this claim supported, for Aristoxenus is of that opinion, and Homer too regarded the bards as amongst the wisest of mankind.

Of this number was the guardian of Clytemnestra, "to whom the son of Atreus, when he set out for Troy, gave earnest charge to preserve his wife,"¹ whom Ægisthus was unable to seduce, until "leading the bard to a desert island, he left him,"² and then

"The queen he led, not willing less than he,
To his own mansion."³

But apart from all such considerations, Eratosthenes contradicts himself; for a little previously to the sentence which we have quoted, at the commencement of his Essay on Geography, he says, that "all the ancient poets took delight in showing their knowledge of such matters. Homer inserted into his poetry all that he knew about the Ethiopians, Egypt, and Libya. Of all that related to Greece and the neighbouring places he entered even too minutely into the details, describing Thisbe as "abounding in doves," Haliartus, "grassy," Anthedon, the "far distant," Litæa, "situated on the sources of the Cephissus,"⁴ and none of his epithets are without their meaning." But in pursuing this method, what object has he in view, to amuse [merely], or to instruct? The latter, doubtless. Well, perhaps he has told the truth in these instances, but in what was beyond his observation both he and the other writers have indulged in all the marvels of fable. If such be the case the statement should have been, that the poets relate some things for mere amusement, others for instruction; but he affirms that they do it altogether for amusement, without any view to information; and by way of climax, inquires, What can it add to Homer's worth to be familiar with many

¹ Odyssey iii. 267.

² Ib. iii. 270.

³ Ib. iii. 272.

⁴ Thisbe, Haliartus, Anthedon, cities of Bœotia; Litæa, a city of Phocis. The Cephissus, a large river, rising in the west of Phocis.

lands, and skilled in strategy, agriculture, rhetoric, and similar information, which some persons seem desirous to make him possessed of. To seek to invest him with all this knowledge is most likely the effect of too great a zeal for his honour. Hipparchus observes, that to assert he was acquainted with every art and science, is like saying that an Attic eiresionè¹ bears pears and apples.

As far as this goes, Eratosthenes, you are right enough; not so, however, when you not only deny that Homer was possessed of these vast acquirements, but represent poetry in general as a tissue of old wives' fables, where, to use your own expression, every thing thought likely to amuse is cooked up. I ask, is it of no value to the auditors² of the poets to be made acquainted with [the history of] different countries, with strategy, agriculture, and rhetoric, and such-like things, which the lecture generally contains.

4. One thing is certain, that the poet has bestowed all these gifts upon Ulysses, whom beyond any of his other [heroes] he loves to adorn with every virtue. He says of him, that he

“ Discover'd various cities, and the mind
And manners learn'd of men in lands remote.”³

That he was

“ Of a piercing wit and deeply wise.”⁴

He is continually described as “the destroyer of cities,” and as having vanquished Troy, by his counsels, his advice, and his deceptive art. Diomedes says of him,

“ Let him attend me, and through fire itself
We shall return; for none is wise as he.”⁵

He prides himself on his skill in husbandry, for at the harvest [he says],

¹ A harvest-wreath of laurel or olive wound round with wool, and adorned with fruits, borne about by singing-boys at the *Πυανέψια* and *Θαργήλια*, while offerings were made to Helios and the Hours: it was afterwards hung up at the house-door. The song was likewise called eiresionè, which became the general name for all begging-songs.

² Auditors,] *ἀκροωμένοις*. In Greece there was a class of lectures where the only duty of the professors was to explain the works of the poets, and point out the beauties which they contained. The students who attended these lectures were styled *ἀκροάται*, or auditors, and the method of instruction *ἀκρόασις*.

³ Odyssey i 3.

⁴ Iliad iii. 202.

⁵ Ib. x. 246.

“I with my well-bent sickle in my hand,
Thou arm'd with one as keen.”¹

And also in tillage,

“Then shouldst thou see
How straight my furrow should be cut and true.”²

And Homer was not singular in his opinion regarding these matters, for all educated people appeal to him in favour of the idea that such practical knowledge is one of the chief means of acquiring understanding.

5. That eloquence is regarded as the wisdom of speech, Ulysses manifests throughout the whole poem, both in the Trial,³ the Petitions,⁴ and the Embassy.⁵ Of him it is said by Antenor,

“But when he spake, forth from his breast did flow
A torrent swift as winter's feather'd snow.”⁶

Who can suppose that a poet capable of effectively introducing into his scenes rhetoricians, generals, and various other characters, each displaying some peculiar excellence, was nothing more than a droll or juggler, capable only of cheating or flattering his hearer, and not of instructing him.

Are we not all agreed that the chief merit of a poet consists in his accurate representation of the affairs of life? Can this be done by a mere driveller, unacquainted with the world?

The excellence of a poet is not to be measured by the same standard as that of a mechanic or a blacksmith, where honour and virtue have nothing to do with our estimate. But the poet and the individual are connected, and he only can become a good poet, who is in the first instance a worthy man.

6. To deny that our poet possesses the graces of oratory is using us hardly indeed. What is so befitting an orator, what so poetical as eloquence, and who so sweetly eloquent as Homer? But, by heaven! you'll say, there are other styles of eloquence than those peculiar to poetry. Of course [I admit this]; in poetry itself there is the tragic and the comic style; in prose, the historic and the forensic. But is not language

¹ *Odyssey* xviii. 367.

² *Ib.* xviii. 374.

³ The second book of the *Iliad*.

⁴ The ninth book of the *Iliad*.

⁵ The deputation of Menelaus and Ulysses to demand back Helen, alluded to by Antenor, in the third book of the *Iliad*.

⁶ But when he did send forth the mighty voice from his breast, and words like unto wintry flakes of snow, no longer then would another mortal contend with Ulysses. *Iliad* iii. 221.

a generality, of which poetry and prose are forms? Yes, language is; but are not the rhetorical, the eloquent, and the florid styles also? I answer, that flowery prose is nothing but an imitation of poetry. Ornate poetry was the first to make its appearance, and was well received. Afterwards it was closely imitated by writers in the time of Cadmus, Pherecydes, and Hecataeus. The metre was the only thing dispensed with, every other poetic grace being carefully preserved. As time advanced, one after another of its beauties was discarded, till at last it came down from its glory into our common prose. In the same way we may say that comedy took its rise from tragedy, but descended from its lofty grandeur into what we now call the common parlance of daily life. And when [we find] the ancient writers making use of the expression "to sing," to designate eloquence of style, this in itself is an evidence that poetry is the source and origin of all ornamented and rhetorical language. Poetry in ancient days was on every occasion accompanied by melody. The song or ode was but a modulated speech, from whence the words rhapsody, tragedy, comedy,¹ are derived; and since originally eloquence was the term made use of for the poetical effusions which were always of the nature of a song, it soon happened [that in speaking of poetry] some said, to sing, others, to be eloquent; and as the one term was early misapplied to prose compositions, the other also was soon applied in the same way. Lastly, the very term *prose*, which is applied to language not clothed in metre, seems to indicate, as it were, its descent from an elevation or chariot to the ground.²

7. Homer accurately describes many distant countries, and not only Greece and the neighbouring places, as Eratosthenes asserts. His romance, too, is in better style than that of his successors. He does not make up wondrous tales on every occasion,

¹ So much of the meaning of this sentence depends upon the orthography, that its force is not fully perceptible in English; the Greek is as follows: *τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἡ φήν λόγος μεμελισμένος· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ῥαψωδίαν τ' ἔλεγον καὶ τραγωδίαν καὶ κωμωδίαν.*

² This last sentence can convey little or no meaning to the English reader; its whole force in the original depending on verbal association. Its general scope however will be evident, when it is stated that in Greek, the same word, *πεζός*, which means a "foot-soldier," signifies also "prose composition." Hence Strabo's allusion to the chariot. The Latins borrowed the expression, and used *sermo pedestris* in the same

but to instruct us the better often, and especially in the *Odyssey*, adds to the circumstances which have come under his actual observation, allegories, wise harangues, and enticing narrations. Concerning which, *Eratosthenes* is much mistaken when he says that both *Homer* and his commentators are a pack of fools. But this subject demands a little more of our attention.

8. To begin. The poets were by no means the first to avail themselves of myths. States and lawgivers had taken advantage of them long before, having observed the constitutional bias of mankind. Man is eager after knowledge, and the love of legend is but the prelude thereto. This is why children begin to listen [to fables], and are acquainted with them before any other kind of knowledge; the cause of this is that the myth introduces them to a new train of ideas, relating not to every-day occurrences, but something in addition to these.

A charm hangs round whatever is new and hitherto unknown, inspiring us with a desire to become acquainted with it, but when the wonderful and the marvellous are likewise present, our delight is increased until at last it becomes a philtre of study. To children we are obliged to hold out such enticements, in order that in riper years, when the mind is powerful, and no longer needs such stimulants, it may be prepared to enter on the study of actual realities.

Every illiterate and uninstructed man is yet a child, and takes delight in fable. With the partially informed it is much the same; reason is not all-powerful within him, and he still possesses the tastes of a child. But the marvellous, which is capable of exciting fear as well as pleasure, influences not childhood only, but age as well. As we relate to children pleasing tales to incite them [to any course] of action, and frightful ones to deter them, such as those of *Lamia*,¹ *Gorgo*,² *Ephialtes*,³ and *Mormolyca*.⁴ So numbers of our citizens are

¹ A female phantom said to devour children, used by nurses as a bug-bear to intimidate their refractory charges.

² In later times there were three Gorgons, *Stheino*, *Euryale*, and *Medusa*, but *Homer* seems to have known but one.

³ One of the giants, who in the war against the gods was deprived of his left eye by *Apollo*, and of the right by *Hercules*.

⁴ The same phantom as *Mormo*, with which the Greeks used to frighten little children.

incited to deeds of virtue by the beauties of fable, when they hear the poets in a strain of enthusiasm recording noble actions, such as the labours of Hercules or Theseus, and the honours bestowed on them by the gods, or even when they see paintings, sculptures, or figures bearing their romantic evidence to such events. In the same way they are restrained from vicious courses, when they think they have received from the gods by oracles or some other invisible intimations, threats, menaces, or chastisements, or even if they only believe they have befallen others. The great mass of women and common people, cannot be induced by mere force of reason to devote themselves to piety, virtue, and honesty; superstition must therefore be employed, and even this is insufficient without the aid of the marvellous and the terrible. For what are the thunderbolts, the ægis, the trident, the torches, the dragons, the barbed thyrses, the arms of the gods, and all the paraphernalia of antique theology, but fables employed by the founders of states, as bugbears to frighten timorous minds.

Such was mythology; and when our ancestors found it capable of subserving the purposes of social and political life, and even contributing to the knowledge of truth, they continued the education of childhood to maturer years, and maintained that poetry was sufficient to form the understanding of every age. In course of time history and our present philosophy were introduced; these, however, suffice but for the chosen few, and to the present day poetry is the main agent which instructs our people and crowds our theatres. Homer here stands pre-eminent, but in truth all the early historians and natural philosophers were mythologists as well.

9. Thus it is that our poet, though he sometimes employs fiction for the purposes of instruction, always gives the preference to truth; he makes use of what is false, merely tolerating it in order the more easily to lead and govern the multitude. As a man

“ Binds with a golden verge
Bright silver:”¹

so Homer, heightening by fiction actual occurrences, adorns and embellishes his subject; but his end is always the same as that of the historian, who relates nothing but facts. In

¹ Odyssey vi. 232.

this manner he undertook the narration of the Trojan war, gilding it with the beauties of fancy and the wanderings of Ulysses; but we shall never find Homer inventing an empty fable apart from the inculcation of truth. It is ever the case that a person lies most successfully, when he intermingles [into the falsehood] a sprinkling of truth. Such is the remark of Polybius in treating of the wanderings of Ulysses; such is also the meaning of the verse,

“He fabricated many falsehoods, relating them like truths:”¹

not *all*, but *many* falsehoods, otherwise it would not have looked like the truth. Homer's narrative is founded on history. He tells us that king Æolus governed the Lipari Islands, that around Mount Ætna and Leontini dwelt the Cyclopæ, and certain Læstrygonians inhospitable to strangers. That at that time the districts surrounding the strait were unapproachable; and Scylla and Charybdis were infested by banditti. In like manner in the writings of Homer we are informed of other freebooters, who dwelt in divers regions. Being aware that the Cimmerians dwelt on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, a dark northern country, he felicitously locates them in a gloomy region close by Hades, a fit theatre for the scene in the wanderings of Ulysses. That he was acquainted with these people we may satisfy ourselves from the chroniclers, who report an incursion made by the Cimmerians either during his life-time or just before.

10. Being acquainted with Colchis, and the voyage of Jason to Ææa, and also with the historical and fabulous relations concerning Circe and Medea, their enchantments and their various other points of resemblance, he feigns there was a relationship between them, notwithstanding the vast distance by which they were separated, the one dwelling in an inland creek of the Euxine, and the other in Italy, and both of them beyond the ocean.

It is possible that Jason himself wandered as far as Italy, for traces of the Argonautic expedition are pointed out near the Ceraunian² mountains, by the Adriatic,³ at the Possidonian⁴ Gulf, and the isles adjacent to Tyrrhenia.⁵ The

¹ Odyssey xix. 203.

² The mountains of Chimera in Albania.

³ The Gulf of Venice.

⁴ The Gulf of Salerno.

⁵ The Grecian name for Iuscany.

Cyaneæ, called by some the Symplegades,¹ or Jostling Rocks, which render the passage through the Strait of Constantinople so difficult, also afforded matter to our poet. The actual existence of a place named Ææa, stamped credibility upon his Ææa; so did the Symplegades upon the Planctæ, (the Jostling Rocks upon the Wandering Rocks,) and the passage of Jason through the midst of them; in the same way Scylla and Charybdis accredited the passage [of Ulysses] past those rocks. In his time people absolutely regarded the Euxine as a kind of second ocean, and placed those who had crossed it in the same list with navigators who had passed the Pillars.² It was looked upon as the largest of our seas, and was therefore *par excellence* styled the Sea, in the same way as Homer [is called] the Poet. In order therefore to be well received, it is probable he transferred the scenes from the Euxine to the ocean, so as not to stagger the general belief. And in my opinion those Solymi who possess the highest ridges of Taurus, lying between Lycia and Pisidia, and those who in their southern heights stand out most conspicuously to the dwellers on this side Taurus, and the inhabitants of the Euxine by a figure of speech, he describes as being beyond the ocean. For narrating the voyage of Ulysses in his ship, he says,

“ But Neptune, traversing in his return
From Ethiopia’s sons, the mountain heights
Of Solymè, descried him from afar.”³

It is probable he took his account of the one-eyed Cyclopæ from Scythian history, for the Arimaspi, whom Aristæus of Proconnesus describes in his Tales of the Arimaspi, are said to be distinguished by this peculiarity.

11. Having premised thus much, we must now take into consideration the reasons of those who assert that Homer

¹ Several small islands, or rather reefs, at the entrance of the Strait of Constantinople. They took their name of Symplegades from the varying positions they assumed to the eyes of the voyager, owing to the sinuosities of the Strait.

² Unfortunately for Strabo’s illustration, no Grecian navigator had ever passed the Strait of Gibraltar in Homer’s time.

³ The powerful Shaker of the Earth, as he was returning from the Ethiopians, beheld him from a distance, from the mountains of the Solymi. *Odyssey* v. 282.

makes Ulysses wander to Sicily or Italy, and also of those who denied this. The truth is, he may be equally interpreted on this subject either way, according as we take a correct or incorrect view of the case. Correct, if we understand that he was convinced of the reality of Ulysses' wanderings there, and taking this truth as a foundation, raised thereon a poetical superstructure. And so far this description of him is right; for not about Italy only, but to the farthest extremities of Spain, traces of his wanderings and those of similar adventurers may still be found. Incorrect, if the scene-painting is received as fact, his Ocean, and Hades, the oxen of the sun, his hospitable reception by the goddesses, the metamorphoses, the gigantic size of the Cyclopæ and Læstrygonians, the monstrous appearance of Scylla, the distance of the voyage, and other similar particulars, all alike manifestly fabulous. It is as idle to waste words with a person who thus openly maligns our poet, as it would be with one who should assert as true all the particulars of Ulysses' return to Ithaca,¹ the slaughter of the suitors, and the pitched battle between him and the Ithacans in the field. But nothing can be said against the man who understands the words of the poet in a rational way.

12. Eratosthenes, though on no sufficient grounds for so doing, rejects both these opinions, endeavouring in his attack on the latter, to refute by lengthened arguments what is manifestly absurd and unworthy of consideration, and in regard to the former, maintaining a poet to be a mere gossip, to whose worth an acquaintance with science or geography could not add in the least degree: since the scenes of certain of Homer's fables are cast in actual localities, as Ilium,² Pelion,³ and Ida;⁴ others in purely imaginary regions, such as those of the Gorgons and Geryon. "Of this latter class," he says, "are the places mentioned in the wanderings of Ulysses, and those who pretend that they are not mere fabrications of the poet, but

¹ There is some doubt as to the modern name of the island of Ithaca. D'Anville supposes it to be the island of Thiaki, between the island of Cephalonia and Acarnania, while Wheeler and others, who object to this island as being too large to answer the description of Ithaca given by Strabo, identify it with the little isle of Ithaco, between Thiaki and the main-land.

² A name of the city of Troy, from Ilus, son of Tros.

³ A mountain of Magnesia in Thessaly.

⁴ A mountain in the Troad.

have an actual existence, are proved to be mistaken by the differences of opinion existing among themselves: for some of them assert that the Sirenes of Homer are situated close to Pelorus,¹ and others that they are more than two thousand stadia distant,² near the Sirenussæ,³ a three-peaked rock which separates the Gulfs of Cumæa and Posidonium." Now, in the first place, this rock is not three-peaked, nor does it form a crest at the summit at all, but a long and narrow angle reaching from the territory of Surrentum⁴ to the Strait of Capria,⁵ having on one side of the mountain the temple of the Sirens, and on the other side, next the Gulf of Posidonius, three little rocky and uninhabited islands, named the Sirenes; upon the strait, is situated the Athenæum, from which the rocky angle itself takes its name.

13. Further, if those who describe the geography of certain places do not agree in every particular, are we justified in at once rejecting their whole narration? Frequently this is a reason why it should receive the greater credit. For example, in the investigation whether the scene of Ulysses' wanderings were Sicily or Italy, and the proper position of the Sirenes, they differ in so far that one places them at Pelorus, and the other at Sirenussæ, but neither of them dissents from the idea that it was some where near Sicily or Italy. They add thereby strength to this view, inasmuch as though they are not agreed as to the exact locality, neither of them makes any question but that it was some where contiguous to Italy or Sicily. If a third party should add, that the monument of Parthenope, who was one of the Sirens, is shown at Naples, this only confirms us the more in our belief, for though a third place is introduced to our notice, still as Naples is situated in the gulf called by Eratosthenes the Cumæan, and

¹ Cape Faro in Sicily.

² The stadia here mentioned are 700 to a degree; thus 2000 stadia amount to rather more than 57 marine leagues, which is the distance in a direct line from Cape Faro to the Capo della Minerva.

³ The Sirenussæ are the rocks which form the southern cape of the Gulf of Naples, and at the same time separate it from the Gulf of Salerno. This cape, which was also called the promontory of Minerva, from the Athenæum which stood there, preserves to this day the name of Capo della Minerva.

⁴ Now Surrento.

⁵ The island of Capri is opposite to the Capo della Minerva.

which is formed by the Sirenussæ, we are more confident still that the position of the Sirenes was some where close by.

That the poet did not search for accuracy in every minor detail we admit, but neither ought we to expect this of him; at the same time we are not to believe that he composed his poem without inquiring into the history of the Wandering, nor where and how it occurred.

14. Eratosthenes "thinks it probable that Hesiod, having heard of the wanderings of Ulysses, and of their having taken place near to Sicily and Italy, embraced this view of the case, and not only describes the places spoken of by Homer, but also Ætna, the Isle of Ortygia,¹ near to Syracuse, and Tyrrhenia. As for Homer, he was altogether unacquainted with these places, and further, had no wish to lay the scene of the wanderings in any well-known locality." What! are then Ætna and Tyrrhenia such well-known places, and Scyllæum, Charybdis, Cirçæum,² and the Sirenussæ, so obscure? Or is Hesiod so correct as never to write nonsense, but always follow in the wake of received opinions, while Homer blurts out whatever comes uppermost? Without taking into consideration our remarks on the character and aptitude of Homer's myths, a large array of writers who bear evidence to his statements, and the additional testimony of local tradition, are sufficient proof that his are not the inventions of poets or contemporary scribblers, but the record of real actors and real scenes.

15. The conjecture of Polybius in regard to the particulars of the wandering of Ulysses is excellent. He says that Æolus instructed sailors how to navigate the strait, a difficult matter on account of the currents occasioned by the ebb and flow, and was therefore called the dispenser of the winds, and reputed their king.

In like manner Danaus for pointing out the springs of water that were in Argos, and Atreus for showing the retrograde movement of the sun in the heavens, from being mere soothsayers and diviners, were raised to the dignity of kings. And the priests of the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and Magi, distinguished for their wisdom above those around them, obtained from our predecessors honour and authority;

¹ Now the Island of St. Marcian. ² Monte Circello, near to Terracina.

and so it is that in each of the gods, we worship the discoverer of some useful art.

Having thus introduced his subject, he does not allow us to consider the account of Æolus, nor yet the rest of the Odyssey, as altogether mythical. There is a spice of the fabulous here, as well as in the Trojan War,¹ but as respects Sicily, the poet accords entirely with the other historians who have written on the local traditions of Sicily and Italy. He altogether denies the justness of Eratosthenes' dictum, "that we may hope to discover the whereabouts of Ulysses' wanderings, when we can find the cobbler who sewed up the winds in the leathern sack." "And [adds Polybius] his description of the hunt of the galeotes² at Scylla,

' Plunged to her middle in the horrid den
She lurks, protruding from the black abyss
Her heads, with which the ravening monster dives
In quest of dolphins, dog-fish, or of prey
More bulky,'³

accords well with what takes place around Scyllæum: for the thunny-fish, carried in shoals by Italy, and not being able to reach Sicily, fall into [the Strait], where they become the prey of larger fish, such as dolphins, dog-fish, and other cetacea, and it is by this means that the galeotes (which are also called sword-fish) and dogs fatten themselves. For the same thing occurs here, and at the rising of the Nile and other rivers, as takes place when a forest is on fire. Vast crowds of animals, in flying from the fire or the water, become the prey of beasts more powerful than themselves."

16. He then goes on to describe the manner in which they catch the sword-fish at Scyllæum. One look-out directs the whole body of fishers, who are in a vast number of small boats, each furnished with two oars, and two men to each boat. One man rows, the other stands on the prow, spear in hand, while the look-out has to signal the appearance of a sword-fish. (This fish, when swimming, has about a third of its body above water.) As it passes the boat, the fisher darts the spear from his hand, and when this is withdrawn, it leaves the sharp point with which it is furnished sticking in the flesh

¹ The Iliad.

² Sword-fish.

³ And fishes there, watching about the rock for dolphins and dogs, and if she can any where take a larger whale. Odyssey xii. 95.

of the fish: this point is barbed, and loosely fixed to the spear for the purpose; it has a long end fastened to it; this they pay out to the wounded fish, till it is exhausted with its struggling and endeavours at escape. Afterwards they trail it to the shore, or, unless it is too large and full-grown, haul it into the boat. If the spear should fall into the sea, it is not lost, for it is jointed of oak and pine, so that when the oak sinks on account of its weight, it causes the other end to rise, and thus is easily recovered. It sometimes happens that the rower is wounded, even through the boat, and such is the size of the sword with which the galeote is armed, such the strength of the fish, and the method of the capture, that [in danger] it is not surpassed by the chase of the wild boar. From these facts (he says) we may conclude that Ulysses' wanderings were close to Sicily, since Homer describes Scylla¹ as engaging in a pursuit exactly similar to that which is carried on at Scyllæum. As to Charybdis, he describes just what takes place at the Strait of Messina:

"Each day she *thrice* disgorges,"²

instead of *twice*, being only a mistake, either of the scribe or the historian.

17. The customs of the inhabitants of Meninx³ closely correspond to the description of the Lotophagi. If any thing does not correspond, it should be attributed to change, or to misconception, or to poetical licence, which is made up of history, rhetoric, and fiction. Truth is the aim of the historical portion, as for instance in the Catalogue of Ships,⁴ where the poet informs us of the peculiarities of each place, that one is rocky, another the furthest city, that this abounds in doves, and that is maritime. A lively interest is the end of the rhetorical, as when he points to us the combat; and of the fiction, pleasure and astonishment. A mere fabrication would neither be persuasive nor Homeric; and we know that his poem

¹ There is a very fine medallion in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, portraying Scylla as half woman, half dolphin, with a trident in her left hand, and seizing a fish with her right. From her middle protrude two half-bodied dogs, who assist the monster in swimming.

² *Odyssey* xii. 105.

³ At this place there was an altar consecrated to Ulysses. Meninx is now known as the island of Zerbi, on the side of the Bay of Cabus, on the coast of Africa.

⁴ The second book of the *Iliad*.

is generally considered a scientific treatise, notwithstanding what Eratosthenes may say, when he bids us not to judge poems by the standard of intellect, nor yet look to them for history.

It is most probable that the line

“Nine days by cruel storms thence was I borne
Athwart the fishy deep,”¹

should be understood of merely a short distance, (for cruel storms do not blow in a right course,) and not of being carried beyond the ocean, as if impelled by favourable winds. “And,” says Polybius, “allowing the distance from Malea² to the Pillars to be 22,500 stadia, and supposing the rate of passage was the same throughout the nine days, the voyage must have been accomplished at the speed of 2500 stadia per diem: now who has ever recorded that the passage from Lycia or Rhodes to Alexandria, a distance of 4000 stadia, has been made in two days? To those who demand how it was that Ulysses, though he journeyed thrice to Sicily, never once navigated the Strait, we reply that, long after his time, voyagers always sedulously avoided that route.”

18. Such are the sentiments of Polybius; and in many respects they are correct enough; but when he discusses the voyage beyond the ocean, and enters on minute calculations of the proportion borne by the distance to the number of days, he is greatly mistaken. He alleges perpetually the words of the poet,

“Nine days by cruel storms thence was I borne;”

but at the same time he takes no notice of this expression, which is his as well,

“And now borne sea-ward from the river stream
Of the Oceanus;”³

and this,

“In the island of Ogygia, the centre of the sea,”⁴

¹ And from thence I was carried for nine days over the fishy sea by baleful winds. *Odyssey* ix. 82.

² Cape Maleo off the Morea. The distance from this point to Gibraltar is now estimated at 28° 34'. The 22,500 stadia of Polybius would equal 32. 8' 34". He was therefore out in his calculation by 3° 34' 34".

³ But when the ship left the stream of the river ocean. *Odys.* xii. 1.

⁴ Vide *Odyssey* i. 50.

and that the daughter of Atlas¹ dwells there. And the following concerning the Phæacians,

“ Remote amid the billowy deep, we hold
Our dwelling, utmost of all human kind,
And free from mixture with a foreign race.”²

These passages clearly refer to the Atlantic Ocean,³ but though so plainly expressed, Polybius sily manages to overlook them. Here he is altogether wrong, though quite correct about the wandering of Ulysses having taken place round Sicily and Italy, a fact which Homer establishes himself. Otherwise, what poet or writer could have persuaded the Neapolitans to assert that they possessed the tomb of Parthenope⁴ the Siren, or the inhabitants of Cumæ, Dicæarchia,⁵ and Vesuvius [to bear their testimony] to Pyriphlegethon, the Marsh of Acherusia,⁶ to the oracle of the dead which was near Aornus,⁷ and to Baius and Misenus,⁸ the companions of Ulysses. The same is the case with the Sirenessæ, and the Strait of Messina, and Scylla, and Charybdis, and Æolus, all which things should neither be examined into too rigorously, nor yet [despised] as groundless and without foundation, alike remote from truth and historic value.

19. Eratosthenes seems to have had something like this view of the case himself, when he says, “ Any one would believe that the poet intended the western regions as the scene of Ulysses’ wanderings, but that he has departed from fact, sometimes through want of perfect information, at other times because he wished to give to scenes a more terrific and marvellous appearance than they actually possessed.” So far this is true, but his idea of the object which the poet had in

¹ Calypso.

² And we dwell at a distance, the farthest in the sea of many waves, nor does any other of mortals mingle with us. *Odyssey* vi. 204.

³ Gosselin has satisfactorily demonstrated that Strabo is wrong in supposing that these passages relate to the Atlantic Ocean, and most of our readers will come at once themselves to the same conclusion. Those, however, who wish for proofs, may refer to the French translation, vol. i. p. 51, *n.*

⁴ The ancient name of the city of Naples.

⁵ Puteoli, now Pozzuolo, in Campania.

⁶ Mare Morto, south of Baïa, and near to the ruins of Mycene.

⁷ Aornus or Avernus: this lake, which lies about one mile north of Baïa, still retains its ancient appellation.

⁸ Vide Virgil, *Æneid* vi. 162.

view while composing, is false; real advantage, not trifling, being his aim. We may justly reprehend his assertion on this point, as also where he says, that Homer places the scene of his marvels in distant lands that he may lie the more easily. Remote localities have not furnished him with near so many wonderful narrations as Greece, and the countries thereto adjacent; witness the labours of Hercules, and Theseus, the fables concerning Crete, Sicily, and the other islands; besides those connected with Cithærum, Helicon,¹ Parnassus,² Pelion,³ and the whole of Attica and the Peloponnesus. Let us not therefore tax the poets with ignorance on account of the myths which they employ, and since, so far from myth being the staple, they for the most part avail themselves of actual occurrences, (and Homer does this in a remarkable degree,) the inquirer who will seek how far these ancient writers have wandered into fiction, ought not to scrutinize to what extent the fiction was carried, but rather what is the truth concerning those places and persons to which the fictions have been applied; for instance, whether the wanderings of Ulysses did actually occur, and where.

20. On the whole, however, it is not proper to place the works of Homer in the common catalogue of other poets, without challenging for him a superiority both in respect of his other [excellences] and also for the geography on which our attention is now engaged.

If any one were to do no more than merely read through the Triptolemus of Sophocles, or the prologue to the Bacchæ of Euripides, and then compare them with the care taken by Homer in his geographical descriptions, he would at once perceive both the difference and superiority of the latter, for wherever there is necessity for arrangement in the localities he has immortalized, he is careful to preserve it as well in regard to Greece, as to foreign countries.

“ They
On the Olympian summit thought to fix
Huge Ossa, and on Ossa’s towering head
Pelion with all his forests.”⁴

¹ Cythæron and Helicon, two mountains of Bœotia, the latter of which is now named Zagaro Voreni.

² Parnassus, a mountain of Phocis, near Delphi.

³ Pelion, a mountain of Magnesia, in Thessaly.

⁴ They attempted to place Ossa upon Olympus, and upon Ossa leafy

“ And Juno starting from the Olympian height
 O'erflew Pieria and the lovely plains
 Of broad Emathia ;¹ soaring thence she swept
 The snow-clad summit of the Thracian hills²
 Steed-famed, nor printed, as she pass'd, the soil,
 * * * * *
 From Athos³ o'er the foaming billows borne.”⁴

In the Catalogue he does not describe his cities in regular order, because here there was no necessity, but both the people and foreign countries he arranges correctly. “ Having wandered to Cyprus, and Phœnice, and the Egyptians, I came to the Ethiopians, and Sidonians, and Erembi, and Libya.”⁵ Hipparchus has drawn attention to this. But the two tragedians, where there was great necessity for proper arrangement, one⁶ where he introduces Bacchus visiting the nations, the other⁷ Triptolemus sowing the earth, have brought in juxta-position places far remote, and separated those which were near.

“ And having left the wealthy lands of the Lydians and Phrygians, and the sunny plains of the Persians and the Bactrian walls, and having come over the stormy land of the Medes, and the Happy Arabia.”⁸ And the Triptolemus is just as inaccurate.

Further, in respect to the winds and climates, Homer shows the wide extent of his geographical knowledge, for in his

Pelion. *Odyssey* xi. 314. The mountains Pelion, Ossa, and Olympus, bounded the eastern coasts of Thessaly.

¹ Pieria and Emathia, two countries of Macedonia.

² The mountains of Macedonia ; this latter name was unknown to Homer, who consequently describes as Thracian, the whole of the people north of Thessaly.

³ The Mount Santo of the moderns.

⁴ Juno, hastening, quitted the summit of Olympus, and having passed over Pieria, and fertile Emathia, she hastened over the snowy mountains of equestrian Thrace, most lofty summits. * * * * * From Athos she descended to the foaming deep. *Iliad* xiv. 225.

⁵ *Odyssey* iv. 83.

⁶ Euripides, *Bacchæ*, towards commencement.

⁷ Sophocles.

⁸ The inaccuracy of the description consists in this ; that Bacchus leaving Lydia and Phrygia should have taken his course by Media into Bactriana, and returned by Persia into Arabia Felix. Perhaps too, for greater exactness, Strabo would have had the god mention particularly the intermediate countries through which he necessarily passed, as Cappadocia, Armenia, Syria, &c.

topographical descriptions he not unfrequently informs us of both these matters. Thus,

“ My abode
Is sun-burnt Ithaca.
Flat on the deep she lies, farthest removed
Toward the west, while situate apart,
Her sister islands face the rising day.”¹

And,

“ It has a two-fold entrance,
One towards the north, the other south.”²

And again,

“ Which I alike despise, speed they their course
With right-hand flight towards the ruddy east,
Or leftward down into the shades of eve.”³

Ignorance of such matters he reckons no less than confusion.

“ Alas! my friends, for neither west
Know we, nor east; where rises or where sets
The all-enlightening sun.”⁴

Where the poet has said properly enough,

“ As when two adverse winds, blowing from Thrace,
Boreas and Zephyrus,”⁵

Eratosthenes ill-naturedly misrepresents him as saying in an absolute sense, that the west wind blows from Thrace; whereas he is not speaking in an absolute sense at all, but merely of the meeting of contrary winds near the bay of Melas,⁶ on the Thracian sea, itself a part of the Ægæan. For where Thrace forms a kind of promontory, where it borders on Macedonia,⁷

¹ But it lies low, the highest in the sea towards the west, but those that are separated from it [lie] towards the east and the sun. *Odyssey* ix. 25.

² Vide *Odyssey* xiii. 109, 111.

³ Which I very little regard, nor do I care for them whether they fly to the right, towards the morn and the sun, or to the left, towards the darkening west. *Iliad* xii. 239.

⁴ O my friends, since we know not where is the west, nor where the morning, nor where the sun. *Odyssey* x. 190.

⁵ The north and west winds, which both blow from Thrace. *Iliad* ix. 5.

⁶ Now the Bay of Saros.

⁷ These two provinces are comprised in the modern division of Roumelia. A portion of Macedonia still maintains its ancient name Makedunia.

it takes a turn to the south-west, and projects into the ocean, and from this point it seems to the inhabitants of Thasos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothracia,¹ and the surrounding sea, that the west winds blow.² So in regard to Attica, they seem to come from the rocks of Sciros,³ and this is the reason why all the westerly winds, the north-west more particularly, are called the Scirones. Of this Eratosthenes was not aware, though he suspected as much, for it was he who described this bending of the land [towards the south-west] which we have mentioned. But he interprets our poet in an absolute sense, and then taxes him with ignorance, because, says he, "Zephyr blows from the west, and off Spain, and Thrace does not extend so far." Does he then think that Homer was not aware that Zephyr came from the west, notwithstanding the careful manner in which he distinguishes its position when he writes as follows :

" The east, the south, the heavy-blowing Zephyr,
And the cold north-wind clear."⁴

Or was he ignorant that Thrace did not extend beyond the Pæonian and Thessalian mountains.⁵ To be sure he was well acquainted with the position of the countries adjoining Thrace in that direction, and does he not mention by name both the maritime and inland districts, and tells us of the Magnetæ,⁶ the Malians,⁷ and other Grecian [territories], all in order, as far as Thesprotis;⁸ also of the Dolopes⁹ bordering on Pæo-

¹ The modern names of these places are Thaso, Stalimene, Imbro, and Samothraki.

² Strabo, as well as Casaubon in his notes on this passage, seems to have made an imperfect defence of Homer. The difficulty experienced, as well by them as Eratosthenes, arose from their overlooking the fact that Macedonia was a part of Thrace in Homer's time, and that the name of Macedon did not exist.

³ These rocks were situated between the city of Megara and the isthmus of Corinth.

⁴ And the south-east and the south rushed together, and the hard-blowing west, and the cold-producing north. *Odyssey* v. 295.

⁵ The western part of Thrace, afterwards named Macedonia; having Pæonia on the north, and Thessaly on the south.

⁶ The Magnetæ dwelt near to Mount Pelion and the Pelasgic Gulf, now the Bay of Volo.

⁷ These people dwelt between Mount Othrys, and the Maliac Gulf, now the Gulf of Zeitun.

⁸ The maritime portion of Epirus opposite Corfu.

⁹ In the time of Homer the Dolopes were the neighbours of the Pæo-

nia, and the Sellæ who inhabit the territory around Dodona¹ as far as the [river] Achelous,² but he never mentions Thrace, as being beyond these. He has evidently a predilection for the sea which is nearest to him, and with which he is most familiar, as where he says,

“ Commotion shook
The whole assembly, such as heaves the flood
Of the Icarian deep.”³

21. Some writers tell us there are but two principal winds, the north and south, and that the other winds are only a slight difference in the direction of these two. That is, (supposing only two winds, the north and south,) the south wind from the commencement of the summer quarter blows in a south-easterly direction; and from the commencement of the winter quarter from the east. The north wind from the decline of the summer, blows in a westerly direction, and from the decline of the winter, in a north-westerly direction.

In support of this opinion of the two winds they adduce Thrasyalces and our poet himself, forasmuch as he mentions the north-west with the south,

“ From the north-west south,”⁴

and the west with the north,

“ As when two adverse winds, blowing from Thrace,
Boreas and Zephyrus.”⁵

But Posidonius remarks that none of those who are really acquainted with these subjects, such as Aristotle, Timosthenes,

nians, and dwelt in the north of that part of Thrace which afterwards formed Macedonia. Later, however, they descended into Thessaly, and established themselves around Pindus.

¹ Dodona was in Epirus, but its exact position is not known.

² Now Aspro-potamo, or the White River; this river flows into the sea at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth.

³ And the assembly was moved, as the great waves of the Icarian sea. Iliad ii. 144.

⁴ Ἀργέστραο Νόρω, Iliad xi. 306, xxi. 334. Ἀργέστρης strictly speaking means the north-west, and although, to an English ear, the north-west south seems at first absurd, yet in following up the argument which Strabo is engaged in, it is impossible to make use of any other terms than those which he has brought forward, and merely to have translated ἀργέστραο Νόρω by Argest-south, would have mystified the passage without cause. We do not here attempt to reconcile the various renderings of ἀργέστραο Νόρω by Homeric critics, as Strabo's sense alone concerns us.

⁵ The north and west winds, which both blow from Thrace. Iliad ix. 5.

and Bion the astronomer, entertain so mistaken an opinion in regard to the winds. They say that the north-east (Cæcias) blows from the commencement of summer, and that the south-west wind (Libs), which is exactly opposite to this, blows from the decline of winter. And again, the south-east wind (Eurus), which is opposite to the north-west wind (Argestes), from the commencement of winter. The east and west winds being intermediate.

When our poet makes use of the expression "stormy zephyr," he means the wind which is now called by us the north-west; and by the "clear-blowing zephyr" our west wind; our Leuconotus is his Argestes-notus, or clearing south wind,¹ for this wind brings but few clouds, all the other southern winds bringing clouds and rain,²

"As when whirlwinds of the west
A storm encounter from the clearing south."³

Here he alludes to the stormy zephyr, which very frequently scatters the feathery clouds brought up by the Leuconotus, or, as it is called by way of epithet, the clearing south.

The statements made by Eratosthenes in the first book of his Geography, require some such correction as this.

22. Persisting in his false views in relation to Homer, he goes on to say, "He was ignorant that the Nile separated into many mouths, nay, he was not even acquainted with the name of the river, though Hesiod knew it well, for he even mentions it."⁴ In respect of the name, it is probable that it

¹ Ἀργέστης Νότος, the clearing south wind, Horace's Notus Albus;—in the improved compass of Aristotle, ἀργέστης was the north-west wind, the Athenian σκείρων.

² Τοῦ λοιποῦ Νότου ὄλου Εὔρου πως ὄντος. MSS. *i. e.* all the other southern winds having an easterly direction. We have adopted the suggestion of Kramer, and translated the passage as if it stood thus, τοῦ λοιποῦ Νότου ὄλερου πως ὄντος.

³ As when the west wind agitates the light clouds of the clearing south, striking them with a dreadful gale. Iliad xi. 305.

⁴ Gosselin observes that Hesiod lived about forty years after Homer, and he mentions not only the Nile, but also the Po, with which certainly Homer was unacquainted. He speaks too of the Western Ocean, where he places the Gorgons, and the garden of the Hesperides. It is very likely that these various points of information were brought into Greece by the Carthaginians. The name *Nile* seems to be merely a descriptive title; it is still in use in many countries of India, where it signifies *water*. The river known subsequently as *the Nile*, was, in Homer's time, called the

had not then been given to the river, and as to the mouths, if they were obscure and little known, will not every one excuse him for not being aware whether there were several or merely one? At that time, the river, its rising, and its mouths were considered, as they are at the present day, amongst the most remarkable, the most wonderful, and most worthy of recording of all the peculiarities of Egypt: who can suppose that those who told our poet of the country and river of Egypt, of Egyptian Thebes, and of Pharos, were unaware of the many embouchures of the Nile; or that being aware, they would not have described them, were it not that they were too generally known? "But is it not inconceivable that Homer should describe Ethiopia, and the Sidonians, the Erembi, and the Exterior Sea,¹—should tell us that Ethiopia was divided into two parts, and yet nothing about those things which were nearer and better known?" Certainly not, his not describing these things is no proof that he was not acquainted with them. He does not tell us of his own country, nor yet many other things. The most probable reason is, they were so generally known that they did not appear to him worth recording.²

23. Again, they are entirely wrong when they allege as a mark of Homer's ignorance, that he describes the island of Pharos³ as entirely surrounded by the sea. On the contrary, it might be taken advantage of as a proof that our poet was not unacquainted with a single one of the points concerning Egypt which we have just been speaking of: and thus we

River of Egypt, or the *River Egyptus*; by the latter of which titles he was acquainted with it. See *Odyssey* xvii. 448.

¹ By this expression is intended the Atlantic.

² Gosselin remarks that the arguments made use of by Strabo are not sufficiently conclusive. The country with which the Greeks were best acquainted was Greece, undoubtedly, and it is this land which Homer has described with the greatest exactness of detail.

³ An island opposite to Alexandria, and seven stadia distant therefrom. The Ptolemies united it to the main-land by means of a pier, named Hepta-stadium, in allusion to its length. The sands which accumulated against the pier became the site of the present city of Alexandria. It was not on this island that the celebrated Pharos of Alexandria was erected, but on a desolate rock a little to the N. E. It received the same name as the island, to which it was joined by another pier. As to the passage of Homer, (*Odyssey* iv. 354—357,) where he says that Pharos is one day's sail from the Egyptus, he does not mean Egypt, as Strabo fancies, but the mouth of the Nile, which river in his time was called the Egyptus, and probably fell into the sea about one day's sail from Pharos.

demonstrate it:—Every one is prone to romance a little in narrating his travels, and Menelaus was no exception to the rule. He had been to Ethiopia,¹ and there heard much discussion concerning the sources of the Nile, and the alluvium which it deposited, both along its course, and also at its mouths, and the large additions which it had thereby made to the main-land, so as fully to justify the remark of Herodotus² that the whole of Egypt was a gift from the river; or if not the whole, at all events that part of it below the Delta, called Lower Egypt. He had heard too that Pharos was entirely surrounded by sea, and therefore misrepresented it as entirely surrounded by the sea, although it had long ago ceased so to be. Now the author of all this was Homer, and we therefore infer that he was not ignorant concerning either the sources or the mouths of the Nile.

24. They are again mistaken when they say that he was not aware of the isthmus between the sea of Egypt and the Arabian Gulf, and that his description is false,

“The Ethiopians, utmost of mankind,
These eastward situate, those toward the west.”³

Nevertheless he is correct, and the criticism of the moderns is quite out of place: indeed, there is so little truth in the assertion that Homer was ignorant of this isthmus, that I will venture to affirm he was not only acquainted with it, but has also accurately defined it. But none of the grammarians, not

¹ We have before remarked that the Ethiopia visited by Menelaus was not the country above Egypt, generally known by that name, but an Ethiopia lying round Jaffa, the ancient Joppa.

² “The priests stated also that Menes was the first of mortals that ever ruled over Egypt; to this they added that in the days of that king, all Egypt, with the exception of the Thebaic nome, was but a morass; and that none of the lands now seen below Lake Mœris, then existed; from the sea up to this place is a voyage by the river of seven days. I myself am perfectly convinced the account of the priests in this particular is correct; for the thing is evident to every one who sees and has common sense, although he may not have heard the fact, that the Egypt to which the Hellenes navigate, is a land annexed to the Egyptians, and a gift from the river; and that even in the parts above the lake just mentioned, for three days’ sail, concerning which the priests relate nothing, the country is just of the same description.” Herod. ii. § 5.

³ The Ethiopians, who are divided into two parts, the most distant of men, some at the setting of the sun, others at the rising. Odyssey i. 23.

even the chiefs of their number, Aristarchus and Crates, have understood the words of our poet on this subject. For they disagree as to the words which follow this expression of Homer,

“ The Ethiopians, utmost of mankind,
These eastward situate, those towards the west,”¹

Aristarchus writing,

“ These towards the west, and those towards the east,”

and Crates,

“ As well in the west as also in the east.”

However, in regard to their hypotheses, it makes no difference whether the passage were written this way or that. One of them, in fact, takes what he considers the mathematical view of the case, and says that the torrid zone is occupied by the ocean,² and that on each side of this there is a temperate zone, one inhabited by us and another opposite thereto. And as we call the Ethiopians, who are situated to the south, and dwell along the shores of the ocean, the most distant on the face of the inhabited globe; so he supposed that on the other side of the ocean,³ there were certain Ethiopians dwelling along the shores, who would in like manner be considered the most distant⁴ by the inhabitants of the other temperate zone; and thus that the Ethiopians were double, separated into two divisions by the ocean. He adds, “as well in the west as also in the east,” because as the celestial zodiac always corresponds to the terrestrial, and never exceeds in its obliquity the space occupied by the two Ethiopias, the sun’s entire course must necessarily be within this space, and also his rising and setting, as it appears to different nations according to the sign which he may be in.

He (Crates) adopted this version, because he considered it the more astronomical. But it would have maintained his opinion of the division of the Ethiopians into two parts, and

¹ Odyssey i. 23.

² Many ancient writers entertained the opinion that the regions surrounding the terrestrial equator were occupied by the ocean, which formed a circular zone, separating our continent from that which they supposed to exist in the southern hemisphere. To the inhabitants of this second continent they gave the name of Antichthones.

³ The Southern Ocean.

⁴ Or nearest to the equator.

at the same time have been much more simple, had he said that the Ethiopians dwelt on either side of the ocean from the rising to the setting of the sun. In this case what difference does it make whether we follow his version, or adopt the reading of Aristarchus,

“ These towards the west, and those towards the east ? ”

which also means, that whether east or west, on either side of the ocean, Ethiopians dwell. But Aristarchus rejects this hypothesis. He says, “ The Ethiopians with whom we are acquainted, and who are farthest south from the Greeks, are those described by the poet as being separated into two divisions. But Ethiopia is not so separated as to form two countries, one situated towards the west, the other towards the east, but only one, that which lies south of the Greeks and adjoins Egypt ; but of this the poet was ignorant, as well as of other matters enumerated by Apollodorus, which he has falsely stated concerning various places in his second book, containing the catalogue of the ships.”

25. To refute Crates would require a lengthened argument, which here perhaps may be considered out of place. Aristarchus we commend for rejecting the hypothesis of Crates, which is open to many objections, and for referring the expression of the poet to our Ethiopia. But the remainder of his statement we must discuss. First, his minute examination of the reading is altogether fruitless, for whichever way it may have been written, his interpretation is equally applicable to both ; for what difference is there whether you say thus—In our opinion there are two Ethiopias, one towards the east, the other to the west ; or thus—For they are as well towards the east as the west ? Secondly, He makes false assumptions. For admitting that the poet was ignorant of the isthmus,¹ and that he alludes to the Ethiopia contiguous to Egypt, when he says,

The Ethiopians separated into two divisions ;²

what then ? Are they not separated into two divisions, and could the poet have thus expressed himself if he had been in ignorance ? Is not Egypt, nay, are not the Egyptians, sepa-

¹ The isthmus of Suez.

² Odyssey i. 23.

rated into two divisions by the Nile from the Delta to Syene,¹

These towards the west, those towards the east?

And what else is Egypt, with the exception of the island formed by the river and overflowed by its waters; does it not lie on either side of the river both east and west?

Ethiopia runs in the same direction as Egypt, and resembles it both in its position with respect to the Nile, and in its other geographical circumstances. It is narrow, long, and subject to inundation; beyond the reach of this inundation it is desolate and parched, and unfitted for the habitation of man; some districts lying to the east and some to the west of [the river]. How then can we deny that it is separated into two divisions? Shall the Nile, which is looked upon by some people as the proper boundary line between Asia and Libya,² and which extends southward in length more than 10,000 stadia, embracing in its breadth islands which contain populations of above ten thousand men, the largest of these being Meroe, the seat of empire and metropolis of the Ethiopians, be regarded as too insignificant to divide Ethiopia into two parts? The greatest obstacle which they who object to the river being made the line of demarcation between the two continents are able to allege, is, that Egypt and Ethiopia are by this means divided, one part of each being assigned to Libya, and the other to Asia, or, if this will not suit, the continents cannot be divided at all, or at least not by the river.

26. But besides these there is another method of dividing Ethiopia. All those who have sailed along the coasts of Libya, whether starting from the Arabian Gulf,³ or the Pillars,⁴ after proceeding a certain distance, have been obliged to turn back again on account of a variety of accidents; and thus originated a general belief that it was divided midway by some isthmus, although the whole of

¹ This explanation falls to the ground when we remember, that prior to the reign of Psammeticus no stranger had ever succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Egypt. This was the statement of the Greeks themselves. Now as Psammeticus did not flourish till two and a half centuries after Homer, that poet could not possibly have been aware of the circumstances which Strabo brings forward to justify his interpretation of this passage which he has undertaken to defend.

² Africa.

³ The Red Sea.

⁴ The Strait of Gibraltar.

the Atlantic Ocean is confluent, more especially towards the south. Besides, all of these navigators called the final country which they reached, Ethiopia, and described it under that name. Is it therefore at all incredible, that Homer, misled by such reports, separated them into two divisions, one towards the east and the other west, not knowing whether there were any intermediate countries or not? But there is another ancient tradition related by Ephorus, which Homer had probably fallen in with. He tells us it is reported by the Tartessians,¹ that some of the Ethiopians, on their arrival in Libya,² penetrated into the extreme west, and settled down there, while the rest occupied the greater part of the sea-coast; and in support of this statement he quotes the passage of Homer,

The Ethiopians, the farthest removed of men, separated into two divisions.

27. These and other more stringent arguments may be urged against Aristarchus and those of his school, to clear our poet from the charge of such gross ignorance. I assert that the ancient Greeks, in the same way as they classed all the northern nations with which they were familiar under the one name of Scythians, or, according to Homer, Nomades, and

¹ The Tartessians were the inhabitants of the island of Tartessus, formed by the two arms of the Bætis, (the present Guadalquivir,) near the mouth of this river. One of these arms being now dried up, the island is reunited to the mainland. It forms part of the present district of Andalusia. The tradition, says Gosselin, reported by Ephorus, seems to me to resemble that still preserved at Tingis, a city of Mauritania, so late as the sixth century. Procopius (Vandalicor. ii. 10) relates that there were two columns at Tingis bearing the following inscription in the Phœnician language, "We are they who fled before the brigand Joshua, the son of Naue (Nun)." It does not concern us to inquire whether these columns actually existed in the time of Procopius, but merely to remark two independent facts. The first is the tradition generally received for more than twenty centuries, that the coming of the Israelites into Palestine drove one body of Canaanites, its ancient inhabitants, to the extremities of the Mediterranean, while another party went to establish, among the savage tribes of the Peloponnesus and Attica, the earliest kingdoms known in Europe. The second observation has reference to the name of Ethiopians given by Ephorus to this fugitive people, as confirming what we have before stated, that the environs of Jaffa, and possibly the entire of Palestine, anciently bore the name of Ethiopia: and it is here we must seek for the Ethiopians of Homer, and not in the interior of Africa.

² Africa.

afterwards becoming acquainted with those towards the west, styled them Kelts and Iberians; sometimes compounding the names into Keltiberians, or Keltoscythians, thus ignorantly uniting various distinct nations; so I affirm they designated as Ethiopia the whole of the southern countries towards the ocean. Of this there is evidence, for Æschylus, in the Prometheus Loosed,¹ thus speaks:

There [is] the sacred wave, and the coralled bed of the Erythræan Sea, and [there] the luxuriant marsh of the Ethiopians, situated near the ocean, glitters like polished brass; where daily in the soft and tepid stream, the all-seeing sun bathes his undying self, and refreshes his weary steeds.

And as the ocean holds the same position in respect to the sun, and serves the same purpose throughout the whole southern region,² he³ therefore concludes that the Ethiopians inhabited the whole of the region.

And Euripides in his Phaeton⁴ says that Clymene was given

“To Merops, sovereign of that land
Which from his four-horsed chariot first
The rising sun strikes with his golden rays;
And which its swarthy neighbours call
The radiant stable of the Morn and Sun.”

Here the poet merely describes them as the common stables of the Morning and of the Sun; but further on he tells us they were near to the dwellings of Merops, and in fact the whole plot of the piece has reference to this. This does not therefore refer alone to the [land] next to Egypt, but rather to the whole southern country extending along the sea-coast.

28. Ephorus likewise shows us the opinion of the ancients respecting Ethiopia, in his Treatise on Europe. He says, “If the whole celestial and terrestrial globe were divided into four parts, the Indians would possess that towards the east, the Ethiopians towards the south, the Kelts towards the west, and the Scythians towards the north.” He adds that Ethiopia is larger than Scythia; for, says he, it appears that the country of the Ethiopians extends from the rising to the setting of the sun in winter; and Scythia is opposite to it.

¹ This piece is now lost.

² τὸ μεσημβρινὸν κλίμα.

³ Æschylus.

⁴ This piece is now lost.

It is evident this was the opinion of Homer, since he places Ithaca

Towards the gloomy region,¹

that is, towards the north,² but the others apart,

Towards the morning and the sun;

by which he means the whole southern hemisphere: and again when he says,

“speed they their course
With right-hand flight towards the ruddy east,
Or leftward down into the shades of eve.”³

And again,

“Alas! my friends, for neither west
Know we, nor east, where rises or where sets
The all-enlightening sun.”⁴

Which we shall explain more fully when we come to speak of Ithaca.⁵

When therefore he says,

“For to the banks of the Oceanus,
Where Ethiopia holds a feast to Jove,
He journey’d yesterday,”⁶

we should take this in a general sense, and understand by it the whole of the ocean which washes Ethiopia and the southern region, for to whatever part of this region you direct your attention, you will there find both the ocean and Ethiopia. It is in a similar style he says,

“But Neptune, traversing in his return
From Ethiopia’s sons the mountain heights
Of Solymè, descried him from afar.”⁷

¹ Odyssey ix. 26.

² Strabo is mistaken in interpreting *πρὸς Ζόφον* towards the north. It means here, as every where else, “towards the west,” and allusion in the passage is made to Ithaca as lying west of Greece.

³ Whether they fly to the right towards the morn and the sun, or to the left towards the darkening west. Iliad xii. 239.

⁴ O my friends! since we know not where is the west, nor where the morning, nor where the sun that gives light to mortals descends beneath the earth, nor where he rises up again. Odyssey x. 190.

⁵ In Book x.

⁶ For yesterday Jove went to Oceanus to the blameless Ethiopians, to a banquet. Iliad i. 423.

⁷ The powerful shaker of the earth, as he was returning from the Ethiopians, beheld him from a distance, from the mountains of the Solymi. Odyssey v. 282.

which is equal to saying, "in his return from the southern regions,"¹ meaning by the Solymi, as I remarked before, not those of Pisidia, but certain others merely imaginary, having the same name, and bearing the like relation to the navigators in [Ulysses'] ship, and the southern inhabitants there called Ethiopians, as those of Pisidia do in regard to Pontus and the inhabitants of Egyptian Ethiopia. What he says about the cranes must likewise be understood in a general sense.

"Such clang is heard
 Along the skies, when from incessant showers
 Escaping, and from winter's cold, the cranes
 Take wing, and over ocean speed away.
 Woe to the land of dwarfs! prepared they fly
 For slaughter of the small Pygmæan race."¹

For it is not in Greece alone that the crane is observed to emigrate to more southern regions, but likewise from Italy and Iberia,³ from [the shores of] the Caspian, and from Bactriana. But since the ocean extends along the whole southern coast, and the cranes fly to all parts of it indiscriminately at the approach of winter, we must likewise believe that the Pygmies⁴ were equally considered to inhabit the whole of it.

¹ This would be true if Homer had lived two or three centuries later, when the Greeks became acquainted with the Ethiopians on the eastern and western coasts of Africa. But as the poet was only familiar with the Mediterranean, there is no question that the Ethiopians mentioned in this passage are those of Phœnicia and Palestine.

² Which, after they have escaped the winter and immeasurable shower, with a clamour wing their way towards the streams of the ocean, bearing slaughter and fate to the Pygmæan men. Iliad iii. 3.

³ Gosselin is of opinion that this Iberia has no reference to Spain, but is a country situated between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and forms part of the present Georgia. He assigns as his reason, that if Strabo had meant to refer to Spain, he would have mentioned it before Italy, so as not to interrupt the geographical order, which he is always careful to observe.

⁴ Pygmy, (*πυγμαῖος*), a being whose length is a *πυγμή*, that is, from the elbow to the hand. The Pygmæi were a fabulous nation of dwarfs, the Lilliputians of antiquity, who, according to Homer, had every spring to sustain a war against the cranes on the banks of Oceanus. They were believed to have been descended from Pygmæus, a son of Dorus and grandson of Epaphus. Later writers usually place them near the sources of the Nile, whither the cranes are said to have migrated every year to take possession of the field of the Pygmies. The reports of them have been embellished in a variety of ways by the ancients. Hecatæus, for

And if the moderns have confined the term of Ethiopians to those only who dwell near to Egypt, and have also restricted the Pygmies in like manner, this must not be allowed to interfere with the meaning of the ancients. We do not speak of all the people who fought against Troy as merely Achæans and Argives, though Homer describes the whole under those two names. Similar to this is my remark concerning the separation of the Ethiopians into two divisions, that under that designation we should understand the whole of the nations inhabiting the sea-board from east to west. The Ethiopians taken in this sense are naturally separated into two parts by the Arabian Gulf, which occupies a considerable portion of a meridian circle,¹ and resembles a river, being in length nearly 15,000 stadia,² and in breadth not above 1000 at the widest point. In addition to the length, the recess of the Gulf is distant from the sea at Pelusium only three or four days' journey across the isthmus. On this account those who are most felicitous in their division of Asia and Africa, prefer the Gulf³ as a better boundary line for the

example, related that they cut down every corn-ear with an axe, for they were conceived to be an agricultural people. When Hercules came into their country, they climbed with ladders to the edge of his goblet to drink from it; and when they attacked the hero, a whole army of them made an assault upon his left hand, while two made the attack on his right. Aristotle did not believe that the accounts of the Pygmies were altogether fabulous, but thought that they were a tribe in Upper Egypt, who had exceedingly small horses, and lived in caves. In later times we also hear of Northern Pygmies, who lived in the neighbourhood of Thule: they are described as very short-lived, small, and armed with spears like needles. Lastly, we also have mention of Indian Pygmies, who lived under the earth on the east of the river Ganges. Smith, Dict. Biog. and Mythol. Various attempts have been made to account for this singular belief, which however seems to have its only origin in the love of the marvellous.

¹ It must be observed that the Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea, does not run parallel to the equator, consequently it could not form any considerable part of a meridian circle; thus Strabo is wrong even as to the physical position of the Gulf, but this is not much to be wondered at, as he supposed an equatorial division of the earth into two hemispheres by the ocean.

² 15,000 of the stadia employed by Strabo were equivalent to 21° 25' 43". The distance from the Isthmus of Suez to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, following our better charts, is 20° 15'. Strabo says nearly 15,000 stadia; and this length may be considered just equal to that of the Arabian Gulf. Its breadth, so far as we know, is in some places equal to 1800 stadia.

³ The Arabian Gulf, or Red Sea.

two continents than the Nile, since it extends almost entirely from sea to sea, whereas the Nile is so remote from the ocean that it does not by any means divide the whole of Asia from Africa. On this account I believe it was the Gulf which the poet looked upon as dividing into two portions the whole southern regions of the inhabited earth. Is it possible, then, that he was unacquainted with the isthmus which separates this Gulf from the Egyptian Sea?¹

29. It is quite irrational to suppose that he could be accurately acquainted with Egyptian Thebes,² which is separated from our sea³ by a little less than 5000⁴ stadia; and yet ignorant of the recess of the Arabian Gulf, and of the isthmus there, whose breadth is not more than 1000 stadia. Still more, would it not be ridiculous to believe that Homer was aware the Nile was called by the same name as the vast country [of Egypt], and yet unacquainted with the reason why? especially since the saying of Herodotus would occur to him, that the country was a gift from the river, and it ought there-

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30. These Egyptians and Syrians¹ whom we have been criticising fill one with amazement. They do not understand [Homer], even when he is describing their own countries, but accuse him of ignorance where, as our argument proves, they are open to the charge themselves. Not to mention a thing is clearly no evidence that a person is not acquainted with it.² Homer does not tell us of the change in the current of the Euripus, nor of Thermopylæ, nor of many other remarkable things well known to the Greeks; but was he therefore unacquainted with them? He describes to us, although these men, who are obstinately deaf, will not hear: they have themselves to blame.

Our poet applies to rivers the epithet of "heaven-sent." And this not only to mountain torrents, but to all rivers alike, since they are all replenished by the showers. But even what

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¹ But in it there is a haven with good mooring, from whence they take equal ships into the sea, having drawn black water. *Odyssey* iv. 358.

In distant Ethiopia thence arrived,
And Libya." ¹

It is asked, What Ethiopians cou'd he have met with on his voyage from Egypt? None are to be found dwelling by our sea,² and with his vessels³ he could never have reached the cataracts of the Nile. Next, who are the Sidonians? Certainly not the inhabitants of Phœnicia; for having mentioned the genus, he would assuredly not particularize the species.⁴ And then the Erembi; this is altogether a new name. Our contemporary Aristonicus, the grammarian, in his [observations] on the wanderings of Menelaus, has recorded the opinions of numerous writers on each of the heads under discussion. It will be sufficient for us to refer to them very briefly. They who assert that Menelaus went by sea to Ethiopia, tell us he directed his course past Cadiz into the Indian Ocean;⁵ with which, say they, the long duration of his wanderings agrees, since he did not arrive there till the eighth year. Others, that he passed through the isthmus⁶ which enters the Arabian Gulf; and others again, through one of the canals. At the same time the idea of this circumnavigation, which owes its origin to Crates, is not necessary; we do not mean it was impossible, (for the wanderings of Ulysses are

¹ Certainly having suffered many things, and having wandered much, I was brought in my ships, and I returned in the eighth year; having wandered to Cyprus, and Phœnicie, and the Egyptians, I came to the Ethiopians and Sidonians, and Erembians, and Libya. *Odyssey* iv. 81.

² On the coasts of the Mediterranean.

³ Strabo intends to say that the ships of Menelaus were not constructed so as to be capable of being taken to pieces, and carried on the backs of the sailors, as those of the Ethiopians were.

⁴ Having mentioned the Phœnicians, amongst whom the Sidonians are comprised, he certainly would not have enumerated these latter as a separate people.

⁵ That is to say, that he made the entire circuit of Africa, starting from Cadiz, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope. Such was the opinion of Crates, who endeavoured to explain all the expressions of Homer after mathematical hypotheses. If any one were to inquire how Menelaus, who was wandering about the Mediterranean, could have come into Ethiopia, Crates would answer, that Menelaus left the Mediterranean and entered the Atlantic, whence he could easily travel by sea into Ethiopia. In this he merely followed the hypothesis of the mathematicians, who said that the inhabited earth in all its southern portion was traversed by the Atlantic Ocean, and the other seas contiguous thereto.

⁶ The Isthmus of Suez. This isthmus they supposed to be covered by the sea, as Strabo explains further on.

not impossible,) but neither the mathematical hypothesis, nor yet the duration of the wandering, require such an explanation; for he was both retarded against his will by accidents in the voyage, as by [the tempest] which he narrates five only of his sixty ships survived; and also by voluntary delays for the sake of amassing wealth. Nestor says [of him],

“Thus he, provision gathering as he went,
And gold abundant, roam'd to distant lands.”¹

[And Menelaus himself],

“Cyprus, Phœnicia, and the Egyptians' land
I wandered through.”²

As to the navigation of the isthmus, or one of the canals, if it had been related by Homer himself, we should have counted it a myth; but as he does not relate it, we regard it as entirely extravagant and unworthy of belief. We say unworthy of belief, because at the time of the Trojan war no canal was in existence. It is recorded that Sesostris, who had planned the formation of one, apprehending that the level of the sea was too high to admit of it, desisted from the undertaking.³

Moreover the isthmus itself was not passable for ships, and Eratosthenes is unfortunate in his conjecture, for he considers that the strait at the Pillars was not then formed,

¹ Thus far he, collecting much property and gold, wandered with his ships. *Odyssey* iii. 301.

² *Odyssey* iv. 83.

³ Strabo here appears to have followed Aristotle, who attributes to Sesostris the construction of the first canal connecting the Mediterranean, or rather the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile, with the Red Sea. Pliny has followed the same tradition. Strabo, Book xvii., informs us, that other authors attribute the canal to Necho the son of Psammeticus; and this is the opinion of Herodotus and Diodorus. It is possible these authors may be speaking of two different attempts to cut this canal. Sesostris flourished about 1356 years before Christ, Necho 615 years before the same era. About a century after Necho, Darius the son of Hystaspes made the undertaking, but desisted under the false impression that the level of the Red Sea was higher than that of the Mediterranean. Ptolemy Philadelphus proved this to be an error, by uniting the Red Sea to the Nile without causing any inundation. At the time of Trajan and Hadrian the communication was still in existence, though subsequently it became choked up by an accumulation of sand. It will be remembered that a recent proposition for opening the canal was opposed in Egypt on similar grounds.

so that the Atlantic should by that channel communicate with the Mediterranean, and that this sea being higher than the Isthmus [of Suez], covered it; but when the Strait [of Gibraltar] was formed, the sea subsided considerably; and left the land about Casium¹ and Pelusium² dry as far over as the Red Sea.

But what account have we of the formation of this strait, supposing it were not in existence prior to the Trojan war? Is it likely that our poet would make Ulysses sail out through the Strait [of Gibraltar] into the Atlantic Ocean, as if that strait already existed, and at the same time describe Menelaus conducting his ships from Egypt to the Red Sea, as if it did not exist. Further, the poet introduces Proteus as saying to him,

“Thee the gods
Have destined to the blest Elysian Isles,
Earth’s utmost boundaries.”³

And what this place was, namely, some far western region, is evident from [the mention of] the Zephyr in connexion with it:

“But Zephyr always gently from the sea
Breathes on them.”⁴

This, however, is very enigmatical.

32. But if our poet speaks of the Isthmus of Suez as ever having been the strait of confluence between the Mediterranean and the Red Seas, how much more credit may we attribute to his division of the Ethiopians into two portions, being thus separated by so grand a strait! And what commerce could he have carried on with the Ethiopians who dwelt by the shores of the exterior sea and the ocean? Telemachus and his companions admire the multitude of ornaments that were in the palace,

“Of gold, electrum, silver, ivory.”⁵

Now the Ethiopians are possessed of none of these productions in any abundance, excepting ivory, being for the most

¹ Mount El Kas.

² Tineh.

³ But the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain, and the boundaries of the earth. *Odyssey* iv. 563.

⁴ But ever does the ocean send forth the gently blowing breezes of the west wind. *Odyssey* iv. 567.

⁵ *Odyssey* iv. 73. See Strabo’s description of electrum, Book iii. c. ii. § 8.

part a needy and nomad race. True, [you say,] but adjoining them is Arabia, and the whole country as far as India. One of these is distinguished above all other lands by the title of Felix,¹ and the other, though not dignified by that name, is both generally believed and also said to be pre-eminently Blessed.

But [we reply], Homer was not acquainted with India, or he would have described it. And though he knew of the Arabia which is now named Felix, at that time it was by no means wealthy, but a wild country, the inhabitants of which dwelt for the most part in tents. It is only a small district which produces the aromatics from which the whole territory afterwards received its name,² owing to the rarity of the commodity amongst us, and the value set upon it. That the Arabians are now flourishing and wealthy is due to their vast and extended traffic, but formerly it does not appear to have been considerable. A merchant or camel-driver might attain to opulence by the sale of these aromatics and similar commodities; but Menelaus could only become so either by plunder, or presents conferred on him by kings and nobles, who had the means at their disposal, and wished to gratify one so distinguished by glory and renown. The Egyptians, it is true, and the neighbouring Ethiopians and Arabians, were not so entirely destitute of the luxuries of civilization, nor so unacquainted with the fame of Agamemnon, especially after the termination of the Trojan war, but that Menelaus might have expected some benefits from their generosity, even as the breastplate of Agamemnon is said to be

“The gift
Of Cinyras long since; for rumour loud
Had Cyprus reached.”³

And we are told that the greater part of his wanderings were in Phœnicia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, around Cyprus, and, in fact, the whole of our coasts and islands.⁴ Here, indeed, he might hope to enrich himself both by the gifts of friendship

¹ Blessed.

² The name of Arabia Felix is now confined to Yemen. A much larger territory was anciently comprehended under this designation, containing the whole of Hedjaz, and even Nedjed-el-Ared. It is probable that Strabo here speaks of Hedjaz, situated about two days' journey south of Mecca.

³ Iliad xi. 20.

⁴ Of the Mediterranean.

and by violence, and especially by the plunder of those who had been the allies of Troy. They however who dwelt on the exterior ocean, and the distant barbarians, held out no such encouragement: and when Menelaus is said to have been in Ethiopia, it is because he had reached the frontiers of that country next Egypt. But perhaps at that time the frontiers lay more contiguous to Thebes than they do now. At the present day the nearest are the districts adjacent to Syene and Philæ,¹ the former town being entirely in Egypt, while Philæ is inhabited by a mixed population of Ethiopians and Egyptians. Supposing therefore he had arrived at Thebes, and thus reached the boundary-line of Ethiopia, where he experienced the munificence of the king, we must not be surprised if he is described as having passed through the country.² On no better authority Ulysses declares he has been to the land of the Cyclops, although he merely left the sea to enter a cavern which he himself tells us was situated on the very borders of the country: and, in fact, wherever he came to anchor, whether at Æolia, Læstrygonia, or elsewhere, he is stated to have visited those places. In the same manner Menelaus is said to have been to Ethiopia and Libya, because here and there he touched at those places, and the port near Arдания above Parætonium³ is called after him "the port of Menelaus."⁴

33. When, after mentioning Phœnicia, he talks of Sidon, its metropolis, he merely employs a common form of expression, for example,

He urged the Trojans and Hector to the ships.⁵

For the sons of magnanimous Æneus were no more, nor was he himself surviving; moreover, fair-haired Meleager was dead.⁶

He came to Ida—and to Gargarus.⁷

¹ Philæ was built on a little island formed by the Nile, now called El-Heif.

² This is evidently Strabo's meaning; but the text, as it now stands, is manifestly corrupt.

³ El-Baretun. A description of this place will be found in the 17th book.

⁴ At this port it was that Agesilaus terminated his glorious career.

⁵ Iliad xiii. 1. Strabo means that Homer, after having spoken of the Trojans in general, mentions Hector in particular.

⁶ Iliad ii. 641. Having mentioned the sons of Æneus collectively, he afterwards distinguishes one of them by name.

⁷ Iliad viii. 47. Gargarus was one of the highest peaks of Ida.

He possessed Eubœa, Chalcis, and Eretria.¹

Sappho likewise [says],

Whether Cyprus, or the spacious-harboured Paphos.²

But he had some other cause besides this for mentioning Sidon immediately after having spoken of the Phœnicians: for had he merely desired to recount the nations in order, it would have been quite sufficient to say,

Having wandered to Cyprus, Phœnice, and the Egyptians, I came to the Ethiopians.³

But that he might record his sojourn amongst the Sidonians, which was considerably prolonged, he thought it well to refer to it repeatedly. Thus he praises their prosperity and skill in the arts, and alludes to the hospitality the citizens had shown to Helen and Alexander. Thus he tells us of the many [treasures] of this nature laid up in store by Alexander.⁴

“There his treasures lay,
Works of Sidonian women, whom her son,
The godlike Paris, when he crossed the seas
With Jove-begotten Helen, brought to Troy.”⁵

And also by Menelaus, who says to Telemachus,

‘I give thee this bright beaker, argent all,
But round encircled with a lip of gold.
It is the work of Vulcan, which to me
The hero Phædimus presented, king
Of the Sidonians, when on my return
Beneath his roof I lodged. I make it thine.’⁶

Here the expression, “work of Vulcan,” must be looked upon as a hyperbole: in the same way all elegant productions are

¹ Iliad ii. 536. Chalcis and Eretria were two cities of Eubœa.

² We have here taken advantage of Casaubon’s suggestion to read ἡ πάνορμος instead of ἡ Πάνορμος, the Greek name for Palermo in Sicily, which was not founded in the time of Sappho.

³ Odyssey iv. 83.

⁴ Paris.

⁵ Where were her variously embroidered robes, the works of Sidonian females, which godlike Alexander himself had brought from Sidon, sailing over the broad ocean, in that voyage in which he carried off Helen, sprung from a noble sire. Iliad vi. 289.

⁶ I will give thee a wrought bowl: it is all silver, and the lips are bound with gold; it is the work of Vulcan: the hero Phædimus, king of the Sidonians, gave it [to me], when his home sheltered me, as I was returning from thence. I wish to give this to thee. Odyssey xv. 115.

said to be the work of Minerva, of the Graces, or of the Muses. But that the Sidonians were skilful artists, is clear from the praises bestowed [by Homer] on the bowl which Euneos gave in exchange for Lycaon :

“ Earth
Own'd not its like for elegance of form.
Skilful Sidonian artists had around
Embellish'd it, and o'er the sable deep
Phœnician merchants into Lemnos' port
Had borne it.”¹

34. Many conjectures have been hazarded as to who the Erembi were: they who suppose the Arabs are intended, seem to deserve the most credit.

Our Zeno reads the passage thus:—

I came to the Ethiopians, the Sidonians, and the Arabians.

But there is no occasion to tamper with the text, which is of great antiquity; it is a far preferable course to suppose a change in the name itself, which is of frequent and ordinary occurrence in every nation: and in fact certain grammarians establish this view by a comparison of the radical letters. Posidonius seems to me to adopt the better plan after all, in looking for the etymology of names in nations of one stock and community; thus between the Armenians, Syrians, and Arabians there is a strong affinity both in regard to dialect, mode of life, peculiarities of physical conformation, and above all in the contiguity of the countries. Mesopotamia, which is a motley of the three nations, is a proof of this; for the similarity amongst these three is very remarkable. And though in consequence of the various latitudes there may be some difference between those who dwell in the north² and those of the the south,³ and again between each of these and the inhabitants of the middle region,⁴ still the same characteristics are dominant in all. Also the Assyrians and Arians have a great affinity both to these people and to each other. And [Posidonius] believes there is a similarity in the names of these different nations. Those whom we call Syrians style themselves Armenians and Arammæans, names greatly like those of the Armenians, Arabs, and Erembi. Perhaps this [last] term

¹ But in beauty it much excelled [all] upon the whole earth, for the ingenious Sidonians had wrought it cunningly, and Phœnician men had carried it. *Iliad* xxiii. 742.

² The Armenians.

³ The Arabs.

⁴ The Syrians

is that by which the Greeks anciently designated the Arabs; the etymon of the word certainly strengthens the idea. Many deduce the etymology of the Erembi from ἔραν ἐμβάινειν, (to go into the earth,) which [they say] was altered by the people of a later generation into the more intelligible name of Troglodytes,¹ by which are intended those Arabs who dwell on that side of the Arabian Gulf next to Egypt and Ethiopia. It is probable then that the poet describes Menelaus as having visited these people in the same way that he says he visited the Ethiopians; for they are likewise near to the Thebaid; and he mentions them not on account of any commerce or gain, (for of these there was not much,) but probably to enhance the length of the journey and his meed of praise: for such distant travelling was highly thought of. For example,—

“ Discover'd various cities, and the mind
And manners learn'd of men in lands remote.”²

And again :

“ After numerous toils
And perilous wanderings o'er the stormy deep,
In the eighth year at last I brought them home.”³

Hesiod, in his Catalogue,⁴ writes,

And the daughter of Arabus, whom gracious Hermes and Thronia, descended from king Belus, brought forth.

Thus, too, says Stesichorus. Whence it seems that at that time the country was from him named Arabia, though it is not likely this was the case in the heroic period.⁵

35. There are many who would make the Erembi a tribe of the Ethiopians, or of the Cephenes, or again of the Pygmies, and a thousand other fancies. These ought to be regarded with little trust; since their opinion is not only incredible, but they evidently labour under a certain confusion as to the

¹ Dwelling in caverns.

² He saw the cities of many men, and learned their manners. *Odyssey* i. 3.

³ Having suffered many things, and having wandered much, I was brought. *Odyssey* iv. 81.

⁴ See Hesiod, *Fragments*, ed. Loesner, p. 434.

⁵ This derivation of Arabia is as problematical as the existence of the hero from whom it is said to have received its name; a far more probable etymology is derived from *ereb*, signifying the west, a name supposed to have been conferred upon it at a very early period by a people inhabiting Persia.

different characters of history and fable. In the same category must be reckoned those who place the Sidonians and Phœnicians in the Persian Gulf, or somewhere else in the Ocean, and make the wanderings of Menelaus to have happened there. Not the least cause for mistrusting these writers is the manner in which they contradict each other. One half would have us believe that the Sidonians are a colony from the people whom they describe as located on the shores of the [Indian] Ocean, and who they say were called Phœnicians from the colour of the Erythræan Sea, while the others declare the opposite.¹

Some again would transport Ethiopia into our Phœnicia, and make Joppa the scene of the adventures of Andromeda ;² and this not from any ignorance of the topography of those places, but by a kind of mythic fiction similar to those of Hesiod and other writers censured by Apollodorus, who, however, couples Homer with them, without, as it appears, any cause. He cites as instances what Homer relates of the Euxine and Egypt, and accuses him of ignorance for pretending to speak the actual truth, and then recounting fable, all the while ignorantly mistaking it for fact. Will any one then accuse Hesiod of ignorance on account of his *Hemicynnes*,³ his *Macrocephali*,⁴ and his Pygmies ; or Homer for his like fables, and amongst others the Pygmies themselves ; or Alcman⁵ for describing the *Steganopodes* ;⁶ or Æschylus for his *Cynoccephali*,⁷ *Sternophthalmi*,⁸ and *Monommati* ;⁹ when amongst prose writers, and in works bearing the appearance of veritable history, we frequently meet with similar narrations, and that without any admission of their having inserted such myths. Indeed it becomes immediately evident that they have woven together a tissue of myths not through ignorance

¹ That is, that the Phœnicians and Sidonians dwelling around the Persian Gulf are colonies from those inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean.

² As to this fact, upon which almost all geographers are agreed, it is only rejected by Strabo because it stands in the way of his hypothesis.

³ Half men, half dogs.

⁴ Long-headed men.

⁵ A celebrated poet who flourished about seven centuries before the Christian era, said to have been a native of Sardis in Lydia. Only three short fragments of his writings are known to be in existence.

⁶ Men who covered themselves with their feet.

⁷ Dog-headed men.

⁸ People having their eyes in their breasts.

⁹ One-eyed.

of the real facts, but merely to amuse by a deceptive narration of the impossible and marvellous. If they appear to do this in ignorance, it is because they can romance more frequently and with greater plausibility on those things which are uncertain and unknown. This Theopompus plainly confesses in the announcement of his intention to relate the fables in his history in a better style than Herodotus, Ctesias, Helanicus, and those who had written on the affairs of India.

36. Homer has described to us the phenomena of the ocean under the form of a myth; this [art] is very desirable in a poet; the idea of his Charybdis was taken from the ebb and flow of the tide, and was by no means a pure invention of his own, but derived from what he knew concerning the Strait of Sicily.¹ And although he states that the ebb and flow occurred thrice during the four and twenty hours, instead of twice,

“ (Each day she thrice disgorges, and each day
Thrice swallows it,)”²

we must suppose that he said this not through any ignorance of the fact, but for tragic effect, and to excite the fear which Circe endeavours to infuse into her arguments to deter Ulysses from departing, even at a little expense of truth. The following is the language Circe makes use of in her speech to him :

“ Each day she thrice disgorges, and each day
Thrice swallows it. Ah! well-forewarn'd beware
What time she swallows, that thou come not nigh,
For not himself, Neptune, could snatch thee thence.”³

And yet when Ulysses was engulfed in the eddy he was not lost. He tells us himself,

‘ It was the time when she absorb'd profound
The briny flood, but by a wave upborne,
I seized the branches fast of the wild fig,
To which bat-like I clung.”⁴

¹ The Strait of Messina.

² For thrice in a day she sends it out, and thrice she sucks it in. *Odyssey* xii. 105.

³ For thrice in a day she sends it out, and thrice she sucks it in terribly. Mayest thou not come hither when she is gulping it; for not even Neptune could free thee from ill. *Odyssey* xii. 105.

⁴ She gulped up the briny water of the sea; but I, raised on high to the lofty fig-tree, held clinging to it, as a bat. *Odyssey* xii. 431.

And then having waited for the timbers of the wreck he seized hold of them, and thus saved himself. Circe, therefore, had exaggerated both the peril, and also the fact of its vomiting forth thrice a day instead of twice. However, this latter is a hyperbole which every one makes use of ; thus we say thrice-happy and thrice-miserable.

So the poet,

“ Thrice-happy Greeks ! ”¹

Again,

“ O delightful, thrice-wished for ! ”²

And again,

“ O thrice and four times. ”³

Any one, too, might conclude from the passage itself that Homer even here hinted at the truth, for the long time which the remains of the wreck lay under water, which Ulysses, who was all the while hanging suspended to the branches, so anxiously desired to rise, accords much better with the ebb and flow taking place but twice during the night and day instead of thrice.

“ Therefore hard

I clench'd the boughs, till she disgorged again
Both keel and mast. Not undesired by me
They came, though late ; for at what hour the judge,
After decision made of numerous strifes
Between young candidates for honour, leaves
The forum, for refreshment's sake at home,
Then was it that the mast and keel emerged. ”⁴

Every word of this indicates a considerable length of time, especially when he prolongs it to the evening, not merely saying at that time when the judge has risen, but having adjudicated on a vast number of cases, and therefore detained longer than usual. Otherwise his account of the return of the wreck would not have appeared likely, if he had brought it back again with the return of the wave, before it had been first carried a long way off.

37. Apollodorus, who agrees with Eratosthenes, throws much blame upon Callimachus for asserting, in spite of his

¹ Odyssey v. 306.

² Iliad viii. 488.

³ Iliad iii. 363.

⁴ But I held without ceasing, until she vomited out again the mast and keel ; and it came late to me wishing for it : as late as a man has risen from the forum to go to supper, adjudging many contests of disputing youths, so late these planks appeared from Charybdis. Odyssey xii. 437.

character as a grammarian, that Gaudus¹ and Corcyra² were among the scenes of Ulysses' wandering, such an opinion being altogether in defiance of Homer's statement, and his description of the places as situated in the exterior ocean.³

This criticism is just if we suppose the wandering to have never actually occurred, and to be merely the result of Homer's imagination; but if it did take place, although in other regions, Apollodorus ought plainly to have stated which they were, and thus set right the mistake of Callimachus. Since, however, after such evidence as we have produced, we cannot believe the whole account to be a fiction, and since no other more likely places have as yet been named, we hold that the grammarian is absolved from blame.

38. Demetrius of Skepsis is also wrong, and, in fact, the cause of some of the mistakes of Apollodorus. He eagerly objects to the statement of Neanthes of Cyzicus, that the Argonauts, when they sailed to the Phasis,⁴ founded at Cyzicus the temples of the Idæan Mother.⁵ Though their voyage is attested both by Homer and other writers, he denies that Homer had any knowledge whatever of the departure of Jason to the Phasis. In so doing, he not only contradicts the very words of Homer, but even his own assertions. The poet informs us that Achilles, having ravaged Lesbos⁶ and other districts, spared Lemnos⁷ and the adjoining islands, on account of his relationship with Jason and his son Euneos,⁸ who then had possession of the island. How should he know of a relationship, identity of race, or other connexion existing between Achilles and Jason, which, after all, was nothing else than that they were both Thessalians, one being of Iolcos,⁹ the other of the Achæan Pthiotis,¹⁰ and yet

¹ Gaudus, the little island of Gozo near Malta, supposed by Callimachus to have been the Isle of Calypso.

² It seems more probable that Callimachus intended the island of Corsura, now Pantalaria, a small island between Africa and Sicily.

³ The Atlantic.

⁴ A river of Colchis, *hodie* Fasz or Rion.

⁵ Cybele, so named because she had a temple on Mount Ida.

⁶ An island in the Ægæan, now Meteline.

⁷ *Hodie* Lemno or Stalimene.

⁸ Euneos was the eldest of the children which Hypsipete, daughter of Thoas, king of Lemnos, had by Jason during his stay in that island.

⁹ A town situated at the bottom of the Pelasgic Gulf, *hodie* Volo.

¹⁰ A country of Thessaly, which received its designation of Achæan, from the same sovereign who left his name to Achaia in Peloponnesus.

was not aware how it happened that Jason, who was a Thes-
salian of Iolcos, should leave no descendants in the land of his
nativity, but establish his son as ruler of Lemnos? Homer
then was familiar with the history of Pelias and the daughters
of Pelias, of Alcestis, who was the most charming of them
all, and of her son

“Eumelus, whom Alcestis, praised
For beauty above all her sisters fair,
In Thessaly to king Admetus bore,”¹

and was yet ignorant of all that befell Jason, and Argo, and
the Argonauts, matters on the actual occurrence of which all
the world is agreed. The tale then of their voyage in the
ocean from *Æeta*, was a mere fiction, for which he had no
authority in history.

39. If, however, the expedition to the Phasis, fitted out by
Pelias, its return, and the conquest of several islands, have at
the bottom any truth whatever, as all say they have, so also
has the account of their wanderings, no less than those of
Ulysses and Menelaus; monuments of the actual occurrence
of which remain to this day elsewhere than in the writings of
Homer. The city of *Æea*, close by the Phasis, is still pointed
out. *Æetes* is generally believed to have reigned in Colchis,
the name is still common throughout the country, tales of the
sorceress *Medea* are yet abroad, and the riches of the country
in gold, silver, and iron, proclaim the motive of Jason's ex-
pedition, as well as of that which *Phrixus* had formerly un-
dertaken. Traces both of one and the other still remain:
Such is *Phrixium*,² midway between Colchis and Iberia, and
the *Jasonia*, or towns of Jason, which are every where met
with in Armenia, Media, and the surrounding countries.
Many are the witnesses to the reality of the expeditions of
Jason and *Phrixus* at *Sinope*³ and its shore, at Propontis, at the
Hellespont, and even at Lemnos. Of Jason and his Colchian
followers there are traces even as far as *Crete*,⁴ Italy, and the
Adriatic. Callimachus himself alludes to it where he says,

¹ Eumelus, whom Alcestis, divine amongst women, most beautiful in
form of the daughters of Pelias, brought forth to Admetus. Iliad
ii. 714.

² Named *Ideessa* in the time of Strabo. Strabo, book xi. c. ii. § 18.

³ *Sinub.*

⁴ *Candia.*

“ [The temple of] Apollo and [the Isle of] Anaphe,¹
Near to Laconian Thera.”²

In the verses which commence,

“ I sing how the heroes from Cytæan Æeta,
Return'd again to ancient Æmonia.”³

And again concerning the Colchians, who,

“ Ceasing to plough with oars the Illyrian Sea,⁴
Near to the tomb of fair Harmonia,
Who was transform'd into a dragon's shape,
Founded their city, which a Greek would call
The Town of Fugitives, but in their tongue
Is Pola named.”

Some writers assert that Jason and his companions sailed high up the Ister, others say he sailed only so far as to be able to gain the Adriatic: the first statement results altogether from ignorance; the second, which supposes there is a second Ister having its source from the larger river of the same name, and discharging its waters into the Adriatic, is neither incredible nor even improbable.⁵

40. Starting from these premises, the poet, in conformity both with general custom and his own practice, narrates some circumstances as they actually occurred, and paints others in the colours of fiction. He follows history when he tells us of Æetes and Jason also, when he talks of Argo, and on the authority of [the actual city of Æa], feigns his city of Ææa, when he settles Euneos in Lemnos, and makes that island friendly to Achilles, and when, in imitation of Medea, he makes the sorceress Circe

“ Sister by birth of the all-wise Æetes,”⁶

he adds the fiction of the entrance of the Argonauts into the exterior ocean as the sequel to their wanderings on their return home. Here, supposing the previous statements admitted, the truth of the phrase “the renowned Argo,”⁷ is evident,

¹ *Hodie* The Isle of Nanfio.

² Now the Island of Callistè, founded by Theras the Lacedæmonian more than ten centuries before the Christian era.

³ A name of Thessaly.

⁴ The Gulf of Venice.

⁵ The erroneous opinion that one of the mouths of the Danube emptied itself into the Adriatic is very ancient, being spoken of by Aristotle as a well-known fact, and likewise supported by Theopompus, Hipparchus, and many other writers.

⁶ *Odyssey* x. 137.

⁷ *Odyssey* xii. 70.

since, in that case, the expedition was directed to a populous and well-known country. But if, as [Demetrius] of Skepsis asserts, on the authority of Mimnermus, *Æetes* dwelt by the Ocean, and Jason was sent thither far east by Pelias, to bring back the fleece, it neither seems probable that such an expedition would have been undertaken into unknown and obscure countries after the Fleece, nor could a voyage to lands desert, uninhabited, and so far remote from us, be considered either glorious or renowned.

[Here follow the words of Demetrius.]

“Nor as yet had Jason, having accomplished the arduous journey, carried off the splendid fleece from *Ææa*, fulfilling the dangerous mission of the insolent Pelias, nor had they ploughed the glorious wave of the ocean.”

And again:

“The city of *Æetes*, where the rays of the swift sun recline on their golden bed by the shore of the ocean, which the noble Jason visited.”

CHAPTER III.

1. ERATOSTHENES is guilty of another fault in so frequently referring to the works of men beneath his notice, sometimes for the purpose of refuting them; at others, when he agrees with them, in order to cite them as authorities. I allude to Damastes, and such as him, who even when they speak the truth, are utterly unworthy of being appealed to as authorities, or vouchers for the credibility of a statement. For such purposes the writings of trustworthy men should only be employed, who have accurately described much; and though perhaps they may have omitted many points altogether, and barely touched on others, are yet never guilty of wilfully falsifying their statements. To cite Damastes as an authority is little better than to quote the Bergæan,¹ or Eumerus the Messenian, and those other scribblers whom Eratosthenes

¹ Antiphanes of Berga, a city of Thrace. This writer was so noted for his falsehoods, that *βεργαίζειν* came to be a proverbial term for designating that vice.

himself sneers at for their absurdities. Why, he even points out as one of the follies of this Damastes, his observation that the Arabian Gulf was a lake;¹ likewise the statement that Diotimus, the son of Strombicus and chief of the Athenian legation, sailed through Cilicia up the Cydnus² into the river Choaspes,³ which flows by Susa,⁴ and so arrived at that capital after forty days' journey. This particular he professes to state on the authority of Diotimus himself, and then expresses his wonder whether the Cydnus could actually cross the Euphrates and Tigris in order to disgorge itself into the Choaspes.⁵

2. However, this is not all we have to say against him. Of many places he tells us that nothing is known, when in fact they have every one been accurately described. Then he warns us to be very cautious in believing what we are told on such matters, and endeavours by long and tedious arguments to show the value of his advice; swallowing at the same time the most ridiculous absurdities himself concerning the Euxine and Adriatic. Thus he believed the Bay of Issus⁶ to be the most easterly point of the Mediterranean, though Dioscurias,⁷ which is nearly at the bottom of the Pontus Euxinus, is, according to his own calculations, farther east by a distance of 3000 stadia.⁸ In describing the northern and farther parts of the Adriatic he cannot refrain from similar romancing, and gives credit to many strange narrations concerning what lies beyond the Pillars of Hercules, informing us of an Isle of Kerne there, and other places now nowhere to be found, which we shall speak of presently.

Having remarked that the ancients, whether out on piratical

¹ Thirty years before the time of this Damastes, Herodotus had demonstrated to the Greeks the real nature of the Arabian Gulf.

² This river, called by the Turks Kara-sui, rises somewhere in Mount Taurus, and before emptying itself into the sea, runs through Tarsus

³ The Ab-Zal of oriental writers.

⁴ The ancient capital of the kings of Persia, now Schuss.

⁵ The very idea that Diotimus could sail from the Cydnus into the Euphrates is most absurd, since, besides the distance between the two rivers, they are separated by lofty mountain-ridges.

⁶ Now the Bay of Ajazzo.

⁷ Iskuriah.

⁸ Gosselin justly remarks that this is a mere disputing about terms, since, though it is true the Mediterranean and Euxine flow into each other, it is fully admissible to describe them as separate. The same authority proves that we ought to read 3600 and not 3000 stadia, which he supposes to be a transcriber's error.

excursions, or for the purposes of commerce, never ventured into the high seas, but crept along the coast, and instancing Jason, who leaving his vessels at Colchis penetrated into Armenia and Media on foot, he proceeds to tell us that formerly no one dared to navigate either the Euxine or the seas by Libya, Syria, and Cilicia. If by *formerly* he means periods so long past that we possess no record of them, it is of little consequence to us whether they navigated those seas or not, but if [he speaks] of times of which we know any thing, and if we are to place any trust in the accounts which have come down to us, every one will admit that the ancients appear to have made longer journeys both by sea and land than their successors; witness Bacchus, Hercules, nay Jason himself, and again Ulysses and Menelaus, of whom Homer tells us. It seems most probable that Theseus and Pirithous are indebted to some long voyages for the credit they afterwards obtained of having visited the infernal regions; and in like manner the Dioscuri¹ gained the appellation of guardians of the sea, and the deliverers of sailors.² The sovereignty of the seas exercised by Minos, and the navigation carried on by the Phœnicians, is well known. A little after the period of the Trojan war they had penetrated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and founded cities as well there as to the midst of the African coast.³ Is it not correct to number amongst the ancients Æneas,⁴ Antenor,⁵ the Heneti, and all the crowd of warriors, who, after the destruction of Troy, wandered over the face of the whole earth? For at the conclusion of the war

¹ Castor and Pollux.

² Castor and Pollux were amongst the number of the Argonauts. On their return they destroyed the pirates who infested the seas of Greece and the Archipelago, and were in consequence worshipped by sailors as tutelary deities.

³ The Phœnicians or Carthaginians despatched Hanno to found certain colonies on the western coast of Africa, about a thousand years before the Christian era.

⁴ Strabo here follows the general belief that Æneas escaped to Italy after the sack of Troy, a fact clearly disproved by Homer, *Iliad* xx. 307, who states that the posterity of Æneas were in his time reigning at Troy. To this passage Strabo alludes in his 13th book, and, contrary to his general custom, hesitates whether to follow Homer's authority or that of certain grammarians who had mutilated the passage in order to flatter the vanity of the Romans, who took pride in looking up to Æneas and the Trojans as their ancestors.

⁵ Antenor having betrayed his Trojan countrymen was forced to fly.

both the Greeks and Barbarians found themselves deprived, the one of their livelihood at home, the other of the fruits of their expedition; so that when Troy was overthrown, the victors, and still more the vanquished, who had survived the conflict, were compelled by want to a life of piracy; and we learn that they became the founders of many cities along the sea-coast beyond Greece,¹ besides several inland settlements.²

3. Again, having discoursed on the advance of knowledge respecting the Geography of the inhabited earth, between the time of Alexander and the period when he was writing, Eratosthenes goes into a description of the figure of the earth; not merely of the habitable earth, an account of which would have been very suitable, but of the whole earth, which should certainly have been given too, but not in this disorderly manner. He proceeds to tell us that the earth is spheroidal, not however perfectly so, inasmuch as it has certain irregularities, he then enlarges on the successive changes of its form, occasioned by water, fire, earthquakes, eruptions, and the like; all of which is entirely out of place, for the spheroidal form of the whole earth is the result of the system of the universe, and the phenomena which he mentions do not in the least change its general form; such little matters being entirely lost in the great mass of the earth. Still they cause various peculiarities in different parts of our globe, and result from a variety of causes.

4. He points out as a most interesting subject for disquisition the fact of our finding, often quite inland, two or three thousand stadia from the sea, vast numbers of muscle, oyster, and scallop-shells, and salt-water lakes.³ He gives as an

It is generally stated that, taking with him a party of the Heneti, (a people of Asia Minor close to the Euxine,) who had come to the assistance of Priam, he founded the city of Padua in Italy. From this people the district in which Padua is situated received the name of Henetia, afterwards Venetia or Venice.

¹ The coasts of Italy.

² It is generally admitted that the events of the Trojan war gave rise to numerous colonies.

³ The word *λιμνοθάλασσα* frequently signifies a salt marsh. The French editors remark that it was a name given by the Greeks to lagoons mostly found in the vicinity of the sea, though entirely separated therefrom. Those which communicated with the sea were termed *στομαλίμναι*.

instance, that about the temple of Ammon,¹ and along the road to it for the space of 3000 stadia, there are yet found a vast amount of oyster shells, many salt-beds, and salt springs bubbling up, besides which are pointed out numerous fragments of wreck which they say have been cast up through some opening, and dolphins placed on pedestals with the inscription, Of the delegates from Cyrene. Herein he agrees with the opinion of Strato the natural philosopher, and Xanthus of Lydia. Xanthus mentioned that in the reign of Artaxerxes there was so great a drought, that every river, lake, and well was dried up: and that in many places he had seen a long way from the sea fossil shells, some like cockles, others resembling scallop shells, also salt lakes in Armenia, Matiana,² and Lower Phrygia, which induced him to believe that sea had formerly been where the land now was. Strato, who went more deeply into the causes of these phenomena, was of opinion that formerly there was no exit to the Euxine as now at Byzantium, but that the rivers running into it had forced a way through, and thus let the waters escape into the Propontis, and thence to the Hellespont.³ And that a like change had occurred in the Mediterranean. For the sea being overflowed by the rivers, had opened for itself a passage by the Pillars of Hercules, and thus, much that was formerly covered by water, had been left dry.⁴ He gives as the cause of this, that anciently the levels of the Mediterranean and Atlantic were not the same, and states that a bank of earth, the remains of the ancient separation of the two seas, is still stretched under water from Europe to Africa. He adds, that the Euxine is the most shallow, and the seas of Crete, Sicily, and Sardinia much deeper, which is occasioned by the number of large

¹ See book xvii. c. iii.

² A country close upon the Euxine.

³ The Strait of the Dardanelles.

⁴ At the time of Diodorus Siculus, the people of the Isle of Samothracia preserved the tradition of an inundation caused by a sudden rising of the waters of the Mediterranean, which compelled the inhabitants to fly for refuge to the summits of the mountains; and long after, the fishermen's nets used to be caught by columns, which, prior to the catastrophe, had adorned their edifices. It is said that the inundation originated in a rupture of the chain of mountains which enclosed the valley which has since become the Thracian Bosphorus or Strait of Constantinople, through which the waters of the Black Sea flow into the Mediterranean

rivers flowing into the Euxine both from the north and east, and so filling it up with mud, whilst the others preserve their depth. This is the cause of the remarkable sweetness of the Euxine Sea, and of the currents which regularly set towards the deepest part. He gives it as his opinion, that should the rivers continue to flow in the same direction, the Euxine will in time be filled up [by the deposits], since already the left side of the sea is little else than shallows, as also Salmydessus,¹ and the shoals at the mouth of the Ister, and the desert of Scythia,² which the sailors call the Breasts. Probably too the temple of Ammon was originally close to the sea, though now, by the continual deposit of the waters, it is quite inland: and he conjectures that it was owing to its being so near the sea that it became so celebrated and illustrious, and that it never would have enjoyed the credit it now possesses had it always been equally remote from the sea. Egypt too [he says] was formerly covered by sea as far as the marshes near Pelusium,³ Mount Casius,⁴ and the Lake Sirbonis.⁵ Even at the present time, when salt is being dug in Egypt, the beds are found under layers of sand and mingled with fossil shells, as if this district had formerly been under water, and as if the whole region about Casium and Gerra⁶ had been shallows reaching to the Arabian Gulf. The sea afterwards receding left the land uncovered, and the Lake Sirbonis remained, which having afterwards forced itself a passage, became a marsh. In like manner the borders of the Lake Mœris resemble a sea-beach rather than the banks of a river. Every one will admit that formerly at various periods a great portion of the mainland has been covered and again left bare by the sea. Likewise that the land now covered by the sea is not all on the same level, any more than that whereon we dwell; which is now

¹ Now Midjeh, in Roumelia, on the borders of the Black Sea. Strabo alludes rather to the banks surrounding Salmydessus than to the town itself.

² The part of Bulgaria next the sea, between Varna and the Danube, now Dobrudzie.

³ Tineh.

⁴ El-Kas.

⁵ Lake Sebaket-Bardoil.

⁶ Probably the present Maseli. Most likely the place was so named from the γέροντα, or wattled huts, of the troops stationed there to prevent the ingress of foreign armies into Egypt.

uncovered and has experienced so many changes, as Eratosthenes has observed. Consequently in the reasoning of Xanthus there does not appear to be any thing out of place.

5. In regard to Strato, however, we must remark that, leaving out of the question the many arguments he has properly stated, some of those which he has brought forward are quite inadmissible. For first he is inaccurate in stating that the beds of the interior and the exterior seas have not the same level, and that the depth of those two seas is different: whereas the cause why the sea is at one time raised, at another depressed, that it inundates certain places and again retreats, is not that the beds have different levels, some higher and some lower, but simply this, that the same beds are at one time raised, at another depressed, causing the sea to rise or subside with them; for having risen they cause an inundation, and when they subside the waters return to their former places. For if it is so, an inundation will of course accompany every sudden increase of the waters of the sea, [as in the spring-tides,] or the periodical swelling of rivers, in the one instance the waters being brought together from distant parts of the ocean, in the other, their volume being increased. But the risings of rivers are not violent and sudden, nor do the tides continue any length of time, nor occur irregularly; nor yet along the coasts of our sea do they cause inundations, nor any where else. Consequently we must seek for an explanation of the cause either in the stratum composing the bed of the sea, or in that which is overflowed; we prefer to look for it in the former, since by reason of its humidity it is more liable to shiftings and sudden changes of position, and we shall find that in these matters the wind is the great agent after all. But, I repeat it, the immediate cause of these phenomena, is not in the fact of one part of the bed of the ocean being higher or lower than another, but in the upheaving or depression of the strata on which the waters rest. Strato's hypothesis evidently originated in the belief that that which occurs in rivers is also the case in regard to the sea; viz. that there is a flow of water from the higher places. Otherwise he would not have attempted to account for the current he observed at the Strait of Byzantium in the manner he does, attributing it to the bed of the Euxine being

higher than that of the Propontis and adjoining ocean, and even attempting to explain the cause thereof: viz. that the bed of the Euxine is filled up and choked by the deposit of the rivers which flow into it; and its waters in consequence driven out into the neighbouring sea. The same theory he would apply in respect to the Mediterranean and Atlantic, alleging that the bed of the former is higher than that of the latter, in consequence of the number of rivers which flow into it, and the alluvium they carry along with them. In that case there ought to be a like influx at the Pillars and Calpe,¹ as there is at Byzantium. But I waive this objection, as it might be asserted that the influx was the same in both places, but owing to the interference of the ebb and flow of the sea, became imperceptible.

6. I rather make this inquiry:—If there were any reason why, before the outlet was opened at Byzantium, the bed of the Euxine (being deeper than either that of the Propontis² or of the adjoining sea³) should not gradually have become more shallow by the deposit of the rivers which flow into it, allowing it formerly either to have been a sea, or merely a vast lake greater than the Palus Mæotis? This proposition being conceded, I would next ask, whether before this the bed of the Euxine would not have been brought to the same level as the Propontis, and in that case, the pressure being counterpoised, the overflowing of the water have been thus avoided; and if after the Euxine had been filled up, the superfluous waters would not naturally have forced a passage and flowed off, and by their commingling and power have caused the Euxine and Propontis to flow into each other, and thus become one sea? no matter, as I said above, whether formerly it were a sea or a lake, though latterly certainly a sea. This also being conceded, they must allow that the present efflux depends neither upon the elevation nor the inclination of the bed, as Strato's theory would have us consider it.

7. We would apply the same arguments to the whole of the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and account for the efflux of the former, not by any [supposed] difference between the elevation and inclination of its bed and of that of the Atlantic, but at-

¹ This city of Calpe was near Mount Calpe, one of the Pillars of Hercules.

² Sea of Marmora.

³ The *Ægæan*.

tribute it to the number of rivers which empty themselves into it. Since, according to this supposition, it is not incredible that, had the whole of the Mediterranean Sea in times past been but a lake filled by the rivers, and having overflowed, it might have broken through the Strait at the Pillars, as through a cataract; and still continuing to swell more and more, the Atlantic in course of time would have become confluent by that channel, and have run into one level, the Mediterranean thus becoming a sea. In fine, the Physician did wrong in comparing the sea to rivers, for the latter are borne down as a descending stream, but the sea always maintains its level. The currents of straits depend upon other causes, not upon the accumulation of earth formed by the alluvial deposit from rivers, filling up the bed of the sea. This accumulation only goes on at the mouths of rivers. Such are what are called the Stethes or Breasts at the mouth of the Ister,¹ the desert of the Scythians, and Salmydessus, which are partially occasioned by other winter-torrents as well; witness the sandy, low, and even coast of Colchis,² at the mouth of the Phasis,³ the whole of the coast of Themiscyra,⁴ named the plain of the Amazons, near the mouths of the Thermodon⁵ and Iris,⁶ and the greater part of Sidene.⁷ It is the same with other rivers, they all resemble the Nile in forming an alluvial deposit at their mouths, some more, some less than others. Those rivers which carry but little soil with them deposit least, while others, which traverse an extended and soft country, and receive many torrents in their course, deposit the greatest quantity. Such for example is the river Pyramus,⁸ by which Cilicia has been considerably augmented, and concerning which an oracle has declared, "This shall occur when the wide waters of the Pyramus have enlarged their banks as far as sacred Cyprus."⁹ This river becomes navigable from the middle of the plains of Cataonia, and entering Cilicia¹⁰ by the defiles of the Taurus, discharges itself into the sea which flows between that country and the island of Cyprus.

¹ Danube.

² Mingrelia.

³ The river Fasz.

⁴ Now Djanik.

⁵ The river Thermeh.

⁶ The Jekil-Irmak.

⁷ Sidin, or Valisa, is comprised in the territory of Djanik, being part of the ancient kingdom of Pontus.

⁸ The river Geihun.

⁹ Gosselin remarks that the alluvial deposit of this river is now no nearer to Cyprus than it was at the time of the prediction.

¹⁰ Cilicia and Cataonia are comprised in the modern Aladeuli.

8. These river deposits are prevented from advancing further into the sea by the regularity of the ebb and flow, which continually drive them back. For after the manner of living creatures, which go on inhaling and exhaling their breath continually, so the sea in a like way keeps up a constant motion in and out of itself. Any one may observe who stands on the sea-shore when the waves are in motion, the regularity with which they cover, then leave bare, and then again cover up his feet. This agitation of the sea produces a continual movement on its surface, which even when it is most tranquil has considerable force, and so throws all extraneous matters on to the land, and

“Flings forth the salt weed on the shore.”¹

This effect is certainly most considerable when the wind is on the water, but it continues when all is hushed, and even when it blows from land the swell is still carried to the shore against the wind, as if by a peculiar motion of the sea itself. To this the verses refer—

“O’er the rocks that breast the flood
Borne turgid, scatter far the showery spray,”²

and,

“Loud sounds the roar of waves ejected wide.”³

9. The wave, as it advances, possesses a kind of power, which some call the purging of the sea, to eject all foreign substances. It is by this force that dead bodies and wrecks are cast on shore. But on retiring it does not possess sufficient power to carry back into the sea either dead bodies, wood, or even the lightest substances, such as cork, which may have been cast out by the waves. And by this means when places next the sea fall down, being undermined by the wave, the earth and the water charged with it are cast back again; and the weight [of the mud] working at the same time in conjunction with the force of the advancing tide, it is the sooner brought to settle at the bottom, instead of being

¹ Iliad ix. 7.

² Being swollen it rises high around the projecting points, and spits from it the foam of the sea. Iliad iv. 425.

³ The lofty shores resound, the wave being ejected [upon the beach]. Iliad xvii. 265.

carried out far into the sea. The force of the river current ceases at a very little distance beyond its mouth. Otherwise, supposing the rivers had an uninterrupted flow, by degrees the whole ocean would be filled in, from the beach onwards, by the alluvial deposits. And this would be inevitable even were the Euxine deeper than the sea of Sardinia, than which a deeper sea has never been sounded, measuring, as it does, according to Posidonius, about 1000 fathoms.¹

v 10. Some, however, may be disinclined to admit this explanation, and would rather have proof from things more manifest to the senses, and which seem to meet us at every turn. Now deluges, earthquakes, eruptions of wind, and risings in the bed of the sea, these things cause the rising of the ocean, as sinking of the bottom causes it to become lower. It is not the case that small volcanic or other islands can be raised up from the sea, and not large ones, nor that all islands can, but not continents, since extensive sinkings of the land no less than small ones have been known; witness the yawning of those chasms which have engulfed whole districts no less than their cities, as is said to have happened to Bura,² Bizone,³ and many other towns at the time of earthquakes: and there is no more reason why one should rather think Sicily to have been disjoined from the main-land of Italy than cast up from the bottom of the sea by the fires of *Ætna*, as the Lipari and Pithecussan⁴ Isles have been.

11. However, so nice a fellow is Eratosthenes, that though

¹ The word *ὀργυια*, here rendered fathoms, strictly means the length of the outstretched arms. As a measure of length it equals four *πήχεις*, or six feet one inch. Gosselin seems to doubt with reason whether they ever sounded such a depth as this would give, and proposes to compute it by a smaller stadium in use at the time of Herodotus, which would have the effect of diminishing the depth by almost one half.

² A city of Achaia near to the Gulf of Corinth. Pliny tells us it was submerged during an earthquake, about 371 years before the Christian era. According to Pausanias, it was a second time destroyed by the shock of an earthquake, but again rebuilt by the inhabitants who survived.

³ A city placed by some in Thrace, but by others in Pontus; a more probable opinion seems to be that Bizone was in Lower Mœsia, on the western side of the Euxine. Pomponius Mela asserts that Bizone was entirely destroyed by an earthquake, but according to Strabo, (lib. vii.) who places it about 40 stadia from the sea, it was only partially demolished.

⁴ Ischia,

he professes himself a mathematician,¹ he rejects entirely the dictum of Archimedes, who, in his work "On Bodies in Suspension," says that all liquids when left at rest assume a spherical form, having a centre of gravity similar to that of the earth. A dictum which is acknowledged by all who have the slightest pretensions to mathematical sagacity. He says that the Mediterranean, which, according to his own description, is one entire sea, has not the same level even at points quite close to each other; and offers us the authority of engineers for this piece of folly, notwithstanding the affirmation of mathematicians that engineering is itself only one division of the mathematics. He tells us that Demetrius² intended to cut through the Isthmus of Corinth, to open a passage for his fleet, but was prevented by his engineers, who, having taken measurements, reported that the level of the sea at the Gulf of Corinth was higher than at Cenchrea,³ so that if he cut through the isthmus, not only the coasts near Ægina, but even Ægina itself, with the neighbouring islands, would be laid completely under water, while the passage would prove of little value. According to Eratosthenes, it is this which occasions the current in straits, especially the current in the Strait of Sicily,⁴ where effects similar to the flow and ebb of the tide are remarked. The current there changes twice in the course of a day and night, like as in that period the tides of the sea flow and ebb twice. In the Tyrrhenian sea⁵ the current which is called descendent, and which runs towards the sea of Sicily, as if it followed an inclined plane, corresponds to the flow of the tide in the ocean. We may remark, that this current corresponds to the flow both in the time of its commencement and cessation. For it commences at the rising and setting of the moon, and recedes when that satellite attains its meridian, whether above [in the zenith] or below the earth [in the nadir]. In the same way occurs the opposite or ascending current, as it is called. It corresponds to

¹ We have here followed the earlier editions, as preferable to Kramer, who supplies *μη* before *μαθηματικός*.

² Demetrius Poliorcetes: the same intention is narrated by Pliny and other historians of Julius Cæsar, Caligula, and Nero.

³ Kankri.

⁴ Strait of Messina.

⁵ The sea which washes the shores of Tuscany. Strabo applies the term to the whole sea from the mouth of the Arno to Sicily.

the ebb of the ocean, and commences as soon as the moon has reached either zenith or nadir, and ceases the moment she reaches the point of her rising or setting. [So far Eratosthenes.]

12. The nature of the ebb and flow has been sufficiently treated of by Posidonius and Athenodorus. Concerning the flux and reflux of the currents, which also may be explained by physics, it will suffice our present purpose to observe, that in the various straits these do not resemble each other, but each strait has its own peculiar current. Were they to resemble each other, the current at the Strait of Sicily¹ would not change merely twice during the day, (as Eratosthenes himself tells us it does,) and at Chalcis seven times;² nor again that of Constantinople, which does not change at all, but runs always in one direction from the Euxine to the Propontis, and, as Hipparchus tells us, sometimes ceases altogether. However, if they did all depend on one cause, it would not be that which Eratosthenes has assigned, namely, that the various seas have different levels. The kind of inequality he supposes would not even be found in rivers only for the cataracts; and where these cataracts occur, they occasion no ebbing, but have one continued downward flow, which is caused by the inclination both of the flow and the surface; and therefore though they have no flux or reflux they do not remain still, on account of a principle of flowing which is inherent in them; at the same time they cannot be on the same level, but one must be higher and one lower than another. But who ever imagined the surface of the ocean to be on a slope, especially those who follow a system which supposes the four bodies we call elementary, to be spherical.³ For water is not like the earth, which being of a solid nature is capable of permanent depressions and risings, but by its force of gravity spreads equally over the earth,

¹ Strait of Messina.

² Gosselin observes that Le Père Babln, who had carefully examined the currents of the Euripus of Chalcis, says that they are regular during eighteen or nineteen days of every month, the flux and reflux occurring twice in the twenty-four hours, and following the same laws as in the ocean; but from the ninth to the thirteenth, and from the twenty-first to the twenty-sixth, of each lunar month they become irregular, the flux occurring from twelve to fourteen times in the twenty-four hours, and the reflux as often.

³ See Plutarch, de Plac. Philos. lib. i. c. 14, and Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. lib. i. c. 18.

and assumes that kind of level which Archimedes has assigned it.

✓ 13. To what we cited before concerning the temple of Ammon and Egypt, Eratosthenes adds, that to judge from appearances, Mount Casius¹ was formerly covered by sea, and the whole district now known as Gerra lay under shoal water touching the bay of the Erythræan Sea,² but was left dry on the union³ of the [Mediterranean] Sea [with the ocean]. A certain amphibology lurks here under this description of the district lying under shoal water and touching the bay of the Erythræan Sea; for to touch⁴ both means to be close to, and also to be in actual contact with, so that when applied to water it would signify that one flows into the other. I understand him to mean, that so long as the strait by the Pillars of Hercules remained closed, these marshes covered with shoal-water extended as far as the Arabian Gulf, but on that passage being forced open, the Mediterranean, discharging itself by the strait, became lower, and the land was left dry.

On the other hand, Hipparchus understands by the term *touching*, that the Mediterranean, being over-full, flowed into the Erythræan Sea, and he inquires how it could happen, that as the Mediterranean flowed out by this new vent at the Pillars of Hercules, the Erythræan Sea, which was all one with it, did not flow away too, and thus become lower, but has always retained the same level? and since Eratosthenes supposes the whole exterior sea to be confluent, it follows that the Western Ocean⁵ and the Erythræan Sea are all one; and thus [remarks Hipparchus] as a necessary consequence, the sea beyond the Pillars of Hercules, the Erythræan Sea, and that also which is confluent with it,⁶ have all the same level.

¹ El-Kas. ² The Arabian Gulf. Mr. Stephenson, while examining the Temsah Lakes, anciently called the Bitter Lakes, discovered recent marine remains similar to those on the shores of the present sea, clearly showing that the basin of the Temsah Lakes was the head of the Arabian Gulf at a period geologically recent.

³ We have here followed MSS. which all read *συνελθούσης δὲ τῆς θαλάττης*. The French editors propose *συνενδούσης δὲ τῆς θαλάττης*, with the sense of "but on the retiring of the Mediterranean," &c.

⁴ This accusation may not seem quite fair to the English reader. *Touch* is the nearest term in our language by which we can express the Greek *συνάπτω*, the use of which Strabo objects to in this passage; still the meaning of the English word is much too definite for the Greek.

⁵ The Atlantic.

⁶ *Viz.* the Mediterranean.

✓ 14. But, Eratosthenes would reply, I never said that, in consequence of the repletion of the Mediterranean, it actually flowed into the Erythræan Sea, but only that it approached very near thereto: besides, it does not follow, that in one and the self-same sea, the level of its surface must be all the same; to instance the Mediterranean itself, no one, surely, will say it is of the same height at Lechæum¹ and at Cenchrea.² This answer Hipparchus anticipated in his Critique; and being aware of the opinion of Eratosthenes, was justified in attacking his arguments. But he ought not to have taken it for granted, that when Eratosthenes said the exterior sea was all one, he necessarily implied that its level was every where the same.

✓ 15. Hipparchus rejects as false the [account] of the inscription on the dolphins "by the delegates from Cyrene," but the reason he assigns for this is insufficient, viz. that though Cyrene was built in times of which we have record, no one mentions the oracle,³ as being situated on the sea-shore. But what matters it that no historian has recorded this, when amongst the other proofs from which we infer that this place was formerly on the sea-shore, we number this of the dolphins which were set up, and the inscription, "by the delegates from Cyrene?"⁴ Hipparchus agrees that if the bottom of the sea were raised up, it would lift the water with it, and might therefore overflow the land as far as the locality of the oracle, or more than 3000 stadia from the shore; but he will not allow that the rising would be sufficient to overflow the Island of Pharos and the major portion of Egypt, since [he says] the elevation would not be sufficient to submerge these. He alleges that if before the opening of the passage at the Pillars of Hercules, the Mediterranean had been swollen to such an extent as Eratosthenes affirms, the whole of Libya, and the greater part of Europe and Asia, must long ago have been buried beneath its

¹ The western part of the town of Corinth. situated in the sea of Crissa. Its modern name is Pelagio.

² Kankri. ³ Viz. the temple of Jupiter Ammon, mentioned above.

⁴ Gosselin remarks, Cyrene was founded 631 years before the Christian era, and at that time the limits of the Mediterranean were the same as they are now. Amongst the Greeks, dolphins were the ordinary symbols of the principal seaport towns; and if the delegates from Cyrene set up this symbol of their country in the temple of Ammon, I see no reason why Eratosthenes and Strabo should regard the offering as a proof that the temple was on the sea-shore.

waves. Besides, he adds, in this case the Euxine would in certain places have been connected with the Adriatic, since in the vicinity of the Euxine, [near to its source,]¹ the Ister is divided in its course, and flows into either sea, owing to the peculiarities of the ground.² To this we object, that the Ister does not take its rise at all in the vicinity of the Euxine, but, on the contrary, beyond the mountains of the Adriatic; neither does it flow into both the seas, but into the Euxine alone, and only becomes divided just above its mouths. This latter, however, was an error into which he fell in common with many of his predecessors. They supposed that there was another river in addition to the former Ister, bearing the same name, which emptied itself into the Adriatic, and from which the country of Istria, through which it flowed, gained that appellation. It was by this river they believed Jason returned on his voyage from Colchis.

✓ 16. In order to lessen surprise at such changes as we have mentioned as causes of the inundations and other similar phenomena which are supposed to have produced Sicily, the islands of Æolus,³ and the Pithecussæ, it may be as well to compare with these others of a similar nature, which either now are, or else have been observed in other localities. A large array of such facts placed at once before the eye would serve to allay our astonishment; while that which is uncommon startles our perception, and manifests our general ignorance of the occurrences which take place in nature and physical existence. For instance, supposing any one should narrate the circumstances concerning Thera and the Therasian Islands, situated in the strait between Crete and the Cyrenaic,⁴ Thera being itself the metropolis of Cyrene; or those [in connexion

¹ We have thought it necessary, with the French translators, to insert these words, since although they are found in no MS. of Strabo, the argument which follows is clearly unintelligible without them.

² Hipparchus, believing that the Danube emptied itself by one mouth into the Euxine, and by another into the Adriatic Gulf, imagined that if the waters of the Mediterranean were raised in the manner proposed by Eratosthenes, the valley through which that river flows would have been submerged, and so formed a kind of strait by which the Euxine would have been connected to the Adriatic Gulf.

³ The Lipari Islands.

⁴ There is some mistake here. Strabo himself elsewhere tells us that the islands of Thera and Therasia were situated in the Ægean Sea, near to the island of Nanfio.

with] Egypt, and many parts of Greece. For midway between Thera and Therasia flames rushed forth from the sea for the space of four days; causing the whole of it to boil and be all on fire; and after a little an island twelve stadia in circumference, composed of the burning mass, was thrown up, as if raised by machinery. After the cessation of this phenomenon, the Rhodians, then masters of the sea, were the first who dared to sail to the place, and they built there on the island a temple to the Asphalian¹ Neptune. Posidonius remarks, that during an earthquake which occurred in Phœnicia, a city situated above Sidon was swallowed up, and that nearly two-thirds of Sidon also fell, but not suddenly, and therefore with no great loss of life. That the same occurred, though in a lighter form, throughout nearly the whole of Syria, and was felt even in some of the Cyclades and the Island of Eubœa,² so that the fountains of Arethusa, a spring in Chalcis, were completely obstructed, and after some time forced for themselves another opening, and the whole island ceased not to experience shocks until a chasm was rent open in the earth in the plain of Lelanto,³ from which poured a river of burning mud.

✓ 17. Many writers have recorded similar occurrences, but it will suffice us to narrate those which have been collected by Demetrius of Skepsis.

Propos of that passage of Homer:—

“ And now they reach'd the running rivulets clear,
 Where from Scamander's dizzy flood arise
 Two fountains, tepid one, from which a smoke
 Issues voluminous as from a fire,
 The other, even in summer heats, like hail
 For cold, or snow, or crystal stream frost-bound :”⁴

this writer tells us we must not be surprised, that although the cold spring still remains, the hot cannot be discovered;

¹ “Defending from danger.” More probably, in this instance, the Securer of Foundations.

² Egripo.

³ This plain was near the city of Chalcis, which at the present day bears the same name as the island itself.

⁴ And reached the two fair-flowing springs, where the two springs of the eddying Scamander rise. The one, indeed, flows with tepid water, and a steam arises from it around, as of burning fire; whilst the other flows forth in the summer time, like unto hail, or cold snow, or ice from water Iliad xxii. 147.

and says we must reckon the failing of the hot spring as the cause. He goes on to relate certain catastrophes recorded by Democles, how formerly in the reign of Tantalus¹ there were great earthquakes in Lydia and Ionia as far as the Troad,² which swallowed up whole villages and overturned Mount Sipylus;³ marshes then became lakes, and the city of Troy was covered by the waters.⁴ Pharos, near Egypt, which anciently was an island, may now be called a peninsula, and the same may be said of Tyre and Clazomenæ.⁵

During my stay at Alexandria in Egypt the sea rose so high near Pelusium⁶ and Mount Casius⁷ as to overflow the land, and convert the mountain into an island, so that a journey from Casius into Phœnicia might have been undertaken by water. We should not be surprised therefore if in time to come the isthmus⁸ which separates the Egyptian sea⁹ from the Erythræan,¹⁰ should part asunder or subside, and becoming a strait, connect the outer and inner seas,¹¹ similarly to what has taken place at the strait of the Pillars.

At the commencement of this work will be found some other narrations of a similar kind, which should be considered at the same time, and which will greatly tend to strengthen our belief both in these works of nature and also in its other changes. √ 18. The Piræus having been formerly an island, and lying *πέραν*, or off the shore, is said to have thus received its name. Leucas,¹² on the contrary, has been made an island by the Corinthians, who cut through the isthmus which connected it with the shore [of the mainland]. It is concerning this place that Laertes is made to say,

¹ Tantalus lived about 1387, B. C.

² Lydia and Ionia form the modern provinces of Aidin and Sarukan in Anadoli. A part of the Troad still preserves the name of Troiaki.

³ A mountain in Mæonia, close to the city of Magnesia.

⁴ Ilius, who ascended the throne about 1400 years before the Christian era, founded the city, to which he gave the name of Ilium. The old city of Troy stood on a hill, and was safe from the inundation.

⁵ These two cities were built on little islets adjoining the continent. Alexander connected them with the mainland by means of jetties. Clazomenæ was situated on the Gulf of Smyrna, near to a place now called Vurla or Burla. The present appellation of Tyre, on the coast of Phœnicia, is Sur.

⁶ Tineh.

⁷ El-Kas.

⁸ Of Suez.

⁹ That part of the Mediterranean adjoining Egypt.

¹⁰ The Red Sea. ¹¹ The Red Sea and Mediterranean. ¹² Sta. Maura.

“ Oh that I possess'd
Such vigour now as when in arms I took
Nericus, continental city fair.”¹

Here man devoted his labour to make a separation, in other instances to the construction of moles and bridges. Such is that which connects the island opposite to Syracuse² with the mainland. This junction is now effected by means of a bridge, but formerly, according to Ibycus, by a pier of picked stones, which he calls *elect*. Of Bura³ and Helice,⁴ one has been swallowed by an earthquake, the other covered by the waves. Near to Methone,⁵ which is on the Hermionic Gulf,⁶ a mountain seven stadia in height was cast up during a fiery eruption; during the day it could not be approached on account of the heat and sulphureous smell; at night it emitted an agreeable odour, appeared brilliant at a distance, and was so hot that the sea boiled all around it to a distance of five stadia, and appeared in a state of agitation for twenty stadia, the heap being formed of fragments of rock as large as towers. Both Arne and Mideia⁷ have been buried in the waters of Lake Copais.⁸ These towns the poet in his Catalogue⁹ thus speaks of;

“ Arne claims
A record next for her illustrious sons,
Vine-bearing Arne. Thou wast also there
Mideia.”¹⁰

It seems that several Thracian cities have been submerged by the Lake Bistonis,¹¹ and that now called Aphnitis.¹² Some also

¹ Odyss. xxiv. 376.

² The island of Ortygia, now St. Marcian. ³ Diakopton.

⁴ Probably Bulika, according to others Trypia or Niora.

⁵ Methone is the same town which Pausanias (l. ii. c. 32) names Methoua, it was situated in the Argolis between Trœzene and Epidaurus. The above writer tells us that in the reign of Antigonus, son of Demetrius king of Macedonia, there was a breaking out of subterranean fires close to Methona. This event, which it is probable Strabo alludes to, occurred some where between the year 277 and 244, before the Christian era. The town still exists under its ancient name of Methona.

⁶ An error in all the MSS. The Saronic Gulf is intended.

⁷ Vide Strabo, b. ix. c. ii. § 34, 35. ⁸ In Bœotia.

⁹ The Second Iliad, or Catalogue of Ships.

¹⁰ And those who inhabited grape-clustered Arne, and those [who inhabited] Mideia. Iliad ii. 507.

¹¹ This Thracian lake or lagoon is now called Burum. It is formed by the mouths of several rivers, and lies to the north of the isle of Thaso.

¹² Diaskillo, *al.* Biga.

affirm that certain cities of Trerus were also overwhelmed, in the neighbourhood of Thrace. Artemita, formerly one of the Echinades,¹ is now part of the mainland; the same has happened to some other of the islets near the Achelous, occasioned, it is said, in the same way, by the alluvium carried into the sea by that river, and Hesiod² assures us that a like fate awaits them all. Some of the Ætolian promontories were formerly islands. Asteria,³ called by Homer Asteris, is no longer what it was.

“ There is a rocky isle
In the mid-sea, Samos the rude between
And Ithaca, not large, named Asteris.
It hath commodious havens, into which
A passage clear opens on either side.”⁴

There is no good anchorage there now. Neither is there in Ithaca the cavern, nor yet the temple of the nymphs described to us by Homer. It seems more correct to attribute this to change having come over the places, than either to the ignorance or the romancing of the poet. This however, being uncertain, must be left to every man's opinion.

✓ 19. Myrsilus tells us that Antissa⁵ was formerly an island, and so called because it was opposite to Lesbos,⁶ then named Issa. Now, however, it forms one of the towns of Lesbos.⁷ Some have believed that Lesbos itself has been disjoined from Mount Ida in the same way as Prochyta⁸ and Pithecussa⁹ from Misenum,¹⁰ Capreæ¹¹ from the Athenæum, Sicily from

¹ These are certain little islands at the mouth of the river Achelous, the modern Aspropotamo, which formed the boundary between Acarnania and Ætolia. Now Curzolari.

² It is supposed we should here read Herodotus. Conf. Herod. ii. 10.

³ Daskalio.

⁴ Now there is a certain rocky island in the middle of the sea, between Ithaca and the rugged Samos, Asteris, not large; and in it there are havens fit for ships, with two entrances. Odyssey iv. 844.

⁵ That is to say, the territory opposite Issa; probably the ruins near to Kalas Limenaias.

⁶ The present island of Metelino.

⁷ Ἡ δὲ Ἀντίσση νῆσος ἦν πρότερον, ὡς Μυρσίλος φησί· τῆς [δὲ] Λέσβου καλουμένης πρότερον Ἴσσης, καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀντίσσην καλεῖσθαι συνέβη. Our rendering of this passage, though rather free, seemed necessary to the clear explication of the Greek.

⁸ Procita.

⁹ Ischia.

¹⁰ Miseno, the northern cape of the Gulf of Naples.

¹¹ Capri.

Rhegium,¹ and Ossa from Olympus.² Many changes similar to these have occurred elsewhere. The river Ladon in Arcadia ceased for some time its flow. Duris informs us that the Rhagæ³ in Media gained that appellation from chasms made in the ground near the Gates of the Caspian⁴ by earthquakes, in which many cities and villages were destroyed, and the rivers underwent various changes. Ion, in his satirical composition of Omphale, has said of Eubœa,

“The light wave of the Euripus has divided the land of Eubœa from Bœotia; separating the projecting land by a strait.”

✓ 20. Demetrius of Callatis, speaking of the earthquakes which formerly occurred throughout the whole of Greece, states that a great portion of the Lichadian Islands and of Kenæum⁵ were submerged; that the hot springs of Ædepsus⁶ and Thermopylæ were suppressed for three days, and that when they commenced to run again those of Ædepsus gushed from new fountains. That at Oreus⁷ on the sea-coast the wall and nearly seven hundred houses fell at once. That the greater part of Echinus,⁸ Phalara,⁹ and Heraclæa of Trachis¹⁰ were thrown down, Phalara being overturned from its very foundations. That almost the same misfortune occurred to the Lamians¹¹ and inhabitants of Larissa; that Scarpheia¹² was overthrown from its foundations, not less than one thousand seven hundred persons being swallowed up, and at

¹ Reggio.

² These two mountains are separated from each other by the river Penæus.

³ *Ῥαγὰς*, a rent or chink. This town was sixty miles from Ecbatana; it was named by the Arabs Raï, and is now in ruins. It is the Rhages in Tobias.

⁴ Certain mountain defiles, now called Firouz-Koh.

⁵ A western promontory of Eubœa, called by the modern Greeks Kabo Lithari. The Lichadian Islands, which now bear the name of Litada, are close by.

⁶ A city of Eubœa; *hœd.* Dipso.

⁷ In Eubœa, now Orio.

⁸ Now Echino; belonged to Thessaly and was near the sea.

⁹ Now Stillida; situated on the Bay of Zeitoun.

¹⁰ A little town situated in a plain amongst the mountains. It received its name from a tradition that Hercules abode there during the time that the pyre on Mount Ceta was being prepared, into which he cast himself.

¹¹ Lamia in Thessaly.

¹² A city of the Epi-Cnemidian Locrians in Achaia; its present name is Bondoniza.

Thronium¹ more than half that number. That a torrent of water gushed forth taking three directions, one to Scarphe and Thronium, another to Thermopylæ, and a third to the plains of Daphnus in Phocis. That the springs of [many] rivers were for several days dried up; that the course of the Sperchius² was changed, thus rendering navigable what formerly were highways; that the Boagrius³ flowed through another channel; that many parts of Alope, Cynus, and Opus were injured,⁴ and the castle of Cœum, which commands the latter city, entirely overturned. That part of the wall of Elateia⁵ was thrown down; and that at Alponus,⁶ during the celebration of the games in honour of Ceres, twenty-five maidens, who had mounted a tower to enjoy the show exhibited in the port, were precipitated into the sea by the falling of the tower. They also record that a large fissure was made [by the water] through the midst of the island of Atalanta,⁷ opposite Eubœa,⁸ sufficient for ships to sail in; that the course of the channel was in places as broad as twenty stadia between the plains; and that a trireme being raised [thereby] out of the docks, was carried over the walls.

21. Those who desire to instil into us that more perfect freedom from [ignorant] wonder, which Democritus and all other philosophers so highly extol, should add the changes which have been produced by the migrations of various tribes: we should thus be inspired with courage, steadiness, and composure. For instance, the Western Iberians,⁹ removed to the regions beyond the Euxine and Colchis, being separated from Arme-

¹ A town close to Scarpheia; its ruins are said to be still visible at Palaio Kastro.

² Now Agriomela or Elladâ, a river descending from Mount Cœta, and emptying itself into the Bay of Zeitoun.

³ A torrent near Thronium; its present name is Boagrio.

⁴ Three cities of the Opuntian Locrians; Cynus, the port of Opus, is now called Kyno.

⁵ One of the principal cities of Phocis, near the river Cephissus; a little village called Leuta stands on the ancient site.

⁶ Probably the Alpe in Locris mentioned by Herodotus.

⁷ The modern Talanta.

⁸ Egripo.

⁹ The Western Iberians are the people who inhabited Spain, and were said to have removed into Eastern Iberia, a country situated in the centre of the isthmus which separates the Euxine from the Caspian Sea. The district is now called Carduel, and is a region of Georgia.

nia, according to Apollodorus, by the Araxes,¹ but rather by the Cyrus² and Moschican mountains.³ The expedition of the Egyptians into Ethiopia⁴ and Colchis. The migration of the Heneti,⁵ who passed from Paphlagonia into the country bordering on the Adriatic Gulf. Similar emigrations were also undertaken by the nations of Greece, the Ionians, Dorians, Achaians, and Æolians; and the Ænians,⁶ now next neighbours to the Ætolians, formerly dwelt near Dotium⁷ and Ossa, beyond the Perrhæbi;⁸ the Perrhæbi too are but wanderers here themselves. Our present work furnishes numerous instances of the same kind. Some of these are familiar to most readers, but the migrations of the Carians, the Treres, the Teucrians, and the Galatæ or Gauls,⁹ are not so generally known. Nor yet for the most part are the expeditions of their chiefs, for instance, Madys the Scythian, Tearko the Ethiopian, Cobus of Trerus, Sesostris and Psammeticus the Egyptians; nor are those of the Persians from Cyrus to Xerxes familiar to every one. The Kimmerians, or a separate tribe of them, called the Treres, have frequently overrun the countries to the right of the Euxine and those adjacent to them, bursting now into Paphlagonia, now into Phrygia, as they did when, according to report, Midas¹⁰ came to his death by drinking bull's blood. Lygdamis led his followers into Lydia, passed through Ionia, took Sardis, but was slain in Cilicia. The Kimmerians and Treres frequently made similar incursions, until at last, as it is reported, these latter, together with [their chief] Cobus, were

¹ The river Aras.

² The river Kur.

³ The mountains which border Colchis or Mingrelia on the south.

⁴ According to Herodotus, Sesostris was the only Egyptian monarch who ever reigned in Ethiopia. Pliny says he penetrated as far as the promontory of Mosyion.

⁵ Veneti.

⁶ A small people of Thessaly, who latterly dwelt near Mount Cæta, which separated them from Ætolia and Phocis.

⁷ A city and plain in Thessaly, near to Mount Ossa.

⁸ A people of Macedon, at the time of Strabo dwelling north of the river Peneius.

⁹ Few nations have wandered so far and wide as the Galatæ. We meet with them in Europe, Asia, and Africa, under the various names of Galatæ Galatians, Gauls, and Kelts. Galatia, in Asia Minor, was settled by one of these hordes.

¹⁰ There were many kings of Phrygia of this name.

driven out by Madys, king of the "Scythians."¹ But enough has been said in this place on the general history of the earth, as each country will have a particular account.

22. We must now return to the point whence we digressed. Herodotus having observed that there could be no such people as Hyperboreans, inasmuch as there were no Hypernotii,² Eratosthenes calls this argument ridiculous, and compares it to the sophism, that there are no epichærekaki,³ inasmuch as there are no epichæragathi;⁴ [adding] perhaps there are Hypernotii; since at all events in Ethiopia Notus does not blow, although lower down it does.

It would indeed be strange, since winds blow under every latitude, and especially the southern wind called Notus, if any region could be found where this latter was not felt. On the contrary, not only does Ethiopia experience our Notus, but also the whole country which lies above as far as the equator.⁵

If Herodotus must be blamed at all, it is for supposing that the Hyperboreans were so named in consequence of Boreas, or the north wind, not blowing upon them. The poets are allowed much licence in their modes of expression; but their commentators, who endeavour always to give us the correct view, tell us that the people who dwelt in the extreme north, were styled Hyperboreans. The pole is the boundary of the northern

¹ The text of Kramer follows most MSS. in reading "Kimmerians," but he points it out as a manifest error; and refers to Herodotus i. 103.

² By Hyperboreans are meant people who dwelt beyond the point from whence the north wind proceeded: Hypernotii therefore should be those who lived beyond the point of the procession of the south wind. The remark of Herodotus will be found, lib. iv. § 36. It is simply this: Supposing Hyperboreans, there ought likewise to be Hypernotii.

³ Those who exult over the misfortunes of their neighbours.

⁴ Those who rejoice in others' prosperity.

⁵ Gosselin observes, that what Strabo here says, is in accordance with the geographical system of the ancients, who supposed that Africa did not extend as far as the equator. As they distinguished the continent situated in the northern from a continent which they believed to exist in the southern hemisphere, and which they styled the Antichthonos, they called the wind, blowing from the neighbourhood of the equator, in the direction of the two poles, a south wind for either hemisphere. For example, if sailors should be brought to the equator by a north wind, and that same wind should continue to waft them on their course after having passed the line, it would no longer be called a north, but a south wind.

winds, and the equator of the southern; these winds have no other limit.

23. Eratosthenes next finds fault with the writers who fill their narrative with stories evidently feigned and impossible; some as mere fable, but others as history, which did not deserve mention. In the discussion of a subject like his, he should not have wasted his time about such trifles. Such is the way in which this writer completes the First Book of his Memoirs.

CHAPTER IV.

1. In his Second Book Eratosthenes endeavours to correct some errors in geography, and offers his own views on the subject, any mistakes in which we shall endeavour in our turn to set right. He is correct in saying that the inductions of mathematics and natural philosophy should be employed, and that if the earth is spheroidal like the universe, it is inhabited in all parts; together with some other things of this nature. Later writers do not agree with him as to the size of the earth,¹ nor admit his measurement. However Hipparchus, when noting the celestial appearances for each particular locality, adopts his admeasurements, saying that those taken for the meridian of Meroe,² Alexandria, and the Dnieper, differ but very slightly from the truth. Eratosthenes then enters into a long discussion concerning the figure of the globe, proving that the form of the earth together with the water is spheroidal, as also the heavens. This however we imagine was foreign to his purpose, and should have been disposed of in the compass of a few words.

2. After this he proceeds to determine the breadth of the habitable earth: he tells us, that measuring from the meridian of Meroe³ to Alexandria, there are 10,000 stadia.

¹ According to Gosselin, this does not allude to the size of the whole earth, but merely that part of it which, according to the theory of the ancients, was alone habitable.

² Most probably Gherri in Sennaar.

³ Eratosthenes supposed that Meroe, Alexandria, the Hellespont, and

From thence to the Hellespont¹ about 8100. Again; from thence to the Dnieper, 5000; and thence to the parallel of Thule,² which Pytheas says is six days' sail north from Britain, and near the Frozen Sea, other 11,500. To which if we add 3400 stadia above Meroe in order to include the Island of the Egyptians,³ the Cinnamon country, and Taprobane,⁴ there will be in all 38,000 stadia.

3. We will let pass the rest of his distances, since they are something near,—but that the Dnieper is under the same parallel as Thule, what man in his senses could ever agree to this? Pytheas, who has given us the history of Thule, is known to be a man upon whom no reliance can be placed, and other writers who have seen Britain and Ierne,⁵ although they tell us of many small islands round Britain, make no mention whatever of Thule. The length of Britain itself is nearly the same as that of Keltica,⁶ opposite to which it extends. Altogether it is not more than 5000 stadia in length, its outermost points corresponding to those of the opposite continent. In fact the extreme points of the two countries lie opposite to each other, the eastern extremity to the eastern, and the western to the western: the eastern points are situated so close as to be within sight of each other, both at Kent and at the mouths of the Rhine. But Pytheas tells us that the island [of Britain] is more than 20,000 stadia in length, and that Kent is some days' sail from France. With regard to the locality of the Ostimii, and the countries beyond the Rhine,⁷ as far as Scythia, he is altogether mistaken. The veracity of a writer who has been thus false in describing countries with which we are well acquainted, should not be too much trusted in regard to unknown places.

4. Further, Hipparchus and many others are of opinion that the parallel of latitude of the Dnieper does not differ

the mouth of the Borysthenes or Dnieper, were all under the same meridian.

¹ The Dardanelles.

² Iceland.

³ This Island of the Egyptians is the same which Strabo elsewhere calls the Island of the Exiles, because it was inhabited by Egyptians who had revolted from Psammeticus, and established themselves in the island. Its exact situation is unknown.

⁴ Ceylon.

⁵ Ireland.

⁶ France.

⁷ Between the Rhine and Elbe.

from that of Britain ; since that of Byzantium and Marseilles are the same. The degree of shadow from the gnomon which Pytheas states he observed at Marseilles being exactly equal to that which Hipparchus says he found at Byzantium ; the periods of observation being in both cases similar.¹ Now from Marseilles to the centre of Britain is not more than 5000 stadia ; and if from the centre of Britain we advance north not more than 4000 stadia, we arrive at a temperature in which it is scarcely possible to exist. Such indeed is that of Ierne.² Consequently the far region in which Eratosthenes places Thule must be totally uninhabitable. By what guess-work he arrived at the conclusion that between the latitude of Thule and the Dnieper there was a distance of 11,500 stadia I am unable to divine.

5. Eratosthenes being mistaken as to the breadth [of the habitable earth], is necessarily wrong as to its length. The most accurate observers, both ancient and modern, agree that the known length of the habitable earth is more than twice its breadth. Its length I take to be from the [eastern] extremity of India³ to the [westernmost] point of Spain ;⁴ and its breadth from [the south of] Ethiopia to the latitude of Ierne. Eratosthenes, as we have said, reckoning its breadth from the extremity of Ethiopia to Thule, was forced to extend its length beyond the true limits, that he might make it more than twice as long as the breadth he had assigned to it. He says that India, measured where it is narrowest,⁵ is 16,000 stadia to the river Indus. If measured from its most prominent capes it extends 3000 more.⁶ Thence to the Caspian Gates, 14,000. From the Caspian Gates to the Euphrates,⁷ 10,000. From

¹ The latitudes of Marseilles and Constantinople differ by 2° 16' 21". Gosselin enters into a lengthened explanation on this subject, i. 158.

² Ireland.

³ The eastern mouth of the Ganges.

⁴ Cape St. Vincent.

⁵ In the opinion of Strabo and Eratosthenes, the narrowest portion of India was measured by a line running direct from the eastern embouchure of the Ganges to the sources of the Indus, that is, the northern side of India bounded by the great chain of the Taurus.

⁶ Cape Comorin is the farthest point on the eastern coast. Strabo probably uses the plural to indicate the capes generally, not confining himself to those which project a few leagues farther than the rest.

⁷ The Euphrates at Thapsacus, the most frequented passage ; *hæd.* El-Der.

the Euphrates to the Nile, 5000.¹ Thence to the Canopic² mouth, 1300. From the Canopic mouth to Carthage, 13,500. From thence to the Pillars at least 8000. Which make in all 70,800 stadia. To these [he says] should be added the curvature of Europe beyond the Pillars of Hercules, fronting the Iberians, and inclining west, not less than 3000 stadia, and the headlands, including that of the Ostimii, named Cabæum,³ and the adjoining islands, the last of which, named Uxisama,⁴ is distant, according to Pytheas, a three days' sail. But he added nothing to its length by enumerating these last, viz. the headlands, including that of the Ostimii, the island of Uxisama, and the rest; they are not situated so as affect the length of the earth, for they all lie to the north, and belong to Keltica, not to Iberia; indeed it seems but an invention of Pytheas. Lastly, to fall in with the general opinion that the breadth ought not⁵ to exceed half the length, he adds to the stated measure of its length 2000 stadia west, and as many east.

6. Further, endeavouring to support the opinion that it is in accordance with natural philosophy to reckon the greatest dimension of the habitable earth from east to west, he says that, according to the laws of natural philosophy, the habitable earth ought to occupy a greater length from east to west, than its breadth from north to south. The temperate zone, which we have already designated as the longest zone, is that which the mathematicians denominate a continuous circle returning upon itself. So that if the extent of the Atlantic Ocean were not an obstacle, we might easily pass by sea from Iberia to India,⁶ still keeping in the same parallel; the remaining portion of which parallel, measured as above in stadia, occupies more than a third of the whole circle: since the parallel drawn through Athens,⁷ on which we have taken the distances from India to Iberia, does not contain in the whole 200,000 stadia.

¹ The Pelusiæ mouth of the Nile, now Thineh or Farameh.

² Close by Aboukir.

³ Cape S. Mahé.

⁴ Ushant.

⁵ The text has τὸ πλείον, but we have followed the suggestions of the commentators in reading τὸ μὴ πλείον.

⁶ It is remarkable that this is the same idea which led Columbus to the discovery of America, and gave to the islands off that continent the name of the West Indies.

⁷ We have followed Kramer in reading δι' Ἀθηνῶν, instead of the διὰ θινῶν of former editions.

Here too his reasoning is incorrect. For this speculation respecting the temperate zone which we inhabit, and whereof the habitable earth is a part, devolves properly on those who make mathematics their study. But it is not equally the province of one treating of the habitable earth. For by this term we mean only that portion of the temperate zone where we dwell, and with which we are acquainted. But it is quite possible that in the temperate zone there may be two or even more habitable earths, especially near the circle of latitude which is drawn through Athens and the Atlantic Ocean. After this he returns to the form of the earth, which he again declares to be spheroidal. Here he exhibits the same churlishness we have previously pointed out, and goes on abusing Homer in his old style. He proceeds :

7. "There has been much argument respecting the continents. Some, considering them to be divided by the rivers Nile and Tanais,¹ have described them as islands ; while others suppose them to be peninsulas connected by the isthmuses between the Caspian and the Euxine Seas, and between the Erythræan Sea² and Ecregma."³ He adds, that this question does not appear to him to be of any practical importance, but rather, as Democritus observed, a bone of contention for angry litigants. Where there are no precise boundary marks, columns, or walls, as at Colyttus and Melitè,⁴ it is easy for us to say such a place is Colyttus, and such another Melitè ; but not so easy to show the exact limits : thus disputes have frequently arisen concerning certain districts ; that, for instance, between the Argives and Lacedæmonians concerning [the possession of] Thyrea,⁵ and that between the Athenians and Bœotians relative to Oropus.⁶ Further, in giving names to the three continents, the Greeks did not take into consideration the whole habitable earth, but merely their own country and the land exactly opposite, namely, Caria, which is now inhabited by

¹ The Nile being thought to separate Africa from Asia, and the Tanais, or Don, Europe.

² The Red Sea.

³ The name of the mouth of the lake Sirbonis or Sebaket-Bardoil, which opens into the Mediterranean. A line drawn from this embouchure to the bottom of the Arabian Gulf, would give the boundary between Africa and Asia.

⁴ Places in Attica.

⁵ Probably Thyros, a place situated close to the sea, just at the boundary of the two countries.

⁶ Oropo, on the confines of Attica and Bœotia.

the Ionians and other neighbouring tribes. In course of time, as they advanced further and daily became acquainted with new countries, this their division came to be general."

I take this last part first, and (to use Eratosthenes' own words, not those of Democritus) willing to pick my bone of contention, inquire, whether they who first made the division of the three continents were the same persons as those who first desired to distinguish their own land from that of the Carians opposite, or whether they were only acquainted with Greece, Caria, and some few other adjoining countries, and not with Europe, Asia, or Africa; but that others who followed them, and were able to write a description of the habitable earth, were the real authors of the division into three continents. How did he know that these were not the men who made this division of the habitable earth? And he who divided the earth into three parts, giving to each portion the name of "continent," could he not form in his mind a just idea of that taken as a whole, which he had so parcelled out. But if indeed he were not acquainted with the whole habitable earth, but merely made a division of some part thereof, pray what portion of that part did he denominate Asia, or Europe, or simply continent? Such talk is altogether nonsense.

8. The reasoning of Eratosthenes, however, is still more absurd, when he declares that he sees no advantage in being acquainted with the exact boundaries of countries, and then cites the example of Colyttus and Melitè, which prove just the contrary of his assertion. Surely if a want of certainty respecting the boundaries of Thyrea and Oropus gave rise to war, a knowledge of the limits of different districts must be of practical importance. Will he tell us that the boundaries of districts, or the limits of kingdoms, may be of some service, but when applied to continents it is carrying the matter too far. We reply, it is of equal consequence here. Suppose a dispute between two powerful princes, one claiming the possession of Asia and the other of Africa, to which of these should Egypt, I mean the country called Lower Egypt, appertain. Will any one pass over such cases on account of their rarity? By no means. It is acknowledged by every one that the limits of each continent ought to be defined by some notable boundary, indicated by the configuration of the whole habitable earth. In following out this principle, we should not be

very particular if they who determine boundaries by the rivers leave some districts undefined, since the rivers do not reach from sea to sea, nor leave the continents altogether as islands.

9. At the close of the book Eratosthenes blames the system of those who would divide all mankind into Greeks and Barbarians, and likewise those who recommended Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends, but the Barbarians as enemies.¹ He suggests, as a better course, to distinguish them according to their virtues and their vices, "since amongst the Greeks there are many worthless characters, and many highly civilized are to be found amongst the Barbarians; witness the Indians and Ariani,² or still better the Romans and Carthaginians, whose political system is so beautifully perfect. Alexander, considering this, disregarded the advice which had been offered him, and patronized without distinction any man he considered to be deserving." But we would inquire whether those men who thus divided the human race, abandoning one portion to contempt, and exalting to dignity the other, were not actuated to this because they found that on one side justice, knowledge, and the force of reason reigned supreme, but their contraries on the other. Alexander did not disregard the advice tendered him, but gladly embraced and followed it, respecting the wisdom of those who gave it; and so far from taking the opposite course, he closely pursued that which they pointed out.

¹ Aristotle was the giver of this sage counsel.

² A people of Asia.

BOOK II.

SUMMARY.

In the Second Book, having proposed for discussion the [opinions] of Eratosthenes, he examines and refutes whatever that writer may have incorrectly said, determined, or laid down. He likewise brings forward many statements of Hipparchus, which he disproves, and finishes with a short exposition or synopsis of the whole subject, namely, geographical knowledge.

CHAPTER I.

1. In the Third Book of his Geography Eratosthenes furnishes us with a chart of the habitable earth. This he divides into two portions, by a line running from east to west parallel to the equator. He makes the Pillars of Hercules the boundary of this line to the west, and to the east the farthest ridges of those mountains which bound India on the north. From the Pillars he draws the line through the Strait of Sicily,¹ and the southern extremities of Peloponnesus and Attica, to Rhodes and the Gulf of Issus.² He says, "Through the whole of this distance the line mentioned is drawn across the sea³ and adjacent continents; the whole length of the Mediterranean as far as Cilicia extending in that direction. Thence it runs nearly in a straight line along the whole chain of the Taurus to India. The Taurus continuing in a straight line from the Pillars divides Asia through its whole length into two halves, north and south. So that both the Taurus and the sea from the Pillars hither⁴ lie under the parallel of Athens."

2. He then declares that the ancient geographical chart wants revision; that in it the eastern portion of the Taurus

¹ The Strait of Messina.

² The Gulf of Aïas. The town of Aïas has replaced Issus, at the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean.

³ The Mediterranean.

⁴ That is, the Mediterranean on the coast of Syria.

is made to run too far north, India itself being also too much drawn in the same direction. One proof which he offers in support of this is, that the most southern extremities of India are under the same latitude as Meroe, as attested by many, both from astronomical observations and the temperature of the climate. From thence to the most northerly point by the mountains of the Caucasus,¹ there are 15,000 stadia, according to Patrocles, a writer whom we are bound to believe, both on account of his worth, and the vast amount of his geographical attainments. Now since the distance from Meroe to the parallel of Athens is nearly the same, the most northerly points of India next to the Caucasian mountains ought to be under the same degree of latitude.

3. But there is another method (says Eratosthenes) of proving this. The distance from the Gulf of Issus to the Euxine, proceeding in a northerly direction towards Amisus² and Sinope,³ is about 3000 stadia, which is as much as the supposed extent of the mountains [of the Taurus].⁴ The traveller who directs his course from Amisus due east,⁵ arrives first at Colchis, then at the high lands by the Hyrcanian Sea,⁶ afterwards at the road leading to Bactra,⁷ and beyond to the Scythians; having the mountains always on the right. The same line drawn through Amisus westward, crosses the Propontis and Hellespont. From Meroe to the Hellespont there are not more than 18,000 stadia.⁸ The distance is just the same from the southern extremity of India to the land of Bactria, if we add to the 15,000 stadia of that country the 3000 which its mountains occupy in breadth.

4. Hipparchus tries to invalidate this view of Eratosthenes, by sneering at the proofs on which it rests. Patrocles, he says, merits little credit, being contradicted by the two writers

¹ Strabo does not here mean the Caucasus or Balkan, but the mountains which stretch from Persia to Cochin China. At a later period the several chains were known to the Greeks by the names of Paropamisus, Emodi Montes, Imaüs, &c.

² Samsun.

³ Sinub.

⁴ The great chain of the Taurus was supposed to occupy the whole breadth of Asia Minor, a space of 3000 stadia. Eratosthenes is here attempting to prove that these mountains occupy a like space in the north of India.

⁵ *Lit.* to the equinoctial rising.

⁶ Another designation of the Caspian.

⁷ Balk.

⁸ Read 18,100 stadia.

Deimachus and Megasthenes, who say that the distance¹ taken from the southern ocean, is in some places 20,000, in others 30,000 stadia; that in this assertion they are supported by the ancient charts, and he considers it absurd to require us to put implicit faith in Patrocles alone, when there is so much testimony against him; or that the ancient charts should be corrected; but rather that they should be left as they are until we have something more certain on the subject.

5. This argument, I think, is in many instances unfounded. Eratosthenes availed himself of the statements of many writers, although Hipparchus alleges he was solely led by Patrocles. Who then are the authors of the statement that the southern extremity of India is under the same parallel as Meroe; and who are they who estimate² the distance from Meroe to the parallel passing through Athens? Or who, again, were those who asserted that the whole breadth occupied by the mountains³ was equal to the distance from Cilicia to Amisus? Or who made known that, travelling from Amisus, the course lay in a straight line due east through Colchis, the [sea of] Hyrcania, so on to Bactria, and beyond this to the eastern ocean,⁴ the mountains being always on the right hand; and that this same line carried west in a straight line, traverses the Propontis and the Hellespont? These things Eratosthenes advances on the testimony of men who had been on the spot, and from the study of those numerous memoirs which he had for reference in that noble library⁵ which Hipparchus himself acknowledges to be gigantic.

6. Besides, the credibility of Patrocles can be proved by a variety of evidence—the princes⁶ who confided to him so important trusts—the authors who follow his statements—and those, too, who criticise them, whose names Hipparchus has recorded. Since whenever these are refuted, the credit of Patrocles is by so much advanced. Nor does Patrocles appear to state any thing improbable when he says that the army

¹ i. e. The breadth of India.

² Literally, "estimate at so much," referring to the estimate at the conclusion of § 2.

³ Caucasus, in the north of India.

⁴ By the term *ἑψα θάλασσα*, rendered "eastern ocean," we must understand Strabo to mean the Bay of Bengal.

⁵ The Alexandrian.

⁶ Seleucus Nicator and Antiochus Soter.

of Alexander took but a very hasty view of every thing [in India], but Alexander himself a more exact one, causing the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it. Which description he says was afterwards put into his hands by Xenocles the treasurer.

7. Again, in the second volume of his Commentaries, Hipparchus accuses Eratosthenes of himself throwing discredit on the statement of Patrocles, on account of his differing with Megasthenes, as to the length of India on its northern side;¹ Megasthenes stating the length at 16,000 stadia, and Patrocles at 1000 less. Being biassed by a certain Itinerary, Eratosthenes was led to reject them both on account of this discrepancy, and to follow the Itinerary. If then merely the difference of 1000 stadia is sufficient to cause the authority of Patrocles to be rejected, how much more should this be the case when we find a difference of 8000 stadia between his statement and that of two writers who agree perfectly in theirs, that the breadth of India is 20,000 stadia, while he gives only 12,000!

8. We reply, that [Eratosthenes] did not object [to the statement of Patrocles] merely because it differed [from that of Megasthenes], but because the statement of this latter as to the stadia was confirmed by the Itinerary, an authority of no mean importance. There is nothing wonderful in this, that though a certain statement may be credible, another may be more credible; and that while in some instances we follow the former, in others we may dissent from it on finding a more trust-worthy guide. It is ridiculous to say that the greater the difference of one writer from others, the less he should be trusted. On the contrary, such a rule would be more applicable in regard to small differences; for in little particulars the ordinary observer and the man of great ability are equally liable to err. On the other hand, in great matters, the ordinary run of men are more like to be deceived than the man of superior talent, to whom consequently in such cases greater deference is paid.

9. Generally speaking, the men who hitherto have written on the affairs of India, were a set of liars. Deimachus holds the first place in the list, Megasthenes comes next, while

¹ The length of India is its measurement from west to east.

Onesicritus and Nearchus, with others of the same class, manage to stammer out a few words [of truth]. Of this we became the more convinced whilst writing the history of Alexander. No faith whatever can be placed in Deimachus and Megasthenes. They coined the fables concerning men with ears large enough to sleep in, men without any mouths, without noses, with only one eye, with spider-legs, and with fingers bent backward. They renewed Homer's fable concerning the battles of the Cranes and Pygmies, and asserted the latter to be three spans high. They told of ants digging for gold, of Pans with wedge-shaped heads, of serpents swallowing down oxen and stags, horns and all; meantime, as Eratosthenes has observed, reciprocally accusing each other of falsehood. Both of these men were sent ambassadors to Palimbothra,¹—Megasthenes to Sandrocottus, Deimachus to Allitrochades his son; and such are the notes of their residence abroad, which, I know not why, they thought fit to leave. Patrocles certainly does not resemble them; nor do any other of the authorities consulted by Eratosthenes contain such absurdities.

10. ² If the meridian of Rhodes and Byzantium has been rightly determined to be the same, then that of Cilicia and Amisus has likewise been rightly determined; many observations having proved that the lines are parallel, and that they never impinge on each other.

11. In like manner, that the voyage from Amisus to Colchis, and the route to the Caspian, and thence on to Bactra, are both due east, is proved by the winds, the seasons, the fruits, and even the sun-risings. Frequently evidence such as this, and general agreement, are more to be relied on than the measurement taken by means of instruments. Hipparchus himself was not wholly indebted to instruments and geometrical calculations for his statement that the Pillars and Cilicia lie in a direct line due east. For

¹ Not Allahabad, as supposed by D'Anville, but Patelputer, or Pataliputra, near Patna.

² There would seem to be some omission here, although none of the MSS. have any blank space left to indicate it. Groskurd has been at considerable pains to supply what he thinks requisite to complete the sense, but in a matter so doubtful we deemed it a surer course to follow the Greek text as it stands.

that part of it included between the Pillars and the Strait of Sicily he rests entirely on the assertion of sailors. It is therefore incorrect to say that, because we cannot exactly determine the duration of the longest and shortest days, nor the degree of shadow of the gnomon throughout the mountainous region between Cilicia and India, that therefore we are unable to decide whether the line traced obliquely on the ancient charts should or should not be parallel, and consequently must leave it unreformed, keeping it oblique as the ancient charts have it. For in the first place, not to determine any thing is to leave it undetermined; and to leave a thing undetermined, is neither to take one view of the matter nor the other: but to agree to leave it as the ancients have, that is to take a view of the case. It would have been more consistent with his reasoning, if he had told us to leave Geography alone altogether, since we are similarly unable to determine the position of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the mountains of Thrace,¹ Illyria,² and Germany. Wherefore should we give more credit to the ancient writers than to the modern, when we call to mind the numerous errors of their charts which have been pointed out by Eratosthenes, and which Hipparchus has not attempted to defend.

12. But the system of Hipparchus altogether teems with difficulties. Reflect for an instant on the following absurdity; after admitting that the southern extremity of India is under the same degree of latitude as Meroe, and that the distance from Meroe to the Strait of Byzantium is about 18,000³ stadia, he then makes the distance from the southern extremity of India to the mountains 30,000 stadia. Since Byzantium and Marseilles are under the same parallel of latitude, as Hipparchus tells us they are, on the authority of Pytheas, and since Byzantium and the Dnieper⁴ have also the same meridian, as Hipparchus equally assures us, if we take his assertion that there is a distance of 3700⁵ stadia between Byzantium and the Dnieper, there will of course be a like difference between the latitude of Marseilles and the

¹ Thrace, now Roumelia.

² The situation of Illyria was on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Venice.

³ Read 18,100 stadia.

⁴ The mouth of the Dnieper.

⁵ Hipparchus stated 3800 stadia, not 3700.

Dnieper. This would make the latitude of the Dnieper identical with that of Keltica next the Ocean; for on proceeding 3700 stadia [north of Marseilles], we reach the ocean.¹

13. Again, we know that the Cinnamon Country is the most southerly point of the habitable earth. According to Hipparchus's own statement, the latitude of this country, which marks the commencement of the temperate zone, and likewise of the habitable earth, is distant from the equator about 8800 stadia.² And since he likewise says that from the equator to the parallel of the Dnieper there are 34,000 stadia, there will remain a distance of 25,200 stadia between the parallel of the Dnieper (which is the same as that which passes over the side of Keltica next the Ocean) to that which separates the torrid from the temperate zone. It is said that the farthest voyages now made north of Keltica are to Ierne,³ which lies beyond Britain, and, on account of its extreme cold, barely sustains life; beyond this it is thought to be uninhabitable. Now the distance between Keltica and Ierne is estimated at not more than 5000 stadia; so that on this view they must have estimated the whole breadth of the habitable earth at 30,000 stadia, or just above.

14. Let us then transport ourselves to the land opposite the Cinnamon Country, and lying to the east under the same parallel of latitude; we shall there find the country named Taprobane.⁴ This Taprobane is universally believed to be a large island situated in the high seas, and lying to the south opposite India. Its length in the direction of Ethiopia is above 5000 stadia, as they say. There are brought from thence to the Indian markets, ivory, tortoise-shells, and other wares in large quantities. Now if this island is broad in proportion to

¹ Gosselin remarks that these 3700, or rather 3800 stadia, on proceeding from Marseilles, would reach the latitude of Paris, and that of the coasts in the neighbourhood of Tréguier. Eratosthenes and Hipparchus were out but 14' and some seconds in their calculation of the latitude of Marseilles; but Strabo's error touching the same amounted to 3° 43' 28"; he consequently fixed the northern coasts of France at 45° 17' 18", which is about the latitude of the mouth of the Garonne.

² These 8800 stadia, at 700 to a degree, amount to 12° 34' 17" of latitude. This would be about the middle of Abyssinia.

³ Ireland.

⁴ The island of Ceylon.

its length, we cannot suppose that the whole distance,¹ inclusive of the space which separates it from India, is less than 3000 stadia, which is equal to the distance of the [southern] extremity of the habitable earth from Meroe, since the [southern] extremities of India and Meroe are under the same parallel. It is likely there are more than 3000 stadia,² but taking this number, if we add thereto the 30,000 stadia, which Deimachus states there are between [the southern extremity of India] and the country of the Bactrians and Sogdians, we shall find both of these nations lie beyond the temperate zone and habitable earth.³ Who will venture to affirm such to be the case, hearing, as they must, the statement made both by ancients and moderns of the genial climate and fertility of northern India, Hyrcania, Aria, Margiana,⁴ and Bactriana also? These countries are all equally close to the northern side of the Taurus, Bactriana being contiguous to that part of the chain⁵ which forms the boundary of India. A country blessed with such advantages must be very far from uninhabitable. It is said that in Hyrcania each vine produces a metrete⁶ of wine, and each fig tree 60 medimni⁷ of fruit. That the grains of wheat which fall from the husk on to the earth spring up the year following; that bee-hives are in the trees, and the leaves flow with honey. The same may be met with in the part of Media called Matiana,⁸ and also in Saca-

¹ Viz. between its southern extremity and that of India.

² Strabo and Eratosthenes supposed the extremity of India farther south than Meroe; Hipparchus fixes it a little north of that city, at a distance of 12,600 stadia from the equator.

³ These 30,000 stadia, added to the 12,600 of the preceding note, would place Bactria under 60° 51' 26" north latitude, which is more than 24 degrees too far north.

⁴ Both Aria and Margiana are in the present Khorasan.

⁵ This portion of the Taurus is called by the Indians Hindou Kho.

⁶ This was the principal Greek liquid measure, and was 3-4ths of the medimnus, the chief dry measure. The Attic metretes was half as large again as the Roman *Amphora quadrantal*, and contained a little less than 7 gallons. *Smith.*

⁷ The medimnus contained nearly 12 imperial gallons, or 1½ bushel. This was the Attic medimnus; the Æginetan and Ptolemaic was half as much again, or in the ratio of 3 : 2 to the Attic. *Smith.*

⁸ Matiana was a province of Media on the frontiers of the present Kurdistan; Sacasena, a country of Armenia on the confines of Albania or Schirvan; Araxena, a province traversed by the river Araxes.

sená and Araxena, countries of Armenia. In these three it is not so much to be wondered at, since they lie more to the south than Hyrcania, and surpass the rest of the country in the beauty of their climate; but in Hyrcania it is more remarkable. It is said that in Margiana you may frequently meet with a vine whose stock would require two men with outstretched arms to clasp it, and clusters of grapes two cubits long. Aria is described as similarly fertile, the wine being still richer, and keeping perfectly for three generations in unpitched casks. Bactriana, which adjoins Aria, abounds in the same productions, if we except olives.

15. That there are cold regions in the high and mountainous parts of these countries is not to be wondered at; since in the [more] southern climates the mountains, and even the tablelands, are cold. The districts next the Euxine, in Cappadocia, are much farther north than those adjoining the Taurus. Bagadania, a vast plain, situated between the mountains of Argæus¹ and Taurus, hardly produces any fruit trees, although south of the Euxine Sea by 3000 stadia; while the territory round Sinope,² Amisus,³ and Phanarœa abounds in olives.

The Oxus,⁴ which divides Bactriana from Sogdiana, is said to be of such easy navigation that the wares of India are brought up it into the sea of Hyrcania,⁵ and thence successively by various other rivers to the districts near the Euxine.⁶

16. Can one find any fertility to compare with this near to the Dnieper, or that part of Keltica next the ocean,⁷ where the vine either does not grow at all, or attains no maturity.⁸ However, in the more southerly portions of these districts,⁹

¹ Mount Argæus still preserves the name of Ardgeh. The part of the Taurus here alluded to is called Ardoxt Dag. ² Sinub.

³ Samsoun. ⁴ The Gihon of the oriental writers. ⁵ The Caspian.

⁶ Gosselin says, the Oxus, or Abi-amu, which now discharges itself into Lake Aral, anciently communicated with the Caspian.—The vessels carrying Indian merchandise used to come down the Oxus into the Caspian; they then steered along the southern coasts till they reached the mouth of the Cyrus; up this river they sailed to the sources of the Phasis, (the Fasch,) and so descended into the Black Sea and Mediterranean. About the middle of the 17th century the Russians endeavoured to re-open this ancient route, but this effort was unsuccessful.

⁷ The north of France.

⁸ At the time of Strabo France was covered with forests and stagnant water, which rendered its temperature damp and cold. It was not until after considerable drainage about the fourth century that the vine began to attain any perfection.

⁹ The Crimea.

close to the sea, and those next the Bosphorus,¹ the vine brings its fruit to maturity, although the grapes are exceedingly small, and the vines are covered up all the winter. And in the parts near the mouth of the Palus Mæotis, the frost is so strong that a general of Mithridates defeated the barbarians here in a cavalry engagement during the winter, and on the very same spot in a naval fight in summer, when the ice was thawed. Eratosthenes furnishes us with the following inscription, which he found in the temple of Æsculapius at Panticapæon,² on a brazen vase which had been broken by the frost:—

“If any one doubts the intensity of our winter’s cold, let him believe when he sees this vase. The priest Stratius placed it here, not because he considered it a worthy offering to the god, but as a proof of the severity of our winter.”

Since therefore the provinces we have just enumerated [are so superior in climate, that they] cannot be compared with the countries surrounding the Bosphorus, nor even the regions of Amisus and Sinope, (for every one will admit that they are much superior to these latter,) it would be idle to compare them with the districts near the Borysthenes and the north of Keltica; for we have shown that their temperature is not so low as Amisus, Sinope, Byzantium, and Marseilles, which are universally acknowledged to be 3700 stadia south of the Dnieper and Keltica.

17. If the followers of Deimachus add to the 30,000 stadia the distance to Taprobane and the boundaries of the torrid zone, which cannot be reckoned less than 4000 stadia,³ they will then remove Bactria and Aria from their actual localities and place them 34,000 stadia from the torrid zone, a distance equal to that which Hipparchus states to be between the equator and [the mouth of] the Dnieper, and the two countries will therefore be removed 8800 stadia north of [the mouth of] the Dnieper and Keltica; for there are reckoned to be 8800 stadia from the equator to the parallel of latitude which separates the temperate from the tor-

¹ The Strait of Zabache.

² Kertsch in the Crimea.

³ Strabo is too fond of this kind of special pleading: before, in order to controvert Hipparchus, he estimated this distance at 3000 stadia; now he adds an additional thousand stadia in order to get a latitude which shall be the southern limit of the habitable earth.

rid zone, and which crosses the Cinnamon Country.¹ We have proved that the regions not more than 5000 stadia north of Keltica, as far as Ierne,² are scarcely habitable, but their reasoning leads to the conclusion that there is another circle fitted for the habitation of man, although 3800 stadia north of Ierne.³ And that Bactra is still farther north than the mouth of the Caspian or Hyrcanian Sea, which is distant about 6000 stadia from the recess of the Caspian and the mountains of Armenia and Media, and which appears to be the most northerly point of the whole coast as far as India, with a sea navigable to India all the way, as Patrocles, who had the government of these regions, affirms. Now Bactriana stretches 1000 stadia farther north. Beyond this the Scythians occupy a much larger territory, bounded by the Northern Ocean: here they dwell, though to be sure theirs is a nomade life. But we ask how they could exist here at all, supposing even Bactra to be beyond the limits of the habitable globe. The distance from the Caucasus to the Northern Sea through Bactra would be

¹ The Greek has *Κινναμωμοφόρον Ἰνδικῆς*. We have omitted the latter word altogether from the translation, as being a slip of the pen. Strabo certainly never supposed the Cinnamon Country to be any where in India.

² Ireland.

³ Perhaps it may aid the reader in realizing these different reasonings if we give a summary of them in figures.

Strabo supposes that Hipparchus, reckoning from the equator to the limits of the inhabited earth,	8,800 stadia
should have fixed the southern extremity of India more to the north by	4,000
and the northern extremity of India, according to the measures of Deimachus, still more to the north by	30,000

Total 42,800

Now, Strabo adds, following Hipparchus, the northern shores of Keltica and the mouth of the Dnieper, are distant from the equator	34,000
Ierne, in a climate almost uninhabitable, was, according to Strabo's own impression, situated to the north of Keltica	5,000

39,000

Then, according to Hipparchus, the habitable latitudes would extend still farther than Ierne by	3,800
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Total 42,800

The great fertility of Bactriana, according to Strabo, appeared to be inconsistent with a position so far towards the north. In this he was correct.

rather more than 4000 stadia.¹ This being added to the number² of stadia north of Ierne³ above-mentioned, will give us the whole amount of uninhabitable land from Ierne northward 7800 stadia, and even omitting the 4000 stadia altogether, those parts of Bactriana next the Caucasus will still be 3800 stadia farther north than Ierne, and 8800 farther north than Keltica,⁴ and [the mouth] of the Dnieper.

18. Hipparchus narrates that at the Dnieper and [the north of] Keltica, during the whole of the summer nights there is one continued twilight from sun-set to sun-rise, but at the winter solstice the sun never rises more than nine cubits above the horizon.⁵ He adds that this phenomenon is yet more remarkable in regions 6300⁶ stadia north of Marseilles, (these regions he supposes to be peopled by Kelts, but I believe are inhabited by Britons, and 2500 stadia north of Keltica,) where the sun at the winter solstice⁷ rises only six cubits above the horizon. That at 9100⁸ stadia north of Marseilles it only rises four cubits, and not so much as three in the countries beyond, and which I consider much farther north than Ierne.⁹ However, Hipparchus, on the authority of Pytheas, places them south of Britain, and says that the longest day there consists only of 19 hours;¹⁰ while in countries where the sun rises but four cubits above the horizon, and which are situated 9100¹¹

¹ These 4000 stadia do not accord with the distances elsewhere propounded by Strabo. Possibly he had before him various charts constructed on different hypotheses, and made his computations not always from the same.

² Viz. 3800.

³ Ireland.

⁴ France.

⁵ The astronomical cubit of the ancients equalled 2 degrees. It therefore follows that in the regions alluded to by Hipparchus, the sun at the winter solstice rose no higher than 18 degrees above the horizon. This would give a latitude of a little above 48 degrees. We afterwards find that Hipparchus placed the mouth of the Dnieper, and that part of France here alluded to, under 48° 29' 19", and we know that at this latitude, which is only 20' 56" different from that of Paris, there is no real night during the longest days of the summer.

⁶ Read 7700.

⁷ Lit., during the winter days, but the winter solstice is evidently intended.

⁸ Read about 10,500. This correction is borne out by the astronomical indications added by Hipparchus.

⁹ Strabo supposed the latitude of Ireland to be 52° 25' 42". Countries north of this he considered to be altogether uninhabitable on account of their inclemency.

¹⁰ Equinoctial hours.

¹¹ Read 10,500, as above.

stadia north of Marseilles, the day has 18 hours. Consequently [according to his hypothesis] the most southerly parts of Britain must be north of these regions. They must therefore be under the same parallel, or almost the same, as the parts of Bactriana next to the Caucasus, which I have shown are, according to the followers of Deimachus, 3800 stadia farther north than Ierne.¹ Now if we add this to the number between Marseilles and Ierne, we shall get 12,500 stadia. But who ever made known to us that, in those parts, I mean, in the vicinity of Bactra, this was the duration of the longest day, or the height which the sun attains in the meridian at the winter solstice? All these things are patent to the eyes of every man, and require no mathematical investigation; therefore they certainly would have been mentioned by numerous writers both amongst the ancients who have left us histories of Persia, and by the later writers too, who have carried them down to our own time. How, too, would their fertility, which I have described above, harmonize with such a latitude? The facts here advanced are sufficient to give an idea of the learned manner in which Hipparchus attempts to controvert the reasoning of Eratosthenes by mere *petitiones principii*.

19. Again, Eratosthenes wished to show the ignorance of Deimachus, and his want of information concerning such matters, as proved by his assertion that India lies between the autumnal equinox² and winter tropic.³ Also in his blaming Megasthenes, where he says that in the southern parts of India the Greater and Lesser Bear are seen to set, and the shadows

¹ Ireland.

² The equinoctial line.

³ There is no doubt that the expressions which Deimachus appears to have used were correct. It seems that he wished to show that beyond the Indus the coasts of India, instead of running in a direction almost due east, as the Greeks imagined they did, sloped in a direction between the south and the north-east, which is correct enough. As Deimachus had resided at Palibothra, he had had an opportunity of obtaining more exact information relative to the form of India than that which was current at Alexandria. This seems the more certain, as Megasthenes, who had also lived at Palibothra, stated that by measuring India from the Caucasus to the southern extremity of the continent, you would obtain, not its length, as the Greeks imagined, but its breadth. These correct accounts were obstinately rejected by the speculative geographers of Alexandria, because they imagined a certain uninhabitable zone, into which India ought not to penetrate.

to fall both ways; assuring us that such is not the case in India.¹ These assertions, says Eratosthenes, arise from the ignorance of Deimachus. For it is nothing else than ignorance to suppose that the autumnal equinox is not equally distant from the tropics with the vernal; since in both equinoxes the sun rises at the same point, and performs a similar revolution. Further, [he continues,] the distance from the terrestrial tropic to the equator, between which, according to Deimachus himself, India is situated, has been proved by measurement to be much less than 20,000 stadia, consequently his own statements prove that my assertion is correct, and not his. For supposing India to be twenty or thirty thousand stadia [in breadth] it could not be contained in the given space, but if my estimate be taken it is simple enough. It is another evidence of his want of information, to say that the two Bears are not seen to set, or the shadows to fall both ways, in any part of India, since 5000 stadia south of Alexandria² both of these phenomena are observable. Thus reasons Eratosthenes; whom Hipparchus again criticises in the same mistaken way. First he substitutes [in the text of Deimachus] the summer in place of the winter tropic; then he says that the evidence of a man ignorant of astronomy ought not to be received in a mathematical question; as if Eratosthenes in the main had actually been guided by the authority of Deimachus. Could he not see that Eratosthenes had followed

¹ The truth of these facts depends on the locality where the observations are made. In the time of Alexander the most southern of the seven principal stars which compose the Greater Bear had a declination of about 61 degrees, so that for all latitudes above 29 degrees, the Wain never set. Consequently if Deimachus were speaking of the aspect of the heavens as seen from the northern provinces of India, the Punjaub for instance, there was truth in his assertion, that the two Bears were never seen to set there, nor the shadows to fall in contrary directions. On the other hand, as Megasthenes appears to be speaking of the south of India, that is, of the peninsula situated entirely south of the tropic, it is certain that he was right in saying that the shadows cast by the sun fell sometimes towards the north, at others towards the south, and that accordingly, as we proceeded towards the south, the Bears would be seen to set. The whole of Ursa Major at that time set at 29 degrees, and our present polar star at 13 degrees. β of the Lesser Bear was at that time the most northern of the seven principal stars of that constellation, and set at 8° 45'. So that both Bears entirely disappeared beneath the horizon of Cape Comorin,

² This would be at Syene under the tropic.

the general custom in regard to idle reasoners, one means of refuting whom is to show that their arguments, whatever they may be, go only to confirm our views.

20. It is by assuming as a fact that the southern extremity of India is under the same parallel as Meroe, a thing affirmed and believed by most writers, that we shall be best able to show the absurdities of the system of Hipparchus. In the first book of his Commentaries he does not object to this hypothesis, but in the second book he no longer admits it; we must examine his reasons for this. He says, "when two countries are situated under the same parallel, but separated by a great distance, you cannot be certain that they are exactly under the same parallel, unless the *climata*¹ of both the places are found to be similar. Now Philo, in his account of a voyage by sea to Ethiopia, has given us the *clima* of Meroe. He says that at that place the sun is vertical forty-five days before the summer solstice,² he also informs us of the proportion of shadow thrown by the gnomon both at the equinoxes and solstices. Eratosthenes agrees almost exactly with Philo. But not a single writer, not even Eratosthenes, has informed us of the *clima* of India; but if it is the case, as many are inclined to believe on the authority of Nearchus,³ that the two Bears are seen to set in that country, then certainly Meroe and the southern extremity of India cannot be under the same parallel."⁴ [Such is the reasoning of Hipparchus, but we reply,] If Eratosthenes confirms the statement of those authors

¹ Small zones parallel to the equator; they were placed at such a distance from each other, that there might be half an hour's difference between each on the longest day of summer. So by taking an observation on the longest day, you could determine the *clima* and consequently the position of a place. This was equivalent to observing the elevation of the pole. At the end of this second book Strabo enters into a long description of the *climata*.

² This observation, taken at the time of Hipparchus, would indicate a latitude of 16° 48' 34."

³ Nearchus in speaking of the southern extremity of India, near Cape Comorin, was correct in the assertion that in his time the two Bears were there seen to set.

⁴ Hipparchus fixed the latitude of Meroe at 16° 51' 25", and the extremity of India at 18°. In the time of Alexander, the Lesser Bear was not observed to set for either of these latitudes. Strabo therefore drew the conclusion, that if Hipparchus had adopted the opinion of Nearchus, he would have fixed the extremity of India south of Meroe, instead of north of that city.

who tell us that in India the two Bears are observed to set, how can it be said that not a single person, not even Eratosthenes, has informed us of any thing concerning the *clima* of India? This is itself information on that point. If, however, he has not confirmed this statement, let him be exonerated from the error. Certain it is he never did confirm the statement. Only when Deimachus affirmed that there was no place in India from which the two Bears might be seen to set, or the shadows fall both ways, as Megasthenes had asserted, Eratosthenes thereupon taxed him with ignorance, regarding as absolutely false this two-fold assertion, one half of which, namely, that concerning the shadows not falling both ways, Hipparchus himself acknowledged to be false; for if the southern extremity of India were not under the same parallel as Meroe, still Hipparchus appears to have considered it south of Syene.

21. In the instances which follow, Hipparchus, treating of these subjects, either asserts things similar to those which we have already refuted, or takes for granted matters which are not so, or draws improper sequences. For instance, from the computation [of Eratosthenes] that the distance from Babylon to Thapsacus¹ is 4800 stadia, and thence northward to the mountains of Armenia² 2100 stadia more, it does not follow that, starting from the meridian of that city, the distance to the northern mountains is above 6000 stadia. Besides, Eratosthenes never says that the distance from Thapsacus to these mountains is 2100 stadia, but that a part thereof has never yet been measured; so that this argument [of Hipparchus], founded on a false hypothesis, amounts to nothing. Nor did Eratosthenes ever assert that Thapsacus lies more than 4500 stadia north of Babylon.

22. Again, Hipparchus, ever anxious to defend the [accuracy of the] ancient charts, instead of fairly stating the words of Eratosthenes concerning his third section of the habitable earth, wilfully makes him the author of an assertion easy of disproof. For Eratosthenes, following the opinion we before mentioned, that a line drawn from the Pillars of Hercules across the Mediterranean, and the length of the Taurus, would

¹ Now Ruins, near Jerobolos, or Jerabees, the ancient Europus; not Deer or Deir.

² Probably the present Barena, a branch of the Taurus

run due west and east,¹ divides, by means of this line, the habitable earth into two portions, which he calls the northern and southern divisions; each of these he again essays to subdivide into as many smaller partitions as practicable, which he denominates sections.² He makes India the first section of the southern part, and Ariana³ the second; these two countries possessing a good outline, he has been able not only to give us an accurate statement of their length and breadth, but an almost geometrically exact description of their figure. He tells us that the form of India is rhomboidal, being washed on two of its sides by the southern and eastern oceans [respectively], which do not deeply indent its shores. The two remaining sides are contained by its mountains and the river [Indus], so that it presents a kind of rectilinear figure.⁴ As to Ariana, he considered three of its sides well fitted to form a parallelogram; but of the western side he could give no regular definition, as it was inhabited by various nations; nevertheless he attempts an idea of it by a line drawn from the Caspian Gates⁵ to the limits of Carmania, which border on the Persian Gulf. This side he calls western, and that next the Indus eastern, but he does not tell us they are parallel to each other; neither does he say this of the other sides, one bounded by the mountains, and the other by the sea; he simply calls them north and south.

23. Having in this manner but imperfectly traced the outlines of his second section, the third section, for various reasons, is still less exact. The first cause has been already explained, viz. that the line from the Caspian Gates to Carmania is not clearly defined, as the side of the section is common both to the third and second sections. Secondly, on account of the Persian Gulf interrupting the continuity of

¹ This is rather free, but the text could not well otherwise be rendered intelligibly.

² *σφραγίδα* is the Greek word; for which *section* is a poor equivalent, but the best we believe the language affords.

³ The name of a considerable portion of Asia.

⁴ From Eratosthenes' description of India, preserved by our author in his 15th book, we gather that he conceived the country to be something in the form of an irregular quadrilateral, having one right, two obtuse, and one acute angle, consequently none of its sides parallel to each other. On the whole Eratosthenes' idea of the country was not near so exact as that of Megasthenes.

⁵ The Caspian Gates are now known as the Strait of Firouz Koh.

the southern side, as he himself tells us, he has been obliged to take the measured road running through Susa and Persepolis to the boundaries of Carmania and Persia, and suppose it straight.¹ This road, which he calls the southern side, is a little more than 9000 stadia. He does not, however, tell us, that it runs parallel to the northern side. It is also clear that the Euphrates, which he makes the western boundary, is any thing but a straight line. On leaving the mountains it flows south, but soon shifts its course to the east; it then again pursues a southerly direction till it reaches the sea. In fact, Eratosthenes himself acknowledges the indirect course of this river, when he compares the shape of Mesopotamia, which is formed by the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, to the cushion on a rower's bench. The western side bounded by the Euphrates is not entirely measured; for he tells us that he does not know the extent of the portion between Armenia and the northern mountains,² as it has not been measured. By reason of these hinderances he states that he has been only able to give a very superficial view of the third section, and that his estimate of the distances is borrowed from various Itineraries, some of them, according to his own description, anonymous. Hipparchus therefore must be considered guilty of unfairness, for criticising with geometrical precision a work of this general nature. We ought rather to be grateful to a person who gives us any description at all of the character of such [unknown] places. But when he urges his geometrical objections not against any real statement of Eratosthenes, but merely against imaginary hypotheses of his own creation, he shows too plainly the contradictory bent of his mind.

24. It is in this general kind of description of the third section that Eratosthenes supposes 10,000 stadia from the Caspian Gates to the Euphrates. This he again divides according to former admeasurements which he found preserved. Starting from the point where the Euphrates passes near to Thapsacus, he computes from thence to the place where Alexander crossed the Tigris 2400 stadia. The route

¹ The ruins of Babylon, still called Babil, are on the Euphrates, near Hilleh. Susa is now Suz or Schuss, and not Schoster or Toster. The ruins of Persepolis remain, and may be seen near Istakar, Tchilminar, and Nakchi-Rustan.

² Between Thapsacus and Armenia.

thence through Gaugamela,¹ the Lycus,² Arbela,³ and Ecbatana,⁴ whither Darius fled from Gaugamela to the Caspian Gates, makes up the 10,000 stadia, which is only 300 stadia too much. Such is the measure of the northern side given by Ératosthenes, which he could not have supposed to be parallel to the mountains, nor yet to the line drawn from the Pillars of Hercules through Athens and Rhodes. For Thapsacus is far removed from the mountains, and the route from Thapsacus to the Caspian Gates only falls in with the mountains at that point.⁵ Such is the boundary on the northern side.

25. Thus, says Ératosthenes, we have given you a description of the northern side; as for the southern, we cannot take its measure along the sea, on account of the Persian Gulf, which intercepts [its continuity], but from Babylon through Susa and Persepolis to the confines of Persia and Carmania there are 9200 stadia. This he calls the southern side, but he does not say it is parallel to the northern. The difference of length between the northern and southern sides is caused, he tells us, by the Euphrates, which after running south some distance shifts its course almost due east.

26. Of the two remaining sides, he describes the western first, but whether we are to regard it as one single straight line, or two, seems to be undecided. He says,—From Thapsacus to Babylon, following the course of the Euphrates, there are 4800 stadia; from thence to the mouth of the Euphrates⁶ and the city of Teredon, 3000⁷ more; from Thapsacus northward to the Gates of Armenia, having been measured, is stated to be 1100 stadia, but the distance through Gordyæa and Armenia, not having yet been measured, is not given. The eastern side, which stretches lengthwise through Persia from the Red Sea towards Media and the north, does not appear to be less than 8000 stadia, and measured from certain headlands above 9000, the rest of the distance through Parætacena and Media to the Caspian Gates being 3000 stadia. The rivers Tigris and Euphrates flowing from Armenia towards the south, after having passed the

¹ Karmelis.² The Altun-Suyi, or River of Gold.³ Erbil.⁴ Hamedan.⁵ Viz. at the Gates of the Caspian⁶ This ancient embouchure of the Euphrates is now known as Khor-Abdillah.⁷ Read 3300.

Gordyæan mountains, and having formed a great circle which embraces the vast country of Mesopotamia, turn towards the rising of the sun in winter and the south, particularly the Euphrates, which, continually approaching nearer and nearer to the Tigris, passes by the rampart of Semiramis,¹ and at about 200 stadia from the village of Opis,² thence it flows through Babylon, and so discharges itself into the Persian Gulf. Thus the figure of Mesopotamia and Babylon resembles the cushion of a rower's bench.—Such are the words of Eratosthenes.

27. In the Third Section it is true he does make some mistakes, which we shall take into consideration; but they are nothing like the amount which Hipparchus attributes to him. However, we will examine his objections. [In the first place,] he would have the ancient charts left just as they are, and by no means India brought more to the south, as Eratosthenes thinks proper. Indeed, he asserts that the very arguments adduced by that writer only confirm him the more in his opinion. He says, "According to Eratosthenes, the northern side of the third section is bounded by a line of 10,000 stadia drawn from the Caspian Gates to the Euphrates, the southern side from Babylon to the confines of Carmania is a little more than 9000 stadia. On the western side, following the course of the Euphrates, from Thapsacus to Babylon there are 4800 stadia, and thence to the outlets of the river 3000 stadia more. Northward from Thapsacus [to the Gates of Armenia] is reckoned 1100 stadia; the rest has not been measured. Now since Eratosthenes says that the northern side of this Third Section is about 10,000 stadia, and that the right line parallel thereto drawn from Babylon to the eastern side is computed at just above 9000 stadia, it follows that Babylon is not much more than 1000 stadia east of the passage of [the Euphrates] near Thapsacus."

28. We answer, that if the Caspian Gates and the boundary line of Carmania and Persia were exactly under the same meridian, and if right lines drawn in the direction of Thapsacus and Babylon would intersect such meridian at right angles,

¹ Thought by Col. Rawlinson to be the Chal-i-Nimrud, usually supposed to mark the site of the Median wall of Xerophon.

² Situated on the Tigris.

the inference would be just.¹ For then the line [from the common frontier of Carmania and Persia] to Babylon, if produced to the meridian of Thapsacus, would appear to the eye equal, or nearly equal, to that from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus. Consequently, Babylon would only be east of Thapsacus in the same proportion as the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus exceeds the line drawn from the frontier of Carmania to Babylon.² Eratosthenes, however, does not tell us that the line which bounds the western coast of Ariana follows the direction of the meridian; nor yet that a line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus would form right angles with the meridian of the Caspian Gates. But rather, that the line which would form right angles with the meridian, would be one which should follow the course of the Taurus, and with which the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus would form an acute angle. Nor, again, does he ever say that a line drawn from Carmania to Babylon would be parallel to that drawn [from the Caspian Gates] to Thapsacus; and even if it were parallel, this would prove nothing for the argument of Hipparchus, since it does not form right angles with the meridian of the Caspian Gates.

29. But taking this for granted, and proving, as he imagines, that, according to Eratosthenes, Babylon is east of Thapsacus rather more than 1000 stadia, he draws from this false hypothesis a new argument, which he uses to the following purpose; and says, If we suppose a right line drawn from Thapsacus towards the south, and another from Babylon perpendicular thereto, a right-angled triangle would be the result; whose sides should be, 1. A line drawn from Thapsacus to Babylon; 2. A perpendicular drawn from Babylon to the meridian of Thapsacus; 3. The meridian line of Thapsacus. The hypotenuse of this triangle would be a right line drawn from Thapsacus to Babylon, which he estimates at 4800 stadia. The perpendicular drawn from Babylon to the meridian of Thapsacus is scarcely more than 1000 stadia, the same amount by which the line drawn [from the Caspian Gates] to

¹ A line drawn from the frontiers of Carmania to Babylon would form with the meridian an angle of about 50°. One from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus would form with the parallel merely an angle of about 30°.

² Namely, 1000 stadia, by the hypothesis of Hipparchus, or 800 according to Eratosthenes.

Thapsacus exceeds that [from the common frontier of Carmania and Persia] to Babylon. The two sides [of the triangle] being given, Hipparchus proceeds to find the third, which is much greater than the perpendicular¹ aforesaid. To this he adds the line drawn from Thapsacus northwards to the mountains of Armenia, one part of which, according to Eratosthenes, was measured, and found to be 1100 stadia; the other, or part unmeasured by Eratosthenes, Hipparchus estimates to be 1000 stadia at the least: so that the two together amount to 2100 stadia. Adding this to the [length of the] side upon which falls the perpendicular drawn from Babylon, Hipparchus estimated a distance of many thousand stadia from the mountains of Armenia and the parallel of Athens to this perpendicular, which falls on the parallel of Babylon.² From the parallel of Athens³ to that of Babylon he shows that there cannot be a greater distance than 2400 stadia, even admitting the estimate supplied by Eratosthenes himself of the number of stadia which the entire meridian contains;⁴ and that if this be so, the mountains of Armenia and the Taurus cannot be under the same parallel of latitude as Athens, (which is the opinion of Eratosthenes,) but many thousand stadia to the north, as the data supplied by that writer himself prove.

But here, for the formation of his right-angled triangle, Hipparchus not only makes use of propositions already overturned, but assumes what was never granted, namely, that the hypotenuse subtending his right angle, which is the straight line from Thapsacus to Babylon, is 4800 stadia in length. What Eratosthenes says is, that this route follows the course of the Euphrates, and adds, that Mesopotamia and Babylon are encompassed as it were by a great circle formed by the Euphrates and Tigris, but principally by the former of these rivers. So that a straight line from Thapsacus to Babylon would neither follow the course of the Euphrates, nor yet be near so many stadia in length. Thus the argument [of Hipparchus] is overturned. We have stated before, that supposing two lines drawn from

¹ Or second side.

² Hipparchus found by this operation that the distance from the parallel of Babylon to that of the mountains of Armenia was 6795 stadia.

³ See Humboldt, *Cosmos* ii. p. 556, note, Bohn's edition.

⁴ Eratosthenes estimated 252,000 stadia for the circumference of the earth.

the Caspian Gates, one to Thapsacus, and the other to the mountains of Armenia opposite Thapsacus, and distant therefrom, according to Hipparchus's own estimate, 2100 stadia at the very least, neither of them would be parallel to each other, nor yet to that line which, passing through Babylon, is styled by Eratosthenes the southern side [of the third section]. As he could not inform us of the exact length of the route by the mountains, Eratosthenes tells us the distance between Thapsacus and the Caspian Gates; in fact, to speak in a general way, he puts this distance in place of the other; besides, as he merely wanted to give the length of the territory between Ariana and the Euphrates, he was not particular to have the exact measure of either route. To pretend that he considered the lines to be parallel to each other, is evidently to accuse the man of more than childish ignorance, and we dismiss the insinuation as nonsense forthwith.

30. There, however, are some instances in which one may justly accuse Eratosthenes. There is a difference in dissecting *limb by limb*, or merely cutting off *portions* [indiscriminately], (for in the former you may only separate parts having a natural outline, and distinguished by a regular form; this the poet alludes to in the expression,

“Cutting them limb from limb;”¹

whereas in regard to the latter this is not the case,) and we may adopt with propriety either one or other of these plans according to the time and necessity. So in Geography, if you enter into every detail, you may sometimes be compelled to divide your territories into *portions*; so to speak, but it is a more preferable way to separate them into limbs, than into such chance pieces; for thus only you can define accurately particular *points and boundaries*, a thing so necessary to the geographer. When it can be done, the best way to define a country is by the rivers, mountains, or sea; also, where possible, by the nation or nations [who inhabit it], and by its size and configuration. However, in default of a geometrical definition, a simple and general description may be said always to answer the purpose. In regard to size, it is sufficient to state the greatest length and breadth; for example, that the habit-

¹ Odyssey ix. 291; Iliad xxiv. 409

able earth is 70,000 stadia long, and that its breadth is scarcely half its length.¹ And as to form, to compare a country to any geometrical or other well-known figure. For example, Sicily to a triangle, Spain to an ox-hide, or the Peloponnesus to a plane-leaf.² The larger the territory to be divided, the more general also ought its divisions to be.

31. [In the system of Eratosthenes], the habitable earth has been admirably divided into two parts by the Taurus and the Mediterranean Sea, which reaches to the Pillars. On the southern side, the limits of India have been described by a variety of methods; by its mountains,³ its river,⁴ its seas, and its name,⁶ which seems to indicate that it is inhabited only by one people.⁷ It is with justice too that he attributes to it the form of a quadrilateral or rhomboid. Ariana is not so accurately described, on account of its western side being interwoven with the adjacent land. Still it is pretty well distinguished by its three other sides, which are formed by three nearly straight lines, and also by its name, which shows it to be only one nation.⁸ As to the Third Section of Eratosthenes, it cannot be considered to be defined or circumscribed at all; for that side of it which is common to Ariana is but ill defined, as before remarked. The southern side, too, is most negligently taken: it is, in fact, no boundary to the section at all, for it passes right through its centre, leaving entirely outside of it many of the southern portions. Nor

¹ Strabo estimated the length of the continent at 70,000 stadia from Cape St. Vincent to Cape Comorin, and 29,300 stadia as its breadth.

² The ancient geographers often speak of these kind of resemblances. They have compared the whole habitable earth to a soldier's cloak or mantle, as also the town of Alexandria, which they styled *χλαμυδοειδής*. Italy at one time to a leaf of parsley, at another to an oak-leaf. Sardinia to a human foot-print. The isle of Naxos to a vine-leaf. Cyprus to a sheep-skin; and the Black Sea to a Scythian bow, bent. The earliest coins of Peloponnesus, struck about 750 years before the Christian era, bear the impress of a tortoise, because that animal abounded on the shores, and the divisions and height of its shell were thought to offer some likeness to the territorial divisions of the little states of Peloponnesus and the mountain-ridges which run through the middle of that country. The Sicilians took for their symbol three thighs and legs, arranged in such an order that the bended knees might resemble the three capes of that island and its triangular form.

³ The chain of the Taurus.

⁴ The Indus.

⁵ The Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal.

⁶ India.

⁷ Viz. Indians.

⁸ Ariana, or the nation of the Arians.

yet does it represent the greatest length of the section, for the northern side is the longest.¹ Nor, lastly, can the Euphrates be its western boundary, not even if it flowed in a right line, since its two extremes² do not lie under the same meridian. How then is it the western rather than the southern boundary? Apart from this, the distance to the Seas of Cilicia and Syria is so inconsiderable, that there can be no reason why he should not have enlarged the third section, so as to include the kingdoms of Semiramis and Ninus, who are both of them known as Syrian monarchs; the first built Babylon, which he made his royal residence; the second Ninus,³ the capital of Syria;⁴ and the same dialect still exists on both sides of the Euphrates. The idea of thus dismembering so renowned a nation, and allotting its portions to strange nations with which it had no connexion, is as peculiarly unfortunate. Eratosthenes cannot plead that he was compelled to do this on account of its size, for had it extended as far as the sea and the frontiers of Arabia Felix and Egypt, even then it would not have been as large as India, or even Ariana. It would have therefore been much better to have enlarged the third section, making it comprehend the whole space as far as the Sea of Syria; but if this were done, the southern side would not be as he represents it, nor yet in a straight line, but starting from Carmania would follow the right side of the sea-shore from the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Euphrates; it would then approach the limits of Mesene⁵ and Babylon, where the Isthmus commences which separates Arabia Felix from the rest of the continent. Traversing the Isthmus, it would continue its course to the recess of the Arabian Gulf and Pelusium,⁶ thence to the mouth of the Nile at Canopus.⁷ Such would be the southern

¹ By 800 stadia.² Viz. of the Euphrates.³ Or Nineveh.

⁴ Syria, properly so called, extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. Between the Euphrates and the Tigris lay Mesopotamia, and beyond the Tigris, Assyria. The whole of these countries formerly bore the name of Syria. The Hebrews denominated Mesopotamia, Syria of the Rivers. The name Assyria seems to be nothing more than Syria with the article prefixed. Nineveh stood on the eastern bank of the Tigris.

⁵ Mesene comprehends the low and sandy grounds traversed by the Euphrates, immediately before it discharges itself into the Persian Gulf.

⁶ Tineh.⁷ Moadieh, near to Aboukir.

side. The west would be traced by the sea-shore from the [river's] mouth at Canopus to Cilicia.¹

32. The fourth section would consist of Arabia Felix, the Arabian Gulf, and the whole of Egypt and Ethiopia. Its length bounded by two meridians, one drawn through its most western point, the other through its most eastern; and its breadth by two parallels through its most northern and southern points. For this is the best way to describe the extent of irregular figures, whose length and breadth cannot be determined by their sides.

In general it is to be observed, that length and breadth are to be understood in different ways, according as you speak of the whole or a part. Of a whole, the greater distance is called its length, and the lesser its breadth; of a part, that is to be considered the length which is parallel to the length of the whole, without any regard whether it, or that which is left for the breadth, be the greater distance. The length of the whole habitable earth is measured from east to west by a line drawn parallel to the equator, and its breadth from north to south in the direction of the meridian; consequently, the length of any of the parts ought to be portions of a line drawn parallel to the length of the whole, and their breadth to the breadth of the whole. For, in the first place, by this means the size of the whole habitable earth will be best described; and secondly, the disposition and configuration of its parts, and the manner in which one may be said to be greater or less than another, will be made manifest by thus comparing them.

33. Eratosthenes, however, measures the length of the habitable earth by a line which he considers straight, drawn from the Pillars of Hercules, in the direction of the Caspian Gates and the Caucasus. The length of the third section, by a line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus, and of the fourth, by one running from Thapsacus through Heroopolis to the country surrounded by the Nile: this must necessarily be deflected to Canopus and Alexandria, for there is the last mouth of the Nile, which goes by the name of the Canopic² or Heracleotic mouth. Whether

¹ Along the coasts of Egypt, past Palestine and Syria, to the recess of the Gulf of Issus, where Cilicia commences.

² Canopus, near to Aboukir.

therefore these two lengths be considered to form one straight line, or to make an angle with Thapsacus, certain it is that neither of them is parallel to the length of the habitable earth; this is evident from what Eratosthenes has himself said concerning them. According to him the length of the habitable earth is described by a right line running through the Taurus to the Pillars of Hercules, in the direction of the Caucasus, Rhodes, and Athens. From Rhodes to Alexandria, following the meridian of the two cities, he says there cannot be much less than 4000 stadia,¹ consequently there must be the same difference between the latitudes of Rhodes and Alexandria. Now the latitude of Heroopolis is about the same as Alexandria, or rather more south. So that a line, whether straight or broken, which intersects the parallel of Heroopolis, Rhodes, or the Gates of the Caspian, cannot be parallel to either of these. These lengths therefore are not properly indicated, nor are the northern sections any better.

34. We will now return at once to Hipparchus, and see what comes next. Continuing to palm assumptions of his own [upon Eratosthenes], he goes on to refute, with geometrical accuracy, statements which that author had made in a mere general way. "Eratosthenes," he says, "estimates that there are 6700 stadia between Babylon and the Caspian Gates, and from Babylon to the frontiers of Carmania and Persia above 9000 stadia; this he supposes to lie in a direct line towards the equinoctial rising,² and perpendicular to the common side of his second and third sections. Thus, according to his plan, we should have a right-angled triangle, with the right angle next to the frontiers of Carmania, and its hypotenuse less than one of the sides about the right angle! Consequently Persia should be included in the second section."³

¹ It was a mistake common to Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Strabo, to fancy that Rhodes and Alexandria were under the same meridian. The longitude of the two cities differs by $2^{\circ} 22' 45''$.

² Due east.

³ The following is a *Resumé* of the argument of Hipparchus, "The hypotenuse of the supposed triangle, or the line drawn from Babylon to the Caspian Gates being only 6700 stadia, would be necessarily shorter than either of the other sides, since the line from Babylon to the frontiers of Carmania is estimated by Eratosthenes at 9170, and that from the frontiers of Carmania to the Caspian Gates above 9000 stadia.

To this we reply, that the line drawn from Babylon to Carmania was never intended as a parallel, nor yet that which divides the two sections as a meridian, and that therefore nothing has been laid to his charge, at all events with any just foundation. In fact, Eratosthenes having stated the number of stadia from the Caspian Gates to Babylon as above given,¹ [from the Caspian Gates] to Susa 4900 stadia, and from Babylon [to Susa] 3400 stadia, Hipparchus runs away from his former hypothesis, and says that [by drawing lines from] the Caspian Gates, Susa, and Babylon, an obtuse-angled triangle would be the result, whose sides should be of the length laid down, and of which Susa would form the obtuse angle. He then argues, that "according to these premises, the meridian drawn from the Gates of the Caspian will intersect the parallel of Babylon and Susa 4400 stadia more to the west, than would a straight line drawn from the Caspian to the confines of Carmania and Persia; and that this last line, forming with the meridian of the Caspian Gates half a right angle, would lie exactly in a direction midway between the south and the equinoctial rising. Now as the course of the Indus is parallel to this line, it cannot flow south on its descent from the mountains, as Eratosthenes asserts, but in a direction lying between the south and the equinoctial rising, as laid down in the ancient charts." But who is there who will admit this to be an obtuse-angled triangle, without also admitting that it contains a right angle? Who will agree that the line from Babylon to Susa, which forms one side of this obtuse-angled triangle, lies parallel, without admitting the same of the whole line as far as Carmania? or that the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the frontiers of Carmania is parallel to the Indus? Nevertheless, without this the reasoning [of Hipparchus] is worth nothing.

"Eratosthenes himself also states," [continues Hipparchus,²]

The frontiers of Carmania would thus be east of the Caspian Gates, and Persia would consequently be comprised, not in the third, but in the second section of Eratosthenes, being east of the meridian of the Caspian Gates, which was the boundary of the two sections." Strabo, in the text, points out the falsity of this argument.

¹ Viz. 6700 stadia.

² These two words, *continues Hipparchus*, are not in the text, but the argument is undoubtedly his.

“that the form of India is rhomboidal; and since the whole eastern border of that country has a decided tendency towards the east, but more particularly the extremest cape,¹ which lies more to the south than any other part of the coast, the side next the Indus must be the same.”

35. These arguments may be very geometrical, but they are not convincing. After having himself invented these various difficulties, he dismisses them, saying, “Had [Eratosthenes] been chargeable for small distances only, he might have been excused; but since his mistakes involve thousands of stadia, we cannot pardon him, more especially since he has laid it down that at a mere distance of 400 stadia,² such as that between the parallels of Athens and Rhodes, there is a sensible variation [of latitude].” But these sensible variations are not all of the same kind, the distance [involved therein] being in some instances greater, in others less; greater, when for our estimate of the climata we trust merely to the eye, or are guided by the vegetable productions and the temperature of the air; less, when we employ gnomons and dioptric instruments. Nothing is more likely than that if you measure the parallel of Athens, or that of Rhodes and Caria, by means of a gnomon, the difference resulting from so many stadia³ will be sensible. But when a geographer, in order to trace a line from west to east, 3000 stadia broad, makes use of a chain of mountains 40,000 stadia long, and also of a sea which extends still farther 30,000 stadia, and farther wishing to point out the situation of the different parts of the habitable earth relative to this line, calls some southern, others northern, and finally lays out what he calls the sections, each section consisting of divers countries, then we ought carefully to examine in what acceptation he uses his terms; in what sense he says that such a side [of any section] is the north side, and what other is the south, or east, or west side. If he does not take pains to avoid great errors, he deserves to be blamed, but should he be guilty merely of trifling inaccuracies, he should be forgiven. But here nothing shows thoroughly that Era-

¹ Cape Comorin.

² 400 stadia, allowing 700 to a degree, would give 34' 17" latitude. According to present astronomical calculations, the distance between the parallels of Rhodes and Athens is 1° 36' 30".

³ Viz. 400 stadia, or 34' 17" of latitude.

tostrhenes has committed either serious or slight errors, for on one hand what he may have said concerning such great distances, can never be verified by a geometrical test, and on the other, his accuser, while endeavouring to reason like a geometrician, does not found his arguments on any real data, but on gratuitous suppositions.

36. The fourth section Hipparchus certainly manages better, though he still maintains the same censorious tone, and obstinacy in sticking to his first hypotheses, or others similar. He properly objects to Eratosthenes giving as the length of this section a line drawn from Thapsacus to Egypt, as being similar to the case of a man who should tell us that the diagonal of a parallelogram was its length. For Thapsacus and the coasts of Egypt are by no means under the same parallel of latitude, but under parallels considerably distant from each other,¹ and a line drawn from Thapsacus to Egypt would lie in a kind of diagonal or oblique direction between them. But he is wrong when he expresses his surprise that Eratosthenes should dare to state the distance between Pelusium and Thapsacus at 6000 stadia, when he says there are above 8000. In proof of this he advances that the parallel of Pelusium is south of that of Babylon by more than 2500 stadia, and that according to Eratosthenes (as he supposes) the latitude of Thapsacus is above 4800 stadia north of that of Babylon; from which Hipparchus tells us it results that [between Thapsacus and Pelusium] there are more than 8000 stadia. But I would inquire how he can prove that Eratosthenes supposed so great a distance between the parallels of Babylon and Thapsacus? He says, indeed, that such is the distance from Thapsacus to Babylon, but not that there is this distance between their parallels, nor yet that Thapsacus and Babylon are under the same meridian. So much the contrary, that Hipparchus has himself pointed out, that, according to Eratosthenes, Babylon ought to be east of Thapsacus more than 2000 stadia. We have before cited the statement of Eratosthenes, that Mesopotamia and Babylon are encircled by the Tigris and Euphrates, and that the greater portion of the Circle is formed by this latter river, which flowing north and south takes a turn to the east, and then, returning to a

¹ The difference of latitude between Thapsacus and Pelusium is about 4° 27'.

southerly direction, discharges itself [into the sea]. So long as it flows from north to south, it may be said to follow a southerly direction; but the turning towards the east and Babylon is a decided deviation from the southerly direction, and it never recovers a straight course, but forms the circuit we have mentioned above. When he tells us that the journey from Babylon to Thapsacus is 4800 stadia, he adds, following the course of the Euphrates, as if on purpose lest any one should understand such to be the distance in a direct line, or between the two parallels. If this be not granted, it is altogether a vain attempt to show that if a right-angled triangle were constructed by lines drawn from Pelusium and Thapsacus to the point where the parallel of Thapsacus intercepts the meridian of Pelusium, that one of the lines which form the right angle, and is in the direction of the meridian, would be longer than that forming the hypotenuse drawn from Thapsacus to Pelusium.¹ Worthless, too, is the argument in connexion with this, being the inference from a proposition not admitted; for Eratosthenes never asserts that from Babylon to the meridian of the Caspian Gates is a distance of 4800 stadia. We have shown that Hipparchus deduces this from data not admitted by Eratosthenes; but desirous to controvert every thing advanced by that writer, he assumes that from Babylon to the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to the mountains of Carmania, according to Eratosthenes' description, there are above 9000 stadia, and from thence draws his conclusions.

37. Eratosthenes² cannot, therefore, be found fault with on these grounds; what may be objected against him is as follows. When you wish to give a general outline of size and configuration, you should devise for yourself some rule which may be adhered to more or less. After having laid down that the breadth of the space occupied by the mountains which run in a direction due east, as well as by the sea which reaches to the Pillars of Hercules, is 3000 stadia, would you pretend to estimate different lines, which you may draw within the breadth of that space, as one and the same line? We

¹ The text here is evidently corrupt.

² Gosselin makes some sensible remarks on this section; we have endeavoured to render it accurately, but much fear that the true meaning of Strabo is now obscured by corruptions in the text.

should be more willing to grant you the power of doing so with respect to the lines which run parallel to that space than with those which fall upon it; and among these latter, rather with respect to those which fall within it than to those which extend without it; and also rather for those which, in regard to the shortness of their extent, would not pass out of the said space than for those which would. And again, rather for lines of some considerable length than for any thing very short, for the inequality of lengths is less perceptible in great extents than the difference of configuration. For example, if you give 3000 stadia for the breadth at the Taurus, as well as for the sea which extends to the Pillars of Hercules, you will form a parallelogram entirely enclosing both the mountains of the Taurus and the sea; if you divide it in its length into several other parallelograms, and draw first the diagonal of the great parallelogram, and next that of each smaller parallelogram, surely the diagonal of the great parallelogram will be regarded as a line more nearly parallel and equal to the side forming the length of that figure than the diagonal of any of the smaller parallelograms: and the more your lesser parallelograms should be multiplied, the more will this become evident. Certainly, it is in great figures that the obliquity of the diagonal and its difference from the side forming the length are the less perceptible, so that you would have but little scruple in taking the diagonal as the length of the figure. But if you draw the diagonal more inclined, so that it falls beyond both sides, or at least beyond one of the sides, then will this no longer be the case; and this is the sense in which we have observed, that when you attempted to draw even in a very general way the extents of the figures, you ought to adopt some rule. But Eratosthenes takes a line from the Caspian Gates along the mountains, running as it were in the same parallel as far as the Pillars, and then a second line, starting directly from the mountains to touch Thapsacus; and again a third line from Thapsacus to the frontiers of Egypt, occupying so great a breadth. If then in proceeding you give the length of the two last lines [taken together] as the measure of the length of the district, you will appear to measure the length of one of your parallelograms by its diagonal. And if, farther, this diagonal should consist of a broken line, as that would be which stretches from the

Caspian Gates to the embouchure of the Nile, passing by Thapsacus, your error will appear much greater. This is the sum of what may be alleged against Eratosthenes.

38. In another respect also we have to complain of Hipparchus, because, as he had given a category of the statements of Eratosthenes, he ought to have corrected his mistakes, in the same way that we have done; but whenever he has any thing particular to remark, he tells us to follow the ancient charts, which, to say the least, need correction infinitely more than the map of Eratosthenes.

The argument which follows is equally objectionable, being founded on the consequences of a proposition which, as we have shown, is inadmissible, namely, that Babylon was not more than 1000 stadia east of Thapsacus; when it was quite clear, from Eratosthenes' own words, that Babylon was above 2400 stadia east of that place; since from Thapsacus to the passage of the Euphrates where it was crossed by Alexander, the shortest route is 2400 stadia, and the Tigris and Euphrates, having encompassed Mesopotamia, flow towards the east, and afterwards take a southerly direction and approach nearer to each other and to Babylon at the same time: nothing appears absurd in this statement of Eratosthenes.

39. The next objection of Hipparchus is likewise false. He attempts to prove that Eratosthenes, in his statement that the route from Thapsacus to the Caspian Gates is 10,000 stadia, gives this as the distance taken in a straight line; such not being the case, as in that instance the distance would be much shorter. His mode of reasoning is after this fashion. He says, "According to Eratosthenes, the mouth of the Nile at Canopus,¹ and the Cyanæ,² are under the same meridian, which is distant from that of Thapsacus 6300 stadia. Now from the Cyanæ to Mount Caspius, which is situated close to the defile³ leading from Colchis to the Cas-

¹ Moadieh, the mouth of the river close to Aboukir.

² Certain little islets at the mouth of the canal of Constantinople, in the Black Sea. These islands want about a degree and a quarter of being under the same meridian as Moadieh.

³ Gosselin remarks, that the defile intended by Strabo, was probably the valley of the river Kur, or the ancient Cyrus, in Georgia; and by Mount Caspius we are to understand the high mountains of Georgia,

pian Sea, there are 6600 stadia,¹ so that, with the exception of about 300 stadia, the distance from the meridian of the Cyaneæ to that of Thapsacus, or to that of Mount Caspius, is the same: and both Thapsacus and Mount Caspius are, so to speak, under the same meridian.² It follows from this that the Caspian Gates are about equi-distant between Thapsacus and Mount Caspius, but that the distance between them and Thapsacus is much less than the 10,000 stadia mentioned by Eratosthenes. Consequently, as the distance in a right line is much less than 10,000 stadia, this route, which he considered to be in a straight course from the Caspian Gates to Thapsacus, must have been a circumbendibus.”

To this we reply, that Eratosthenes, as is usual in Geography, speaks of right lines, meridians, and parallels to the equator, with considerable latitude, whereas Hipparchus criticizes him with geometrical nicety, as if every line had been measured with rule and compass. Hipparchus at the same time himself frequently deciding as to right lines and parallels, not by actual measurement, but mere conjecture. Such is the first error of this writer. A second is, that he never lays down the distances as Eratosthenes has given them, nor yet reasons on the data furnished by that writer, but from mere assumptions of his own coinage. Thus, where Eratosthenes states that the distance from the mouth of the [Thracian Bosphorus] to the Phasis is 8000 stadia, from thence to Dioscurias 600 stadia,³ and from Dioscurias to Caspius five days' journey, (which Hipparchus estimates at 1000 stadia,) the sum of these, as stated by Eratosthenes, would amount to 9600 stadia. This Hipparchus abridges in the following manner. From the Cyaneæ to the Phasis are 5600 stadia, and from the Phasis to the Caspius 1000 more.⁴ There-

whence the waters, which fall on one side into the Black Sea, and on the other into the Caspian, take their rise.

¹ Gosselin also observes, that on our charts this distance is about 8100 stadia of 700 to a degree. Consequently the difference between the meridian of Thapsacus and that of Mount Caspius is as much as 4° 45', in place of the 300 stadia, or from 25' to 26' supposed by Hipparchus.

² On the contrary, Mount Caspius is east of the meridian of Thapsacus by about 2500 stadia, of 700 to a degree.

³ Now Iskouriah. Dioscurias, however, is 800 stadia from the Phasis, of 700 to a degree.

⁴ According to our improved charts, the distance from the meridian of

fore it is no statement of Eratosthenes that the Caspius and Thapsacus are under the same meridian, but of Hipparchus himself. However, supposing Eratosthenes says so, does it follow that the distance from the Caspius to the Caspian Gates, and that from Thapsacus to the same point, are equal.¹

40. In the second book of his Commentaries, Hipparchus, having again mooted the question concerning the mountains of the Taurus, of which we have spoken sufficiently, proceeds with the northern parts of the habitable earth. He then notices the statement of Eratosthenes concerning the countries situated west of the Euxine,² namely, that the three [principal] headlands [of this continent], the first the Peloponnesian, the second the Italian, the third the Ligurian, run from north [to south], enclosing the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Gulfs.³ After this general exposition, Hipparchus proceeds to criticise each point in detail, but rather on geometrical than geographical grounds; on these subjects, however, the number of Eratosthenes' errors is so overwhelming, as also of Timosthenes the author of the Treatise on the Ports, (whom Eratosthenes prefers above every other writer, though he often decides even against him,) that it does not seem to be worth my time to review their faulty productions, nor even what Hipparchus has to say about them; since he neither enumerates all their blunders, nor yet sets them right, but only points out how

the Cyaneæ to that of the Phasis is 6800 stadia, of 700 to a degree; from the Cyaneæ to Mount Caspius, 8080.

¹ The meridian of Mount Caspius is about 2625 stadia nearer the Caspian Gates than that of Thapsacus.

² μετὰ τὸν Πόντον, literally, after the Pontus.

³ Gosselin observes, that Eratosthenes took a general view of the salient points of land that jutted into the Mediterranean, as some of the learned of our own time have done, when remarking that most of the continents terminated in capes, extending towards the south. The first promontory that Eratosthenes speaks of terminated in Cape Malea of the Peloponnesus, and comprised the whole of Greece; the Italian promontory likewise terminated Italy; the Ligurian promontory was reckoned to include all Spain, it terminated at Cape Tarifa, near to the middle of the Strait of Gibraltar. As the Ligurians had obtained possession of a considerable portion of the coasts of France and Spain, that part of the Mediterranean which washes the shores of those countries was named the Ligurian Sea. It extended from the Arno to the Strait of Gibraltar. It is in accordance with this nomenclature that Eratosthenes called Cape Tarifa, which projects farthest into the Strait, the Ligurian promontory.

they falsify and contradict each other. Still any one might certainly object to the saying of Eratosthenes, that Europe has but three headlands, and considering as one that which terminates by the Peloponnesus, notwithstanding it is broken up into so many divisions. In fact, Sunium¹ is as much a promontory as Laconia, and not very much less south than Malea,² forming a considerable bay,³ and the Thracian Chersonesus⁴ and Sunium⁵ form the Gulf of Melas,⁶ and likewise those of Macedonia.⁷ Added to this, it is manifest that the majority of the distances are falsely stated, thus arguing an ignorance of geography scarcely credible, and so far from requiring geometrical demonstration that it stands out prominent on the very face of the statements. For example, the distance from Epidamnus⁸ to the Thermaic Gulf⁹ is above 2000 stadia; Eratosthenes gives it at 900. So too he states the distance from Alexandria to Carthage at 13,000¹⁰ stadia; it is not more than 9000, that is, if, as he himself tells us, Caria and Rhodes are under the same meridian as Alexandria,¹¹ and the Strait of Messina under the same as Carthage,¹² for every one is agreed that the voyage from Caria to the Strait of Sicily does not exceed 9000 stadia.

It is doubtless permissible in very great distances to consider as under one and the same meridian places which are not more east and west of each other than Carthage is west of the Strait;¹³ but an error of 3000 stadia is too much; and when he places Rome under the same meridian as Carthage, notwithstanding its being so far west of that city, it is but

¹ Cape Colonna.

² Cape Malio, or St. Angelo.

³ Strabo means the Saronic Gulf, now the Bay of Engia.

⁴ The peninsula of Gallipoli by the Dardanelles.

⁵ πρὸς τὸ Σούνιον. Strabo's meaning is, that the entire space of sea, bounded on the north by the Thracian Chersonesus, and on the south by Sunium, or Cape Colonna, forms a kind of large gulf.

⁶ Or Black Gulf; the Gulf of Saros.

⁷ The Gulfs of Contessa, Monte-Santo, Cassandra, and Salonica.

⁸ Durazzo, on the coast of Albania.

⁹ The Gulf of Salonica.

¹⁰ Read 13,500 stadia.

¹¹ It was an error alike shared in by Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Strabo, that Alexandria and Rhodes were under the same meridian, notwithstanding the former of these cities is 2° 22' 45" east of the latter.

¹² This is an error peculiar to Eratosthenes. The meridians of Carthage and the Strait of Messina differ by 5° 45'.

¹³ The Strait of Messina.

the crowning proof of his extreme ignorance both of these places, and likewise of the other countries farther west as far as the Pillars of Hercules.

41. Since Hipparchus does not furnish a Geography of his own, but merely reviews what is said in that of Eratosthenes, he ought to have gone farther, and corrected the whole of that writer's mistakes. As for ourselves, it is only in those particulars where Eratosthenes is correct (and we acknowledge that he frequently errs) that we have thought it our duty to quote his own words, in order to reinstate them in their position, and to defend him when he could be acquitted of the charges of Hipparchus; never failing to break a lance with the latter writer whenever his objections seemed to be the result of a mere propensity to find fault. But when Eratosthenes is grossly mistaken, and the animadversions of Hipparchus are just, we have thought it sufficient in our Geography to set him (Eratosthenes) right by merely stating facts as they are. As the mistakes were so continual and numerous, it was better not to mention them except in a sparse and general manner. This principle in the details we shall strive to carry out. In the present instance we shall only remark, that Timosthenes, Eratosthenes, and those who preceded them, were but ill acquainted with Iberia and Keltica,¹ and a thousand times less with Germany, Britain, and the land of the Getæ and Bastarnæ.² Their want of knowledge is also great in regard to Italy, the Adriatic, the Euxine, and the countries north of these. Possibly this last remark may be regarded as captious, since Eratosthenes states, that as to distant countries, he has merely given the admeasurements as he finds them supplied by others, without vouching for their accuracy, although he sometimes adds whether the route indicated is more or less in a right line. We should not therefore subject to a too rigorous examination distances as to which no one is agreed, after the manner Hipparchus does, both in regard to the places already mentioned, and also to those of which Eratosthenes has given the distance from Hyrcania to Bactria and the countries beyond, and those from

¹ Spain and France.

² The Getæ occupied the east of Moldavia and Bessarabia, between the Danube and the Dniester. The Bastarnæ inhabited the north of Moldavia and a part of the Ukraine,

Colchis to the Sea of Hyrcania. These are points where we should not scrutinize him so narrowly as [when he describes] places situated in the heart of our continent,¹ or others equally well known; and even these should be regarded from a geographical rather than a geometrical point of view. Hipparchus, at the end of the second book of his Commentaries on the Geography of Eratosthenes, having found fault with certain statements relative to Ethiopia, tells us at the commencement of the third, that his strictures, though to a certain point geographical, will be mathematical for the most part. As for myself, I cannot find any geography there. To me it seems entirely mathematical; but Eratosthenes himself set the example; for he frequently runs into scientific speculations, having little to do with the subject in hand, and which result in vague and inexact conclusions. Thus he is a mathematician in geography, and in mathematics a geographer; and so lies open to the attacks of both parties. In this third book, both he and Timosthenes get such severe justice, that there seems nothing left for us to do; Hipparchus is quite enough.

¹ The Greek has simply, *κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρῶτιν*, *in the continent*, but Strabo, by this expression, only meant to designate those parts of the continent best known and nearest to the Greeks. The other countries, in regard to which he pleads for some indulgence to be shown to Eratosthenes, are equally in the same continent. Kramer and other editors suspect an error in the text here.

CHAPTER II.

1. WE will now proceed to examine the statements made by Posidonius in his Treatise on the Ocean. This Treatise contains much geographical information, sometimes given in a manner conformable to the subject, at others too mathematical. It will not, therefore, be amiss to look into some of his statements, both now and afterwards, as opportunity occurs, taking care to confine ourselves within bounds. He deals simply with geography, when he tells us that the earth is spheroidal and the universe too, and admits the necessary consequences of this hypothesis, one of which is, that the earth contains five zones.

2. Posidonius informs us that Parmenides was the first to make this division of the earth into five zones, but that he almost doubled the size of the torrid zone, which is situated between the tropics, by bringing it beyond these into the temperate zones.¹ But according to Aristotle the torrid zone is contained between the tropics, the temperate zones occupying the whole space between the tropics and the arctic circles.² Both of these divisions Posidonius justly condemns, for the torrid zone is properly the space rendered uninhabitable by the heat. Whereas more than half of the space between the tropics is inhabited, as we may judge by the Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt. The equator divides the whole of this space into two equal parts. Now from Syene,

¹ According to Plutarch, both Thales and Pythagoras had divided the earth into five zones. Since Parmenides lived one hundred and fifty years after the first of these philosophers, he cannot be considered the author of this division. As Posidonius and Strabo estimated the breadth of the torrid zone at 8800 stadia, and Parmenides is said to have nearly doubled it, this would give 17,600 stadia, or $25^{\circ} 8' 34''$, taking this at 25° it would appear that Parmenides extended the torrid zone one degree beyond the tropics.

² The Arctic Circles of the ancients were not the same as ours, but varied for every latitude. Aristotle limited the temperate zone to those countries which had the constellation of the crown in their Arctic Circle, the brilliant star of that constellation in his time had a northern declination of about $36^{\circ} 30'$, consequently he did not reckon that the temperate zone reached farther north or south than 53° and a half. We shall see that Strabo adopted much the same opinion, fixing the northern bounds of the habitable earth at $54^{\circ} 25' 42''$. Gosselin.

which is the limit of the summer tropic, to Meroe, there are 5000 stadia, and thence to the parallel of the Cinnamon region, where the torrid zone commences, 3000 stadia. The whole of this distance has been measured, and it may be gone over either by sea or land; the remaining portion to the equator is, if we adopt the measure of the earth supplied by Eratosthenes, 8800 stadia. Therefore, as 16,800 is to 8800, so is the space comprised between the tropics to the breadth of the torrid zone.

If of the more recent measurements we prefer those which diminish the size of the earth, such as that adopted by Posidonius, which is about 180,000 stadia,¹ the torrid zone will still only occupy half, or rather more than half, of the space comprised between the tropics; but never an equal space. [Respecting the system of Aristotle, Posidonius farther says,] "Since it is not every latitude which has Arctic Circles,² and even those which do possess them have not the same, how can any one determine by them the bounds of the temperate zones, which are immutable?" Nothing however is proved [against Aristotle] from the fact that there are not Arctic Circles for every latitude, since they exist for all the inhabitants of the temperate zone, on whose account alone the zone receives its name of temperate. But the objection that the Arctic Circles do not remain the same for every latitude, but shift their places, is excellent.³

3. Posidonius, who himself divides the earth into zones, tells us that "five is the number best suited for the explanation of the celestial appearances, two of these are periscii,⁴ which reach from the poles to the point where the tropics serve for Arctic Circles; two more are heteroscii,⁵ which extend from

¹ For the circumference.

² Viz. none for those who dwell under the equator, or at the poles.

³ Strabo's argument seems to be this. It matters but little that there may not be Arctic Circles for every latitude, since for the inhabitants of the temperate zone they do certainly exist, and these are the only people of whom we have any knowledge. But at the same time the objection is unanswerable, that as these circles differ in respect to various countries, it is quite impossible that they can fix uniformly the limits of the temperate zone.

⁴ The polar circles, where the shadow, in the summer season, travels all round in the twenty-four hours.

⁵ Those who live north and south of the tropics, or in the temperate zones, and at noon have a shadow only falling one way.

the former to the inhabitants of the tropics, and one between the tropics, which is called amphiscius,¹ but for matters relative to the earth, it is convenient to suppose two other narrow zones placed under the tropics, and divided by them into two halves, over which [every year] for the space of a fortnight, the sun is vertical."² These zones are remarkable for being extremely arid and sandy, producing no vegetation with the exception of silphium,³ and a parched grain somewhat resembling wheat. This is caused by there being no mountains to attract the clouds and produce rain, nor any rivers flowing⁴ through the country. The consequence is that the various species⁵ are born with woolly hair, crumpled horns, protruding lips, and wide nostrils; their extremities being as it were gnarled. Within these zones also dwell the Ichthyophagi.⁶ He further remarks, that these peculiarities are quite sufficient to distinguish the zones in question: those which are farther south having a more salubrious atmosphere, and being more fruitful and better supplied with water.

CHAPTER III.

1. POLYBIUS supposes six zones: two situated between the poles and the arctic circles; two between the arctic circles and the tropics; and two between the tropics which are divided by the equator. However, it appears to me that the

¹ Having at mid-day in alternate seasons the shadow falling north and south.

² Viz. Posidonius allowed for each of these small zones a breadth of about 30', or 350 stadia, of 700 to a degree.

³ A plant, the juice of which was used in food and medicine. Bentley supposes it to be the *asa-fetida*, still much eaten as a relish in the East.

⁴ Posidonius was here mistaken; witness the Niger, the Senegal, the Gambia, &c.

⁵ The expression of Strabo is so concise as to leave it extremely doubtful whether or not he meant to include the human race in his statement. Looking at this passage, however, in connexion with another in the 15th Book, we are inclined to answer the question in the affirmative.

⁶ Or *living on fish*, a name given by the Greek geographers to various tribes of barbarians; but it seems most frequently to a people of Gedrosia on the coast of the Arabian Gulf. It is probably to these that Strabo refers.

division into five zones accords best both with the order of external nature and geography. With external nature, as respects the celestial phenomena, and the temperature of the atmosphere. With respect to the celestial phenomena, as the Periscii and Amphiscii are thereby divided in the best possible manner, and it also forms an excellent line of separation in regard to those who behold the stars from an opposite point of view.¹ With respect to the temperature of the atmosphere, inasmuch as looked at in connexion with the sun, there are three main divisions, which influence in a remarkable degree both plants, animals, and every other animated thing, existing either in the air, or exposed to it, namely, excess of heat, want of heat, and a moderate supply of heat. In the division into [five] zones, each of these is correctly distinguished. The two frigid zones indicate the want of heat, being alike in the temperature of their atmosphere; the temperate zones possess a moderate heat, and the remaining, or torrid zone, is remarkable for its excess of heat.

The propriety of this division in regard to geography is equally apparent; the object of this science being to determine the limits of that one of the temperate zones which we inhabit. To the east and west, it is true, the boundaries are formed by the sea, but to the north and south they are indicated by the atmosphere; which in the middle is of a grateful temperature both to animals and plants, but on either side is rendered intemperate either through excess or defect of heat. To manifest this threefold difference, the division of the globe into five zones becomes necessary. In fact, the division of the globe, by means of the equator, into two hemispheres, the one northern, wherein we dwell, and the other southern, points to this threefold division, for the regions next the equator and torrid zone are uninhabitable on account of the heat, those next the poles on account of the cold, but those in the middle are mild, and fitted for the habitation of man.

Posidonius, in placing two zones under the tropics, pays no regard to the reasons which influenced the division into five zones, nor is his division equally appropriate. It is no more than if he were to form his division into zones merely according to the [countries inhabited] by different nations, calling one

¹ Viz. the Heteroscii, or inhabitants of the temperate zones.

the Ethiopian, another the Scythian and Keltic,¹ and a third the Intermediate zone.

2. Polybius, indeed, is wrong in bounding certain of his zones by the arctic circles,² namely, the two which lie under them, and the two between these and the tropics. The impropriety of using shifting points to mark the limits of those which are fixed has been remarked before; and we have likewise objected to the plan of making the tropics the boundary of the torrid zone. However, in dividing the torrid zone into two parts [Polybius] seems to have been influenced by no inconsiderable reason, the same which led us to regard the whole earth as properly divided by the equator into two hemispheres, north and south. We at once see that by means of this division the torrid zone is divided into two parts, thus establishing a kind of uniformity; each hemisphere consisting of three entire zones, respectively similar to each other. Thus this partition³ will admit of a division into six zones, but the other does not allow of it at all. Supposing you cut the earth into two portions by a line drawn through the poles, you can find no sufficient cause for dividing the eastern and western hemispheres into six zones; on the other hand, five would be preferable. For since both the portions of the torrid zone, divided by the equator, are similar and contiguous to each other, it would seem out of place and superfluous to separate them; whereas the temperate and frigid zones respectively resemble each other, although lying apart. Wherefore, supposing the whole earth to consist of these two hemispheres, it is sufficient to divide them into five zones. If there be a temperate region under the equator, as Eratosthenes asserts, and is admitted by Polybius, (who adds, that it is the most elevated part of the earth,⁴ and consequently subject to the drenching rains occa-

¹ The ancients named the people of southern Africa, Ethiopians; those of the north of Asia and Europe, Scythians; and those of the north-west of Europe, Kelts.

² That is, by arctic circles which differed in respect to various latitudes. See Book ii. chap. ii. § 2, p. 144.

³ Viz. The partition of the earth into two hemispheres, by means of the equator.

⁴ Gosselin concludes from this that Eratosthenes and Polybius gave to the earth the form of a spheroid flattened at the poles. Other philosophers supposed it was elongated at the poles, and flattened at the equator.

sioned by the monsoons bringing up from the north innumerable clouds, which discharge themselves on the highest lands,) it would be better to suppose this a third narrow temperate zone, than to extend the two temperate zones within the circles of the tropics. This supposition is supported by the statements of Posidonius, that the course of the sun, whether in the ecliptic, or from east to west, appears most rapid in the region [of which we are speaking], because the rotations of that luminary are performed with a speed increased in proportion to the greater size of the circle.¹

3. Posidonius blames Polybius for asserting that the region of the earth, situated under the equator, is the highest, since a spherical body being equal all round, no part can be described as high; and as to mountainous districts, there are none under the equator, it is on the contrary a flat country, about the same level as the sea; as for the rains which swell the Nile, they descend from the mountains of Ethiopia. Although advancing this, he afterwards seems to adopt the other opinion, for he says that he fancies there may be mountains under the equator, around which the clouds assembling from both of the temperate zones, produce violent rains. Here is one manifest contradiction; again, in stating that the land under the equator is mountainous, another contradiction appears. For they say that the ocean is confluent, how then can they place mountains in the midst of it? unless they mean to say that there are islands. However, whether such be the fact does not lie within the province of geography to determine, the inquiry would better be left to him who makes the ocean in particular his study.

4. Posidonius, in speaking of those who have sailed round Africa, tells us that Herodotus was of opinion that some of those sent out by Darius actually performed this enterprise;² and

¹ Gosselin justly observes that this passage, which is so concise as to appear doubtful to some, is properly explained by a quotation from Geminius, which states the arguments adduced by Polybius for believing that there was a temperate region within the torrid zones.

² Strabo seems to confound the account (Herodotus iv. 44) of the expedition sent by Darius round southern Persia and Arabia with the circumnavigation of Libya, (Herod. iv. 42,) which Necho II. confided to the Phœnicians about 600 B. C., commanding them distinctly "to return to Egypt through the passage of the Pillars of Hercules." See Humboldt's *Cosmos*, ii. 488, note, Bohn's edition.

that Heraclides of Pontus, in a certain dialogue, introduces one of the Magi presenting himself to Gelon,¹ and declaring that he had performed this voyage; but he remarks that this wants proof. He also narrates how a certain Eudoxus of Cyzicus,² sent with sacrifices and oblations to the Corean games,³ travelled into Egypt in the reign of Euergetes II.;⁴ and being a learned man, and much interested in the peculiarities of different countries, he made interest with the king and his ministers on the subject, but especially for exploring the Nile. It chanced that a certain Indian was brought to the king by the [coast]-guard of the Arabian Gulf. They reported that they had found him in a ship, alone, and half dead: but that they neither knew who he was, nor where he came from, as he spoke a language they could not understand. He was placed in the hands of preceptors appointed to teach him the Greek language. On acquiring which, he related how he had started from the coasts of India, but lost his course, and reached Egypt alone, all his companions having perished with hunger; but that if he were restored to his country he would point out to those sent with him by the king, the route by sea to India. Eudoxus was of the number thus sent. He set sail with a good supply of presents, and brought back with him in exchange aromatics and precious stones, some of which the Indians collect from amongst the pebbles of the rivers, others they dig out of the earth, where they have been formed by the moisture, as crystals are formed with us.⁵

[He fancied that he had made his fortune], however, he was greatly deceived, for Euergetes took possession of the whole treasure. On the death of that prince, his widow, Cleopatra,⁶ assumed the reins of government, and Eudoxus was again despatched with a richer cargo than before. On

¹ Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, flourished towards the end of the fifth century before Christ.

² The ruins of this city still preserve the name of Cyzik. It was situated on the peninsula of Artaki, on the south of the Sea of Marmora.

³ Games in honour of Proserpine, or Cora.

⁴ Ptolemy VII., king of Egypt, also styled Euergetes II.; he is more commonly known by the surname of Physcon. His reign commenced B. C. 170.

⁵ The ancients believed that crystals consisted of water which had been frozen by excessive cold, and remained congealed for centuries. Vide Pliny, lib. xxxvii. c. 9.

⁶ Cleopatra, besides being the wife, was also the niece of Ptolemy,

his journey back, he was carried by the winds above Ethiopia, and being thrown on certain [unknown] regions, he conciliated the inhabitants by presents of grain, wine, and cakes of pressed figs, articles which they were without; receiving in exchange a supply of water, and guides for the journey. He also wrote down several words of their language, and having found the end of a prow, with a horse carved on it, which he was told formed part of the wreck of a vessel coming from the west, he took it with him, and proceeded on his homeward course. He arrived safely in Egypt, where no longer Cleopatra, but her son,¹ ruled; but he was again stripped of every thing on the accusation of having appropriated to his own uses a large portion of the merchandise sent out.

However, he carried the prow into the market-place, and exhibited it to the pilots, who recognised it as being come from Gades.² The merchants [of that place] employing large vessels, but the lesser traders small ships, which they style horses, from the figures of that animal borne on the prow, and in which they go out fishing around Maurusia,³ as far as the Lixus.⁴ Some of the pilots professed to recognise the prow as that of a vessel which had sailed beyond the river Lixus, but had not returned.⁵

From this Eudoxus drew the conclusion, that it was possible to circumnavigate Libya; he therefore returned home, and having collected together the whole of his substance, set out on his travels. First he visited Dicæarchia,⁶ and then Marseilles, and afterwards traversed the whole coast as far as Gades. Declaring his enterprise everywhere as he journeyed, he gathered money sufficient to equip a great ship, and two boats, resembling those used by pirates. On board these he placed singing girls, physicians, and artisans of various kinds,

being the offspring of his former wife, whom he had divorced, by her former marriage with Philometor.

¹ Ptolemy VIII. was nominally king, but his mother Cleopatra still held most of the real authority in her hands. ² Cadiz.

³ Western Mauritania, the modern kingdom of Fez.

⁴ This river is now named Lucos, and its mouth, which is about 30 leagues distant from Cadiz, is called Larais or Larache.

⁵ Humboldt, *Cosmos* ii. 489, note, mentions the remains of a ship of the Red Sea having been brought to the coast of Crete by westerly currents.

⁶ Pozzuolo, close by Naples.

and launching into open sea, was carried towards India by steady westerly winds.¹ However, they who accompanied him becoming wearied with the voyage, steered their course towards land, but much against his will, as he dreaded the force of the ebb and flow. What he feared actually occurred. The ship grounded, but gently, so that it did not break up at once, but fell to pieces gradually, the goods and much of the timber of the ship being saved. With these he built a third vessel, closely resembling a ship of fifty oars, and continuing his voyage, came amongst a people who spoke the same language as that some words of which he had on a former occasion committed to writing. He further discovered, that they were men of the same stock as those other Ethiopians, and also resembled those of the kingdom of Bogus.² However, he abandoned his [intended] voyage to India, and returned home. On his voyage back he observed an uninhabited island, well watered and wooded, and carefully noted its position. Having reached Maurusia in safety, he disposed of his vessels, and travelled by land to the court of Bogus. He recommended that sovereign to undertake an expedition thither.

This, however, was prevented on account of the fear of the [king's] advisers, lest the district should chance to expose them to treachery, by making known a route by which foreigners might come to attack them. Eudoxus, however, became aware, that although it was given out that he was himself to be sent on this proposed expedition, the real intent was to abandon him on some desert island. He therefore fled to the Roman territory, and passed thence into Iberia. Again, he equipped two vessels, one round and the other long, furnished with fifty oars, the latter framed for voyaging in the high seas, the other for coasting along the shores. He placed on board agricultural implements, seed, and builders, and hastened on the same voyage, determined, if it should prove too long, to winter on the island he had before observed, sow his seed,

¹ Gosselin observes, that this steady westerly wind, so far from carrying him towards India, would be entirely adverse to him in coasting along Africa, and doubling Cape Bojador; and infers from hence that Eudoxus never really went that expedition, and that Strabo himself was ignorant of the true position of Africa.

² A name common to many sovereigns of the different parts of Mauritania; the king Bogus, or Bocchus, here spoken of, governed the kingdom of Fez.

and having reaped the harvest, complete the expedition he had intended from the beginning.

5. "Thus far," says Posidonius, "I have followed the history of Eudoxus. What happened afterwards is probably known to the people of Gades and Iberia;" "but," says he, "all these things only demonstrate more clearly the fact, that the inhabited earth is entirely surrounded by the ocean."

"By no continent fettered in,
But boundless in its flow, and free from soil."

Posidonius is certainly a most strange writer; he considers that the voyage of the Magus,¹ related by Heraclides, wants sufficient evidence, and also the account given by Herodotus of those sent out [to explore] by Darius. But this Bergæan² nonsense, either the coinage of his own brain, or of some other story-teller, in whom he trusts, he pretends to be worthy of our belief. But in the first place, what is there credible in this tale of the Indian missing his way? The Arabian Gulf, which resembles a river, is narrow, and in length is from 5000 to 10,000 stadia up to its mouth, where it is narrowest of all. It is not likely that the Indians in their voyage out would have entered this Gulf by mistake. The extreme narrowness of the mouth must have warned them of their error. And if they entered it voluntarily, then there was no excuse for introducing the pretext of mistake and uncertain winds. And how did they suffer all of themselves but one to perish through hunger? And how was it that this survivor was able to manage the ship, which could not have been a small one either, fitted as it was for traversing such vast seas? What must have been his aptitude in learning the language of the country, and thus being able to persuade the king of his competence, as leader of the expedition? And how came it that Euergetes was in want of such guides, so many being already acquainted with this sea? How was it that he who was sent by the inhabitants of Cyzicus to carry libations and sacrifices, should forsake his city and sail for India? How was it that so great an affair was

¹ Round Africa.

² A term by which incredible narrations were designated. It owes its origin to Antiphanes, a writer born at Bergè, a city of Thrace, and famous for trumping up false and auld-world stories. *Βεργαίξειν*, was a proverbial and polite term for lying.

intrusted to him? And how came it that on his return, after being deprived of every thing contrary to expectation, and disgraced, a yet larger cargo of goods was intrusted to him? And when he had again returned into Ethiopia, what cause induced him to write down the words, or to inquire whence came the portion of the prow of the boat? For to learn that it was a ship of some sailing from the west, would have been no information to him, as he himself would have to sail from the west on his voyage back. When, on his return to Alexandria, he was detected in having appropriated to himself much of the merchandise, how came it that he was not punished, but allowed to go about interrogating the pilots, and exhibiting his bit of prow? And that one of these fellows actually recognised the relic, is it not delicious! Eudoxus too believed it, this is still richer; and inspired by the hope, hastens home, and then starts on a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules! But he could never have left Alexandria without a passport, still less after having stolen the royal property. To set sail on the sly was impossible, as the port and every other exit was kept by a numerous guard, which still exists, as we very well know who have lived in Alexandria for a long time, although it is not so strict since the Romans have had possession, but under the kings the guards were infinitely more alert. But allowing that he reached Gades, that he there constructed ships, and sailed thence with quite a royal fleet, when his vessel was shattered, by what means was he able to construct a third boat in a desert land? And when, being again on his voyage, he found that the Ethiopians of the West spoke the same language as those of the East, how came it that he, so proud of his travelling propensities, forgot the completion of his voyage, when he must have had so good an expectation that there was but little now left unexplored, but relinquishing these prospects, set his mind on the expedition being undertaken by Bogus? How did he become acquainted with the snare spread for him by that king? And what advantage would have accrued to Bogus by making away with the man, rather than by dismissing him? When Eudoxus learned the plot against himself, what means had he to escape to safer quarters? It is true that not one of these situations was actually impossible, but still they were difficult circumstances, such as one rarely escapes from by any prosperous fortune. How-

ever, he always came off with good luck, notwithstanding he was never out of danger. Besides this, how did it happen, that having escaped from Bogus, he was not afraid to sail round Africa a second time, with all the requisites for taking up his abode on the island? All this too closely resembles the falsehoods of Pytheas, Euhemerus, and Antiphanes. They however may be pardoned; for their only aim was that of the juggler. But who can forgive a demonstrator and philosopher, and one too striving to be at the head of their order? it is really too bad!

6. However, he is right in attributing to earthquakes and other similar causes, which we also have enumerated, the risings, slips, and changes which at various periods come over the earth. He did well, too, in citing the opinion of Plato, "that the tradition concerning the Island of Atlantis might be received as something more than a mere fiction, it having been related by Solon on the authority of the Egyptian priests, that this island, almost as large as a continent, was formerly in existence, although now it had disappeared." Posidonius thinks it better to quote this than to say, "He who brought it into existence can also cause it to disappear, as the poet did the wall of the Achivi."¹ He (Posidonius) is also of opinion that the emigration of the Cimbrians and other kindred races from their native territory, was gradual, and occasioned by the inundation of the sea, and by no means a sudden movement.² He supposes that the length of the inhabited earth is about 70,000 stadia, being the half of the whole circle on which it is taken; so that, says he, starting from the west, one might, aided by a continual east wind, reach India in so many thousand stadia.

7. Next he undertakes to find fault with those who gave

¹ The wall mentioned in Iliad, vii. 436, *et seq.* Gosselin says that in the time of Aristotle the commentators of the Iliad, having vainly sought for the ruins or other traces of the wall, the Philosopher came to the conclusion that the wall was altogether a fiction of Homer's. Strabo speaks further on this subject in the 13th Book.

² As the above assertion is at variance with the statement of Strabo, in his 7th Book, concerning Posidonius's views on this subject, it seems probable that the passage as it stands is corrupt. It is more likely Strabo wrote, "It is the opinion of Posidonius that the emigration of the Cimbrians and other kindred races from their native territory was *not* occasioned by an inundation of the sea, since their departure took place at various times."

to the continents their present division, instead of marking them out by lines drawn parallel to the equator, by which means the different animals, plants, and temperatures would have been distinguished, according as they approached the frigid or the torrid zones; so that each continent would have formed a kind of zone. Afterwards, however, he overturns and gives up altogether this view, bestowing every commendation on the existing system, and thus making his argument altogether worthless and of no avail. In fact, the various arrangements [of a country] are not the result of premeditation, any more than the diversities of nations or languages; they all depend on circumstances and chance. Arts, forms of government, and modes of life, arising from certain [internal] springs, flourish under whatever climate they may be situated; climate, however, has its influence, and therefore while some peculiarities are due to the nature of the country, others are the result of institutions and education. It is not owing to the nature of the country, but rather to their education, that the Athenians cultivate eloquence, while the Lacedæmonians do not; nor yet the Thebans, who are nearer still. Neither are the Babylonians and Egyptians philosophers by nature, but by reason of their institutions and education. In like manner the excellence of horses, oxen, and other animals, results not alone from the places where they dwell, but also from their breeding. Posidonius confounds all these distinctions.

In praising the division of the continents as it now stands, he advances as an argument the difference between the Indians and the Ethiopians of Libya, the former being more robust, and less dried by the heat of the climate. It is on this account that Homer, who includes them all under the title of Ethiopians, describes them as being separated into two divisions,

“These eastward situate, those toward the west.”¹

[Crates], to support his hypothesis, supposes another inhabited earth, of which Homer certainly knew nothing; and says that the passage ought to be read thus, “towards the descending sun,” viz. when having passed the meridian, it begins to decline.

¹ Odysey i. 23.

8. First, then, the Ethiopians next Egypt are actually separated into two divisions; one part being in Asia, the other in Libya, otherwise there is no distinction between them. But it was not on this account that Homer divided the Ethiopians, nor yet because he was acquainted with the physical superiority of the Indians, (for it is not probable that Homer had the slightest idea of the Indians, since, according to the assertion of Eudoxus, Euergetes was both ignorant of India, and of the voyage thither,) but his division rather resulted from the cause we formerly mentioned. We have shown that as for the alteration of Crates, it makes no difference whether it be read so or not. Posidonius, however, says that it does make a difference, and would be better altered into "towards the descending [sun]." But in what can this be said to differ from "towards the west," since the whole section of the hemisphere west of the meridian is styled "the west," not only the mere semicircle of the horizon. This is manifested by the following expression of Aratus,

"Where the extremities of the west and east blend together."¹

However, if the reading of Posidonius be preferable to that of Crates, any one may likewise claim for it a superiority over that of Aristarchus. So much for Posidonius. There are, however, many particulars relating to Geography, which we shall bring under discussion; others relating to Physics, which must be examined elsewhere, or altogether disregarded; for he is much too fond of imitating Aristotle's propensity for diving into *causes*, a subject which we [Stoics] scrupulously avoid, simply because of the extreme darkness in which all *causes* are enveloped.

CHAPTER IV.

1. POLYBIUS, in his Chorography of Europe, tells us that it is not his intention to examine the writings of the ancient geographers, but the statements of those who have criticised them,

¹ Aratus, who lived about B. C. 270, was the author of two Greek astronomical poems, called *Φαινόμενα* and *Διοσημεία*. It is from the former of these that the above quotation is taken. Aratus, *Phænomen.* v. 61.

such as Dicæarchus, Eratosthenes, (who was the last of those who [in his time] had laboured on geography,) and Pytheas, by whom many have been deceived. It is this last writer who states that he travelled all over Britain on foot, and that the island is above 40,000 stadia in circumference. It is likewise he who describes Thule and other neighbouring places, where, according to him, neither earth, water, nor air exist, separately, but a sort of concretion of all these, resembling marine sponge, in which the earth, the sea, and all things were suspended, thus forming, as it were, a link to unite the whole together. It can neither be travelled over nor sailed through. As for the substance, he affirms that he has beheld it with his own eyes; the rest, he reports on the authority of others. So much for the statements of Pytheas, who tells us, besides, that after he had returned thence, he traversed the whole coasts of Europe from Gades to the Don.

2. Polybius asks, "How is it possible that a private individual, and one too in narrow circumstances, could ever have performed such vast expeditions by sea and land? And how could Eratosthenes, who hesitates whether he may rely on his statements in general, place such entire confidence in what that writer narrates concerning Britain, Gades, and Iberia?" says he, "it would have been better had Eratosthenes trusted to the Messenian¹ rather than to this writer. The former

¹ Evemerus, or Euhemerus, a Sicilian author of the time of Alexander the Great and his immediate successors, and a native of Messina. He is said to have sailed down the Red Sea and round the southern coasts of Asia to a very great distance, until he came to an island called Panchæa. After his return from this voyage, he wrote a work entitled 'Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή, which consisted of at least nine books. The title of this "Sacred History," as we may call it, was taken from the ἀναγραφαί, or the inscriptions on columns and walls, which existed in great numbers in the temples of Greece; and Euhemerus chose it, because he pretended to have derived his information from public documents of that kind, which he had discovered in his travels, especially in the island of Panchæa. The work contained accounts of the several gods, whom Euhemerus represented as having originally been men who had distinguished themselves either as warriors, kings, inventors, or benefactors of mankind, and who, after their death, were worshipped as gods by the grateful people. This book, which seems to have been written in a popular style, must have been very attractive; for all the fables of mythology were dressed up in it as so many true narratives; and many of the subsequent historians adopted his mode of dealing with myths, or at least followed in his track, as we find to be the case with Polybius and Dionysius. Vide Smith.

merely pretends to have sailed into one [unknown] country, viz. Panchæa, but the latter, that he has visited the whole of the north of Europe as far as the ends of the earth; which statement, even had it been made by Mercury, we should not have believed. Nevertheless Eratosthenes, who terms Euhemerus a Bergæan, gives credit to Pytheas, although even Dicæarchus would not believe him."

This argument, "although even Dicæarchus would not believe him," is ridiculous, just as if Eratosthenes ought to take for his standard a writer whom Polybius is himself for ever complaining of.¹

The ignorance of Eratosthenes respecting the western and northern portions of Europe, we have before remarked. But both he and Dicæarchus must be pardoned for this, as neither of them were personally familiar with those localities. But how can one excuse Polybius and Posidonius? especially Polybius, who treats as mere hearsay what Eratosthenes and Dicæarchus report concerning the distances of various places; and many other matters, about which, though he blames them, he is not himself free from error. Dicæarchus states that there are 10,000 stadia from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars, and something above this number from the Peloponnesus to the recess of the Adriatic.² He supposes 3000 stadia between the Peloponnesus and the Strait of Sicily; thus there would remain 7000 between the Strait of Sicily and the Pillars.³

"I will not inquire," says Polybius, "whether the statement concerning the 3000 stadia is correct or not, but 7000 stadia

¹ Every one will observe, that this criticism of Strabo is entirely gratuitous and captious. Polybius cites Dicæarchus as a most credulous writer, but states that even he would not believe Pytheas: how then could so distinguished a writer as Eratosthenes put faith in his nonsense?

² On the contrary, the distance in a right line from Cape Tenarum, off the Peloponnesus, to the recess of the Adriatic Gulf, is only about half the distance from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars of Hercules. This mistake of Dicæarchus is a proof of the very slight acquaintance the Greeks could have had with the western portions of the Mediterranean in his time, about 320 years before the Christian era.

³ Literally, "He assigns 3000 to the interval which stretches towards the Pillars as far as the Strait, and 7000 from the Strait to the Pillars." The distance from Cape Tenarum to the Strait of Messina is in proportion to the distance from the Strait of Messina to Gibraltar, about 3 to 10, not 3 to 7 as given by Dicæarchus.

is not the correct measure [from the Strait of Messina to the Pillars of Hercules], whether taken along the sea-shore, or right across the sea. The coast closely resembles an obtuse angle, one side reaching to the Strait of Sicily, the other to the Pillars, the vertex being Narbonne. Now let a triangle be constructed, having for its base a right line drawn through the sea, and its sides forming the aforementioned angle. The side reaching from the Strait of Sicily to Narbonne is above 11,200 stadia, while the other is below 8000. Now the greatest distance from Europe to Libya, across the Tyrrhenian Sea,¹ is not above 3000 stadia, and across the Sea of Sardinia² it is less still. But supposing that it too is 3000 stadia, add to this 2000 stadia, the depth of the bay at Narbonne as a perpendicular from the vertex to the base of the obtuse-angled triangle. It will, then, be clear even to the geometrical powers of a child, that the entire coast from the Strait of Sicily to the Pillars, does not exceed by more than 500 stadia the right line drawn across the sea; adding to these the 3000 stadia from the Peloponnesus to the Strait of Sicily, the whole taken together will give a straight line³ above double the length assigned by Dicæarchus; and, according to his system, you must add in addition to these the stadia at the recess of the Adriatic.”

3. True, dear Polybius, (one might say,) this error [of Dicæarchus] is manifested by the proof which you yourself have given when you inform us that from the Peloponnesus to Leucas⁴ there are 700 stadia; from thence to Corcyra⁵ the same number; and the same number again from Corcyra to the Ceraunian Mountains;⁶ and from the Ceraunian Mountains to Iapygia,⁷ following the coast of Illyria on the right, 6150 stadia.⁸ But the statement of Dicæarchus, that the

¹ That part of the Mediterranean which lies on the coast of Italy, from the mouth of the Arno to Naples.

² The sea which washes the western coast of Sardinia.

³ Viz. from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars of Hercules.

⁴ Santa Maura, an island in the Ionian Sea. ⁵ Corfu.

⁶ The mountains of Chimera, forming the Cape della Linguetta on the coast of Albania.

⁷ The maritime portion of Liburnia, comprised between the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria. It is now comprehended in the district of Murlaka.

⁸ In all 8250 stadia.

distance from the Strait of Sicily to the Pillars is 7000 stadia, and also your view of the matter, are both of them equally incorrect. For almost every one is agreed that the distance measured straight across the sea is 12,000 stadia, and this coincides with the received calculation of the length of the inhabited earth, which is estimated at above 70,000 stadia; the western portion of this from the Gulf of Issus¹ to the extreme western point of Iberia is little less than 30,000 stadia, and is thus calculated: from the Gulf of Issus to Rhodes 5000 stadia; from thence to Cape Salmonium,² which forms the eastern extremity of Crete, 1000; the length of Crete to Criu-metopon³ above 2000; thence to Cape Pachynus⁴ in Sicily 4500, and from Pachynus to the Strait of Sicily above 1000 stadia; the run from the Strait to the Pillars 12,000; and lastly, from the Pillars to the extremity of the said promontory⁵ of Iberia, about 3000 stadia.⁶

In addition to this, the perpendicular⁷ is not correct, supposing it true that Narbonne lies under almost the same parallel as Marseilles, and that this latter place is under the same parallel as Byzantium; which is the opinion of Hipparchus. Now the line drawn across the sea lies under the same parallel as the Strait [of the Pillars] and Rhodes; and the distance from Rhodes to Byzantium, which both lie under the same meridian, is estimated at about 5000 stadia; to which the above-mentioned perpendicular ought to be equal. But since they say that from the recess of the Galatic Gulf, the greatest distance across the sea from Europe to Libya is 5000 stadia, it seems to me that either there is some error in this statement, or that at this point Libya must incline very much to the north, and so come under the same parallel as the Pillars. Polybius is likewise mistaken in telling us that this said perpendicular terminates close to Sardinia; for instead of being close to Sardinia, it is far west thereof, having almost the whole of the sea of Liguria⁸ between it and that

¹ Issus, now Aias, a town of Cilicia on the confines of Syria, famous for the battle between Alexander the Great and Darius, in consequence of which it was called Nicopolis.

² Salamoni.

³ Cape Krio.

⁴ Cape Passaro.

⁵ Cape St. Vincent.

⁶ Total 28,500 stadia.

⁷ Spoken of by Polybius.

⁸ The Gulf of Genoa.

island. Besides this he makes the length of the sea-coast too great; but this [error] is not so considerable [as the two preceding].

4. After this Polybius proceeds to set right the mistakes of Eratosthenes. In this he is sometimes successful; at others his corrections are for the worse. For example, Eratosthenes gives 300 stadia from Ithaca to Corcyra; Polybius makes it above 900. From Epidamnus to Thessalonica Eratosthenes allows 900 stadia; Polybius says above 2000. In these instances he is correct. But where Eratosthenes states that from Marseilles to the Pillars there are 7000 stadia, and from the Pyrenees [to the same place] 6000, and Polybius alters this to more than 9000 from Marseilles, and little less than 8000 from the Pyrenees,¹ he is quite mistaken, and not so near to the truth as Eratosthenes. For all are now agreed that, barring the indirectness of the roads, the whole length of Iberia is not more than 6000 stadia² from the Pyrenees to its western limits; notwithstanding Polybius gives 8000 stadia for the length of the river Tagus, from its source to its outlets, and this in a straight line without any reference to its sinuosities, which in fact never enter into the geographical estimate, although the sources of the Tagus are above 1000 stadia from the Pyrenees. His remark is quite correct, that Eratosthenes knew little about Iberia, and on this account sometimes makes conflicting statements concerning it. He tells us, for example, that the portion of this country situated on the sea-coast as far as Gades is inhabited by Galatæ,³ who possess western Europe as far as Gades; nevertheless, in his account of Iberia he seems quite to have forgotten this, and makes no mention of these Galatæ whatever.

5. Again, however, Polybius makes an incorrect assertion, in stating that the whole length of Europe is unequal to that of Africa and Asia taken together. He tells us "that the en-

¹ These measures are taken along the coast, in stadia of 700 to a degree. Of these, from Marseilles to Gibraltar there are 9300, and from the ancient promontory of Pyrenæum to Gibraltar 7380. Consequently the corrections of Polybius were neither inaccurate nor uncalled for.

² These 6000 stadia, taken in a direct line, are just the distance from Cape St. Vincent to the chain of the Pyrenees.

³ Kelts.

trance at the Pillars corresponds in direction to the equinoctial west, and that the Don flows from the summer rising, consequently the length of Europe is less than that of Asia and Africa taken together by the space between the summer rising¹ and the equinoctial rising,² since Asia occupies the eastern portion of the northern semicircle. Now, in addition to the obscurity which Polybius throws over subjects which might have been simply stated, it is false that the river Don flows from the summer rising. For all who are acquainted with these localities inform us that this river flows from the north into the Mæotis, so that the mouth of the river lies under the same meridian as that of the Mæotis; and so in fact does the whole river as far as is known.³

6. Equally unworthy of credit is the statement of those who tell us, that the Don rises in the vicinity of the Danube, and flows from the west; they do not remember that between these are the Dniester, the Dnieper, and the Bog, all great rivers, which flow [into the Euxine Sea]; one runs parallel to the Danube, the other two to the Don. Now if at the present day we are ignorant of the sources both of the Dniester, and also of the Dnieper and Bog, the regions farther north must certainly be still less known. It is therefore a fictitious and idle assertion, that the Don crosses these rivers, and then turns northward on its way to discharge itself into the Mæotis, it being well known that the outlets to this river are in the most northern and eastern portions of the lake.⁴

No less idle is the statement which has also been advanced, that the Don, after crossing the Caucasus, flows northward, and then turns towards the Mæotis.⁵ No one, however, [with the exception of Polybius,] made this river flow from the east. If such were its course, our best geographers would never

¹ The rising of the sun in summer.

² The east.

³ This is an error into which Strabo fell with most of the ancient geographers. The course of the Don certainly begins from the north, but afterwards it turns eastward, and then suddenly shifts to the west. So that its entire course as known in the time of Strabo, differed from the Palus Mæotis and Sea of Azof by about 9 degrees of longitude. Polybius is here more exact than Strabo.

⁴ Palus Mæotis.

⁵ This was the opinion of Theophanes of Mytilene, who followed Pompey in his expeditions to the East. The Caucasus here mentioned is that which bounds Georgia in the north, and from whence the modern river Kuban (the Vardanus of Pompey) takes its rise. This river does incline

have told us that its direction was contrary to that of the Nile, and, so to speak, diametrically opposite thereto, as if the course of both rivers lay under the same meridian.

7. Further, the length of the inhabited earth is measured on a line parallel with the equator, as it is in this direction that its greatest length lies: in the same way with respect to each of the continents, we must take their length as it lies between two meridians. The measure of these lengths consists of a certain number of stadia, which we obtain either by going over the places themselves, or roads or ways parallel thereto. Polybius abandons this method, and adopts the new way of taking the segment of the northern semicircle comprised between the summer rising and the equinoctial rising. But no one ought to calculate by variable rules or measures in determining the length of fixed distances: nor yet should he make use of the phenomena of the heavens, which appear different when observed from different points, for distances which have their length determined by themselves and remain unchanged. The length of a country never varies, but depends upon itself; whereas, the equinoctial rising and setting, and the summer and winter rising and setting, depend not on themselves, but on our position [with respect to them]. As we shift from place to place, the equinoctial rising and setting, and the winter and summer rising and setting, shift with us; but the length of a continent always remains the same. To make the Don and the Nile the bounds of these continents, is nothing out of the way, but it is something strange to employ for this purpose the equinoctial rising and the summer rising.

8. Of the many promontories formed by Europe, a better description is given by Polybius than by Eratosthenes; but even his is not sufficient. Eratosthenes only names three; one at the Pillars of Hercules, where Iberia is situated; a second at the Strait of Sicily, and containing Italy; the third terminated by the Cape of Malea,¹ comprising all the countries situated between the Adriatic, the Euxine, and the Don. The two former of these Polybius describes in the same manner

slightly to the north, and afterwards turns westward in its course to the Palus Mæotis. It is possible that some confusion between this river and the Don gave occasion to the belief that the latter rose in the Caucasus.

¹ Cape Malio, in the Morea. See also Humboldt's *Cosmos* ii. 482.

as Eratosthenes, but the third, which is equally terminated by the Cape of Malea¹ and Cape Sunium,² [he makes to] comprehend the whole of Greece, Illyria, and some portion of Thrace. [He supposes] a fourth, containing the Thracian Chersonesus and the countries contiguous to the Strait,³ betwixt Sestos and Abydos. This is occupied by the Thracians. Also a fifth, about the Kimmerian Bosphorus and the mouth of the Mæotis. Let us allow [to Polybius] his two former [promontories], they are clearly distinguished by unmistakable bays; the first by the bay between Calpé⁴ and the Sacred Promontory⁵ where Gades⁶ is situated, as also by the sea between the Pillars and Sicily; the second⁷ by the latter sea and the Adriatic,⁸ although it may be objected that the extremity of Iapygia,⁹ being a promontory in itself, causes Italy to have a double cape. But as for the remaining [promontories of Polybius], they are plainly much more irregular, and composed of many parts, and require some other division. So likewise his plan of dividing [Europe] into six parts, similar to that of the promontories, is liable to objection.

However, we will set to rights each of these errors separately, as we meet with them, as well as the other blunders into which he has fallen in his description of Europe, and the journey round Africa. For the present we think that we have sufficiently dwelt on those of our predecessors whom we have thought proper to introduce as testimonies in our behalf, that both in the matter of correction and addition we had ample cause to undertake the present work.

¹ Cape Malio. Gosselin is of opinion that some omission has occurred in this passage, and proposes to substitute the following: "The two former of these Polybius describes in the same manner as Eratosthenes, but he subdivides the third. He comprehends within Cape Malea all the Peloponnesus; within Cape Sunium the whole of Greece, Illyria, and a part of Thrace."

² Cape Colonna.

³ The Strait of the Dardanelles.

⁴ The Rock of Gibraltar.

⁵ Cape St. Vincent.

⁶ Cadiz.

⁷ The Italian Promontory.

⁸ The Gulf of Venice.

⁹ Capo di Leuca.

CHAPTER V.

1. AFTER these criticisms on the writers who have preceded us, we must now confine our attention to the fulfilment of our promise. We start with a maxim we laid down at the commencement, that whoever undertakes to write a Chorography, should receive as axioms certain physical and mathematical propositions, and frame the rest of his work in accordance with, and in full reliance on, these principles. We have already stated [our opinion], that neither builder nor architect could build house or city properly and as it ought to be, unless acquainted with the *clima* of the place, its position in respect to celestial appearances, its shape, magnitude, degree of heat and cold, and similar facts; much less should he [be without such information] who undertakes to describe the situation of the various regions of the inhabited earth.

Represent to the mind on one and the same plane-surface Iberia and India with the intermediate countries, and define likewise the west, the east, and the south, which are common to every country. To a man already acquainted with the arrangement and motions of the heavens, and aware that in reality the surface of the earth is spherical, although here for the sake of illustration represented as a plane, this will give a sufficiently exact idea of the geographical [position of the various countries], but not to one who is unacquainted with those matters. The tourist travelling over vast plains like those of Babylon, or journeying by sea, may fancy that the whole country stretched before, behind, and on either side of him is a plane-surface; he may be unacquainted with the counter-indications of the celestial phenomena, and with the motions and appearance of the sun and stars, in respect to us. But such facts as these should ever be present to the mind of those who compose Geographies. The traveller, whether by sea or land, is directed by certain common appearances, which answer equally for the direction both of the unlearned and of the man of the world. Ignorant of astronomy, and unacquainted with the varied aspect of the heavens, he be-

holds the sun rise and set, and attain the meridian, but without considering how this takes place. Such knowledge could not aid the object he has in view, any more than to know whether the country he chances to be in may be under the same latitude as his own or not. Even should he bestow a slight attention to the subject, on all mathematical points he will adopt the opinions of the place; and every country has certain mistaken views of these matters. But it is not for any particular nation, nor for the man of the world who cares nothing for abstract mathematics, still less is it for the reaper or ditcher, that the geographer labours; but it is for him who is convinced that the earth is such as mathematicians declare it to be, and who admits every other fact resulting from this hypothesis. He requests that those who approach him shall have already settled this in their minds as a fact, that they may be able to lend their whole attention to other points. He will advance nothing which is not a consequence of these primary facts; therefore those who hear him, if they have a knowledge of mathematics, will readily be able to turn his instructions to account; for those who are destitute of this information he does not pretend to expound Geography.

2. Those who write on the science of Geography should trust entirely for the arrangement of the subject they are engaged on to the geometers, who have measured the whole earth; they in their turn to astronomers; and these again to natural philosophers. Now natural philosophy is one of the perfect sciences.¹

The "perfect sciences" they define as those which, depending on no external hypothesis, have their origin, and the evidence of their propositions, in themselves. Here are a few of the facts established by natural philosophers.²

The earth and heavens are spheroidal.

The tendency of all bodies having weight, is to a centre.

Further, the earth being spheroidal, and having the same

¹ ἡ δὲ φυσικὴ ἀρετὴ τις. We learn from the work entitled *De Placitis Philosophorum*, commonly attributed to Plutarch, that the Stoics dignified with the name of ἀρεταί, the three sciences of Physics, Ethics, and Logic, Φυσικὴ, Ἠθικὴ, Λογικὴ. The exact meaning of ἀρετὴ in these instances it is impossible to give, and Strabo's own explanation is perhaps the best that can be had; we have here rendered it, "perfect science," for want of a better phrase.

² Φυσικαί.

centre as the heavens, is motionless, as well as the axis which passes through both it and the heavens. The heavens turn round both the earth and its axis, from east to west. The fixed stars turn round with it, at the same rate as the whole.¹ These fixed stars follow in their course parallel circles; the principal of which are, the equator, the two tropics, and the arctic circles. While the planets, the sun, and the moon, describe certain oblique circles comprehended within the zodiac. Admitting these points in whole or in part, astronomers proceed to treat of other matters, [such as] the motions [of the stars], their revolutions, eclipses, size, relative distance, and a thousand similar particulars. On their side, geometers, when measuring the size of the entire earth, avail themselves of the data furnished by the natural philosopher and astronomer; and the geographer on his part makes use of those of the geometer.

3. The heavens and the earth must be supposed to be divided each into five zones, and the celestial zones to possess the same names as those below. The motives for such a division into zones we have already detailed. These zones may be distinguished by circles drawn parallel to the equator, on either side of it. Two of these will separate the torrid from the temperate zones, and the remaining two, the temperate from the frigid. To each celestial circle there shall be one corresponding on earth, and bearing the same name, and likewise zone for zone. The [two] zones capable of being inhabited, are styled temperate. The remaining [three] are uninhabitable, one on account of the heat, the others because of the extreme cold. The same is the case with regard to the tropical, and also to the arctic circles, in respect of those countries for which arctic circles can be said to exist. Circles on the earth are supposed, corresponding to those in the heavens, and bearing the same name, one for one.

As the whole heaven is separated into two parts by its equator, it follows that the earth must, by its equator, be similarly divided. The two hemispheres, both celestial and

¹ We have followed the suggestion of Gosselin in reading τῷ ὅλῳ, *the whole*, instead of τῷ πόλῳ; *the pole*, as in the text. Strabo having just previously stated that the *axis* of the earth was *stationary*, it does not seem probable that he would immediately after speak of the *motion* of the *pole*.

terrestrial, are distinguished into north and south. Likewise the torrid zone, which is divided into two halves by the equator, is distinguished as having a northern and southern side. Hence it is evident that of the two temperate zones, one should be called northern, the other southern, according to the hemisphere to which it belongs. The northern hemisphere is that containing the temperate zone, in which looking from east to west, you will have the pole on your right hand, and the equator on the left, or, in which, looking south, the west will be on the right hand, and the east on the left. The southern hemisphere is exactly the contrary to this.

It is clear that we are in one or other of these hemispheres, namely, the north ; we cannot be in both :

“ Broad rivers roll, and awful floods between,
But chief the ocean.”¹

And next is the torrid zone. But neither is there any ocean in the midst of the earth wherein we dwell, dividing the whole thereof, nor yet have we any torrid region. Nor is there any portion of it to be found in which the *climata* are opposite to those which have been described as characterizing the northern temperate zone.

4. Assuming these data, and availing himself likewise of astronomical observations, by which the position of every place is properly determined, whether with respect to the circles parallel to the equator, or to those which cut these latter at right angles, in the direction of the poles, the geometer measures the region in which he dwells, and [judges of the extent of] others by comparing the distance [between the corresponding celestial signs]. By this means he discovers the distance from the equator to the pole, which is a quarter of the largest circle of the earth ; having obtained this, he has only to multiply by four, the result is the [measure of the] perimeter of the globe.

In the same manner as he who takes the measures of the earth, borrows the foundation of his calculations from the astronomer, who himself is indebted to the natural philosopher, so in like manner the geographer adopts certain facts laid down as established by the geometer, before setting forth his

¹ *Odyssey* xi. 156, 157.

description of the earth we inhabit ; its size, form, nature, and the proportion it bears to the whole earth. These latter points are the peculiar business of the geographer. He will next enter on a particular description of every thing deserving notice, whether on land or sea ; he will likewise point out whatever has been improperly stated by those who have preceded him, especially by those who are regarded as chief authorities in these matters.¹

5. Let it be supposed that the earth and sea together form a spheroidal body, and preserve one and the same level in all the seas. For though some portions of the earth may be higher, yet this bears so small a relation to the size of the whole mass, as need not be noticed. The spheroid in consequence is not so minutely exact as one might be made by the aid of a turner's instrument, or as would answer the definition of a geometer, still in general appearance, and looked at roughly, it is a spheroid. Let the earth be supposed to consist of five zones, with (1.) the equatorial circle described round it, (2.) another parallel to this,² and defining the frigid zone of the northern hemisphere, and (3.) a circle passing through the poles, and cutting the two preceding circles at right angles. The northern hemisphere contains two quarters of the earth, which are bounded by the equator and the circle passing through the poles.

Each of these [quarters] should be supposed to contain a four-sided district, its northern side being composed of one half of the parallel next the pole ; its southern, by the half of the equator ; and its remaining sides, by [two] segments of the circle drawn through the poles, opposite to each other, and equal in length. In one of these quadrilaterals (which of them is of no consequence) the earth that we inhabit is situated, surrounded by sea, and similar to an island. This, as we said before, is evident both to our senses and to our reason. But should any one doubt thereof, it makes no difference so far as Geography is concerned, whether you suppose the portion of the earth we inhabit to be an island, or only admit what we know from experience, viz. that whether you start

¹ From this point Strabo, strictly speaking, commences his exposition of the principles of Geography.

² Strabo supposed this circle at a distance of 38,100 stadia from the equator, or 54° 25' 42" of latitude.

from the east or west, you may sail all round it. Certain intermediate spaces may have been left [unexplored], but these are as likely to be occupied by sea, as uninhabited lands. The object of the geographer is to describe known countries; those which are unknown he passes over equally with those beyond the limits of the inhabited earth. It will therefore be sufficient for describing the contour of the island we have been speaking of, if we join by a right line the utmost points which, up to this time, have been explored by voyagers along the coast on either side.

6. Let it be supposed that this island is contained in one of the above quadrilaterals; we must obtain its apparent magnitude by subtracting our hemisphere from the whole extent of the earth, from this take the half, and from this again the quadrilateral, in which we state our earth to be situated. We may judge also by analogy of the figure of the whole earth, by supposing that it accords with those parts with which we are acquainted. Now as the portion of the northern hemisphere, between the equator and the parallel next the [north] pole, resembles a vertebre or joint of the back-bone in shape, and as the circle which passes through the pole divides at the same time the hemisphere and the vertebre into two halves, thus forming the quadrilateral; it is clear that this quadrilateral to which the Atlantic is adjacent, is but the half of the vertebre; while at the same time the inhabited earth, which is an island in this, and shaped like a chlamys or soldier's cloak, occupies less than the half of the quadrilateral. This is evident from geometry, also¹ from the extent of the surrounding sea, which covers the extremities of the continents on either side, compressing them into a smaller figure, and thirdly, by the greatest length and breadth [of the earth itself]. The length being 70,000 stadia, enclosed almost entirely by a sea, impossible to navigate owing to its wildness and vast extent, and the breadth 30,000 stadia, bounded by regions rendered uninhabitable on account either of their intense heat or cold. That portion of the quadrilateral which is unfitted for habitation on account of the heat, contains in breadth 8800 stadia, and in its greatest length 126,000 stadia, which is equal to one half of the equator, and

¹ The whole of what follows to the end of the section is extremely embarrassing in the original; we must therefore claim the indulgence of the reader for any obscurity he may find in the translation.

larger than one half the inhabited earth; and what is left is still more.

7. These calculations are nearly synonymous with those furnished by Hipparchus, who tells us, that supposing the size of the globe as stated by Eratosthenes to be correct, we can then subtract from it the extent of the inhabited earth, since in noting the celestial appearances [as they are seen] in different countries, it is not of much importance whether we make use of this measure, or that furnished by later writers. Now as the whole circle of the equator according to Eratosthenes contains 252,000 stadia, the quarter of this would be 63,000, that is, the space from the equator to the pole contains fifteen of the sixty divisions¹ into which the equator itself is divided. There are four [divisions] between the equator and the summer tropic or parallel passing through Syene. The distances for each locality are calculated by the astronomical observations.

It is evident that Syene is under the tropic, from the fact that during the summer solstice the gnomon at mid-day casts no shadow there. As for the meridian of Syene, it follows very nearly the course of the Nile from Meroe to Alexandria, a distance of about 10,000 stadia. Syene itself is situated about mid-way between these places, consequently from thence to Meroe is a distance of 5000 stadia. Advancing 3000 stadia southward in a right line, we come to lands unfitted for habitation on account of the heat. Consequently the parallel which bounds these places, and which is the same as that of the Cinnamon Country, is to be regarded as the boundary and commencement of the habitable earth on the south. If, then, 3000 stadia be added to the 5000 between Syene and Meroe, there will be altogether 8000 stadia [from Syene] to the [southern] extremity of the habitable earth. But from Syene to the equator there are 16,800 stadia, (for such is the amount of the four-sixtieths, each sixtieth being equivalent to 4200 stadia,) and consequently from the [southern] boundaries of the habitable earth to the equator there are 8800 stadia, and from Alexandria 21,800.² Again, every one is

¹ The Greeks, besides the division of the equator into 360 degrees, had also another method of dividing it into sixty portions or degrees.

² These 21,800 stadia would give to Alexandria a latitude of $31^{\circ} 8' 34''$; according to modern calculation it is $31^{\circ} 11' 20''$ of latitude. The

agreed that the voyage from Alexandria to Rhodes, and thence by Caria and Ionia to the Troad, Byzantium, and the Dnieper, is in a straight line with the course of the Nile.¹

Taking therefore these distances, which have been ascertained by voyages, we have only to find out how far beyond the Dnieper the land is habitable, (being careful always to continue in the same straight line,) and we shall arrive at a knowledge of the northern boundaries of our earth.

Beyond the Dnieper dwell the Roxolani,² the last of the Scythians with which we are acquainted; they are nevertheless more south than the farthest nations³ we know of beyond Britain. Beyond these Roxolani the country is uninhabitable on account of the severity of the climate. The Sauromatæ⁴ who live around the Mæotis, and the other Scythians⁵ as far as the Scythians of the East, dwell farther south.

following presents Strabo's calculations of the latitude of the preceding places in a tabular form.

Names of places.	Particular Distance.	Total Distance.	Latitudes.
	Stadia.	Stadia.	
Equator	0	0	0° 0' 0"
Limits of the habitable earth	8800	8800	12° 34' 17"
Meroe	3000	11800	16° 51' 25"
Syene and the Tropic . .	5000	16800	24° 0' 0"
Alexandria	5000	21800	31° 8' 34"

¹ Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Strabo, all believed that the longitude of Rhodes was the same as that of Alexandria, although actually it is 2° 22' 45" west of that place. The coasts of Caria, Ionia, and the Troad incline considerably to the west, while Byzantium is about 3° east of the Troad, and the mouth of the Dnieper is above 3° 46' east of Byzantium.

² The Roxolani inhabited the Ukraine. It has been thought that from these people the Russians derived their name.

³ Strabo here alludes to Ireland, which he placed north of England, and believed to be the most northerly region fitted for the habitation of man. He gave it a latitude of 36,700 stadia, equivalent to 52° 25' 42", which answers to the southern portions of that island.

⁴ The Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians, occupied the lands north of the sea of Azof on either side of the Don.

⁵ The Scythians here spoken of dwelt between the Don and the Wolga; east of this last river were the Eastern Scythians, who were thought to occupy the whole north of Asia.

8. It is true that Pytheas of Marseilles affirms that the farthest country north of the British islands is Thule; for which place he says the summer tropic and the arctic circle is all one. But he records no other particulars concerning it; [he does not say] whether Thule is an island, or whether it continues habitable up to the point where the summer tropic becomes one with the arctic circle.¹ For myself, I fancy that the northern boundaries of the habitable earth are greatly south of this. Modern writers tell us of nothing beyond Ierne, which lies just north of Britain, where the people live miserably and like savages on account of the severity of the cold. It is here in my opinion the bounds of the habitable earth ought to be fixed.

If on the one hand the parallels of Byzantium and Marseilles are the same, as Hipparchus asserts on the faith of Pytheas, (for he² says that at Byzantium the gnomon indicates the same amount of shadow as Pytheas gives for Marseilles,) and at the same time the parallel of the Dnieper is distant from Byzantium about 3800 stadia, it follows, if we take into consideration the distance between Marseilles and Britain, that the circle which passes over the Dnieper traverses Britain as well.³ But the truth is that Pytheas, who so frequently misleads people, deceives in this instance too.

It is generally admitted that a line drawn from the Pillars of Hercules, and passing over the Strait [of Messina], Athens, and Rhodes, would lie under the same parallel of latitude.⁴ It is likewise admitted, that the line in passing from the Pillars to the Strait of Sicily divides the Mediterranean through the

¹ The tropic being placed at 24° from the equator by Strabo, and most probably by Pytheas also, the latitude of Thule, according to the observation of this traveller, would be fixed at 66°, which corresponds with the north of Iceland.

² Hipparchus.

³ Hipparchus placed Marseilles and Byzantium at 30,142 stadia, or 43° 3' 38" of latitude, and estimated the parallel for the centre of Britain at 33,942 stadia, or 48° 29' 19". Whereas Strabo only allowed for this latter 32,700 stadia, or 46° 42' 51".

⁴ Viz. the 36° of latitude. The actual latitudes are as follow:

The Pillars of Hercules, or Strait of Gibraltar, 36°.

The Strait of Messina, 38° 12'.

Athens, 38° 5'.

The middle of the Isle of Rhodes, 36° 18'; and the city, 36° 28' 30".

midst.¹ Navigators tell us that the greatest distance from Keltica to Libya, starting from the bottom of the Galatic Bay, is 5000 stadia, and that this is likewise the greatest breadth of the Mediterranean. Consequently from the said line to the bottom of the bay is 2500 stadia; but to Marseilles the distance is rather less, in consequence of that city being more to the south than the bottom of the bay.² But since from Rhodes to Byzantium is about 4900³ stadia, it follows that Byzantium must be far north of Marseilles.⁴ The distance from this latter city to Britain is about the same as from Byzantium to the Dnieper.⁵ How far it may be from Britain to the island of Ierne is not known. As to whether beyond it there may still be habitable lands, it is not our business to inquire, as we stated before. It is sufficient for our science to determine this in the same manner that we did the southern boundaries. We there fixed the bounds of the habitable earth at 3000 stadia south of Meroe (not that these were its exact limits, but because they were sufficiently near); so in this instance they should be placed about the same number of stadia north of Britain, certainly not more than 4000.⁶

¹ This mistake of Strabo caused the derangement in his chart of the whole contour of this portion of the Mediterranean, and falsifies the position of the surrounding districts.

² Strabo having allowed 25,400 stadia, or 36° 17' 8", for the latitude of Rhodes and the Strait of Messina, determined the latitude of Marseilles at 27,700 stadia, or 39° 34' 17"; its real latitude being 43° 17' 45", as exactly stated by Pytheas.

³ Or about 7°. The actual difference in latitude between Rhodes and Byzantium is 4° 32' 54".

⁴ On the contrary, Marseilles is 2° 16' 21" north of Byzantium.

⁵ 3800 stadia, or 5° 25' 43".

⁶ The following is a tabular form of the latitudes as stated by Strabo:

	Stadia.	Latitude.
From the equator to Alexandria	21,800	31° 8' 34"
From Alexandria to Rhodes, he computes in this instance 3600 stadia	25,400	36 17' 8"
From the parallel of Rhodes to Marseilles, about 2300 stadia	27,700	39° 34' 17"
From the parallel of Rhodes to the bottom of the Galatic Gulf, 2500 stadia	27,900	39° 51' 25"
From Marseilles to the northern extremity of Gaul, or the southern extremity of Britain, 3800 stadia	31,500	45° 0' 0"
From Marseilles to the middle of Britain, 5000 stadia	32,700	46° 42' 51"

It would not serve any political purpose to be well acquainted with these distant places and the people who inhabit them; especially if they are islands whose inhabitants can neither injure us, nor yet benefit us by their commerce. The Romans might easily have conquered Britain, but they did not care to do so, as they perceived there was nothing to fear from the inhabitants, (they not being powerful enough to attack us,) and that they would gain nothing by occupying the land. Even now it appears that we gain more by the customs they pay, than we could raise by tribute, after deducting the wages of the soldiers necessary for guarding the island and exacting the taxes. And the other islands adjacent to this would be still more unproductive.

9. If, then, to the distance between Rhodes and the Dnieper be added four thousand stadia north of the latter place, the whole would come to 12,700 stadia; and since from Rhodes to the southern limit of the habitable earth there are 16,600 stadia, its total breadth from north to south would be under 30,000 stadia.¹ Its length from west to east is stated at 70,000 stadia, the distance being measured from the extremities of Iberia to those of India, partly over the land and partly across the sea. That this length is contained within the quadrilateral aforesaid, is proved by the proportion borne by these parallels to the equator. Thus the length of the habitable earth is above twice its breadth. It has been compared

	Stadia.	Latitude.
From the northern extremity of Gaul to the parallel of the northern extremity of Britain, 2500 stadia	34,000	48° 34' 17"
From the northern extremity of Gaul to Ierne, 5000 stadia	36,500	52° 8' 34"
From the northern extremity of Britain to the limits of the habitable earth, 4000 stadia	38,000	54° 17' 9"

¹ Namely, 29,300.

	Stadia.
From Rhodes to Byzantium Strabo estimated	4900
From Byzantium to the Dnieper	3800
	<hr/>
	8700
From the Dnieper to the northern limits of the habitable earth	4000
	<hr/>
	12,700
From Rhodes to the southern limits of the habitable earth	16,600
	<hr/>
Total	29,300

in figure to a chlamys, or soldier's cloak, because if every part be carefully examined, it will be found that its breadth is greatly diminished towards the extremities, especially in the west.

10. We have now been tracing upon a spherical surface the region which we state to be occupied by the habitable earth; and whoever would represent the real earth as near as possible by artificial means, should make a globe like that of Crates, and upon this describe the quadrilateral within which his chart of geography is to be placed. For this purpose, however, a large globe is necessary, since the section mentioned, though but a very small portion of the entire sphere, must be capable of properly containing all the regions of the habitable earth, and presenting an accurate view of them to all those who wish to consult it. Any one who is able will certainly do well to obtain such a globe. But it should have a diameter of not less than ten feet: those who cannot obtain a globe of this size, or one nearly as large, had better draw their chart on a plane-surface, of not less than seven feet. Draw straight lines, some parallel, for the parallels [of latitude], and others at right angles to these; we may easily imagine how the eye can transfer the figure and extent [of these lines] from a plane-surface to one that is spherical. What we have just observed of the circles in general, may be said with equal truth touching the oblique circles. On the globe it is true that the meridians of each country passing the pole have a tendency to unite in a single point, nevertheless on the plane-surface of the map, there would be no advantage if the right lines alone which should represent the meridians were drawn slightly to converge. The necessity for such a proceeding would scarcely ever be really felt. Even on our globe itself¹ the tendency of those meridians (which are transferred to the map as right lines) to converge is not much, nor any thing near so obvious as their circular tendency.

11. In what follows we shall suppose the chart drawn on a plane-surface; and our descriptions shall consist of what we ourselves have observed in our travels by land and sea, and of what we conceive to be credible in the statements and writings of others. For ourselves, in a westerly direction we

¹ The artificial globe of 10 ft. diameter.

have travelled from Armenia to that part of Tyrrhenia¹ which is over against Sardinia; and southward, from the Euxine to the frontiers of Ethiopia.² Of all the writers on Geography, not one can be mentioned who has travelled over a wider extent of the countries described than we have. Some may have gone farther to the west, but then they have never been so far east as we have; again, others may have been farther east, but not so far west; and the same with respect to north and south. However, in the main, both we and they have availed ourselves of the reports of others, from which to describe the form, the size, and the other peculiarities of the country, what they are and how many, in the same way that the mind forms its conceptions from the information of the senses. The figure, colour, and size of an apple, its scent, feel to the touch, and its flavour, are particulars communicated by the senses, from which the mind forms its conception of an apple. So in large figures, the senses observe the various parts, while the mind combines into one conception what is thus seen. And in like manner, men eager after knowledge, trusting to those who have been to various places, and to [the descriptions of] travellers in this or that country, gather into one sketch a view of the whole habitable earth.

In the same way, the generals perform every thing, nevertheless, they are not present every where, but most of their success depends on others, since they are obliged to trust to messengers, and issue their commands in accordance with the reports of others. To pretend that those only can know who have themselves seen, is to deprive hearing of all confidence, which, after all, is a better servant of knowledge than sight itself.

12. Writers of the present day can describe with more certainty [than formerly] the Britons, the Germans, and the dwellers on either side of the Danube, the Getæ,³ the Tyrigetæ, the Bastarnæ,⁴ the tribes dwelling by the Caucasus, such as the

¹ Tuscany.

² Strabo was of Amasea, a city of Pontus, close to the Euxine. He travelled through Egypt and reached Philæ, which is about 100 stadia above Syene, the commencement of Ethiopia.

³ The Getæ occupied a portion of present Moldavia; the Tyrigetæ were those of the Getæ who dwelt along the banks of the Tyras or Dniester.

⁴ The Bastarnæ occupied the south and eastern portions of Poland.

Albanians and Iberians.¹ We are besides possessed of a description of Hyrcania² and Bactriana in the Histories of Parthia written by such men as Apollodorus of Artemita,³ who have detailed the boundaries [of those countries] with greater accuracy than other geographers.

The entrance of a Roman army into Arabia Felix under the command of my friend and companion Ælius Gallus,⁴ and the traffic of the Alexandrian merchants whose vessels pass up the Nile and Arabian Gulf⁵ to India, have rendered us much better acquainted with these countries than our predecessors were. I was with Gallus at the time he was prefect of Egypt, and accompanied him as far as Syene and the frontiers of Ethiopia, and I found that about one hundred and twenty ships sail from Myos-hormos⁶ to India, although, in the time of the Ptolemies, scarcely any one would venture on this voyage and the commerce with the Indies.

13. Our first and most imperative duty⁷ then, both in respect to science and to the necessities of the man of business, is to undertake to lay down the projection of the different countries on the chart in as clear a style as possible, and to signify at the same time the relation and proportion they bear to the whole earth. For such is the geographer's peculiar province. It belongs to another science to give an exact description of the whole earth, and of the entire vertebræ of either zone, and

¹ The Georgians of the present day.

² Corcan.

³ The precise time when this writer lived is unknown. The work here referred to is also mentioned by Athenæus, xv. p. 682.

⁴ Prefect of Egypt in the reign of Augustus. This expedition into Arabia completely failed, through the treachery of the guide, a Roman named Syllæus. A long account of it is given by Strabo in the 16th book. "It would be extremely interesting," says Professor Schmitz, "to trace this expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia, but our knowledge of that country is as yet too scanty to enable us to identify the route as described by Strabo, who derived most of his information about Arabia from his friend Ælius Gallus."

⁵ Red Sea.

⁶ Myos-hormos, *Mouse's Harbour*, a sea-port of Egypt on the coast of the Red Sea. Arrian says that it was one of the most celebrated ports on this sea. It was chosen by Ptolemy Philadelphus for the convenience of commerce, in preference to Arsinoë or Suez, on account of the difficulty of navigating the western extremity of the gulf. It was called also Aphroditis Portus, or the Port of Venus. Its modern name is Suffange-el-Bahri, or "Sponge of the Sea." *Lemprière*.

⁷ Humboldt commends Strabo's zeal in prosecuting his gigantic work, *Cosmos* ii. 557.

as to whether the vertebræ in the opposite quarter of the earth is inhabited. That such is the case is most probable, but not that it is inhabited by the same race of men as dwell with us. And it must therefore be regarded as another habitable earth. We however have only to describe our own.

14. In its figure the habitable earth resembles a chlamys, or soldier's cloak, the greatest breadth of which would be indicated by a line drawn in the direction of the Nile, commencing from the parallel of the Cinnamon Country, and the Island of the Egyptian Exiles, and terminating at the parallel of Ierna; and its length by a line drawn from the west at right angles to the former, passing by the Pillars of Hercules and the Strait of Sicily to Rhodes and the Gulf of Issus,¹ then proceeding along the chain of the Taurus, which divides Asia, and terminating in the Eastern Ocean,² between India and the Scythians dwelling beyond Bactriana.

We must therefore fancy to ourselves a parallelogram, and within it a chlamys-shaped figure, described in such a manner that the length of the one figure may correspond to the length and size of the other, and likewise breadth to breadth. The habitable earth will therefore be represented by this kind of chlamys. We have before said that its breadth is marked out by parallels bounding its sides, and separating on either side the portions that are habitable from those that are not. On the north [these parallels] pass over Ierna,³ and on the side of the torrid zone over the Cinnamon Country. These lines being produced east and west to the opposite extremities of the habitable earth, form, when joined by the perpendiculars falling from their extremities, a kind of parallelogram. That within this the habitable earth is contained is evident, since neither its greatest breadth nor length project beyond. That in configuration it resembles a chlamys is also clear, from the fact that at either end of its length, the extremities taper to a point.⁴ Owing to the encroachments of the sea, it

¹ The Gulf of Aias.

² The Bay of Bengal.

³ Strabo seems here to confound the parallel of Ierna with that of the northern limits of the habitable earth, although a little above, as we have seen, he determines these limits at 15,000 stadia north of Ierna.

⁴ These narrowed extremities of the continent are, Spain on the west, terminated by Cape St. Vincent, and on the east the peninsula of India, terminated by Cape Comorin. This cape Strabo supposed was continued in an easterly direction, and thus formed the most eastern portion of Asia.

also loses something in breadth. This we know from those who have sailed round its eastern and western points. They inform us that the island called Taprobana¹ is much to the south of India, but that it is nevertheless inhabited, and is situated opposite to the island of the Egyptians and the Cinnamon Country, as the temperature of their atmospheres is similar. On the other side the country about the embouchure of the Hyrcanian Sea² is farther north than the farthest Scythians who dwell beyond India, and Ierna still more so. It is likewise stated of the country beyond the Pillars of Hercules, that the most western point of the habitable earth is the promontory of the Iberians named the Sacred Promontory.³ It lies nearly in a line with Gades, the Pillars of Hercules, the Strait of Sicily, and Rhodes;⁴ for they say that the horologes accord, as also the periodical winds, and the duration of the longest nights and days, which consist of fourteen and a half equinoctial hours. From the coast of Gades and Iberia is said to have been formerly observed.⁵

Posidonius relates, that from the top of a high house in a town about 400 stadia distant from the places mentioned, he perceived a star which he believed to be Canopus, both in consequence of the testimony of those who having proceeded a little to the south of Iberia affirmed that they could perceive it, and also of the tradition preserved at Cnidus; for the observatory of Eudoxus, from whence he is reported to have viewed Canopus, is not much higher than these houses; and Cnidus is under the same parallel as Rhodes, which is likewise that of Gades and its sea-coast.

15. Sailing thence, Libya lies to the south. Its most western portions project a little beyond Gades; it afterwards

¹ The island of Ceylon.

² Strabo supposed the Hyrcanian or Caspian Sea communicated with the northern ocean.

³ Cape St. Vincent.

⁴ Cape St. Vincent is north of Cadiz by 30' 30", north of the Strait of Gibraltar, or Pillars of Hercules, by 1° 2', south of the Strait of Messina by 1° 10', and north of Rhodes by 33' 30".

⁵ Casaubon conjectures that the words τὸν Κάνωβον originally occupied the space of the lacuna. The passage would then stand thus—From the coast of Cadiz and Iberia the star Canopus is said to have been formerly observed. Groskurd rejects this, and proposes to read τοὺς πλησιαιτάτους τοῦ Κανώβου ἀστέρας, "the stars nearest to Canopus." But this too is not certain, and the passage is otherwise evidently corrupt.

forms a narrow promontory receding towards the east and south, and becoming slightly broader, till it touches upon the western Ethiopians, who are the last¹ of the nations situated below Carthage, and adjoin the parallel of the Cinnamon Country. They, on the contrary, who sail from the Sacred Promontory,² towards the Artabri,³ journey northwards, having Lusitania⁴ on the right hand. The remaining portion forms an obtuse angle towards the east as far as the extremities of the Pyrenees which terminate at the ocean. Northward and opposite to this are the western coasts of Britain. Northward and opposite to the Artabri are the islands denominated Cassiterides,⁵ situated in the high seas, but under nearly the same latitude as Britain. From this it appears to what a degree the extremities of the habitable earth are narrowed by the surrounding sea.

16. Such being the configuration of the whole earth, it will be convenient to take two straight lines, cutting each other at right angles, and running the one through its greatest length, and the other through its breadth. The former of these lines will represent one of the parallels, and the latter one of the meridians.⁶ Afterwards we must imagine other lines parallel to either of these respectively, and dividing both the

¹ The most southern.

² Cape St. Vincent.

³ The Artabri inhabited the country around Cape Finisterre.

⁴ Principally contained in the modern kingdom of Portugal.

⁵ The Scilly Islands off the Cornwall coast.

⁶ We have long had the custom of tracing on every map the parallels of latitude and longitude at every degree, or every five or ten degrees, as the case may be. By means of these lines drawn at equal distances, the eye at once recognises the relative position of any place in the map. This method was not in use when Strabo wrote: at that time it was customary to draw a meridian or longitude, and a parallel of latitude, for every important place of which the position was considered as determined. This was certainly an obscure way of dividing the globe; nevertheless it is requisite to keep it in mind, in order that we may the more readily understand the general language of our geographer, who instead of simply stating the latitude and longitude of places, says such a place is situated under the same latitude, or about the same latitude, as such another place, &c. Ptolemy seems to have been the first who freed the study of geography from the confusion inseparable from the ancient method. He substituted tables easy of construction and amendment; where the position of each place was marked by isolated numbers, which denoted the *exact* latitude and longitude.

land and sea with which we are acquainted. By this means the form of the habitable earth will appear more clearly to be such as we have described it; likewise the extent of the various lines, whether traced through its length or breadth, and the latitudes [of places], will also be more clearly distinguished, whether north or south, as also [the longitudes] whether east or west. However, these right lines should be drawn through places that are known. Two have already been thus fixed upon, I mean the two middle [lines] running through its length and breadth, which have been already explained, and by means of these the others may easily be determined. These lines will serve us as marks to distinguish countries situated under the same parallel, and otherwise to determine different positions both in respect to the other portions of the earth, and also of the celestial appearances.

17. The ocean it is which principally divides the earth into various countries, and moulds its form. It creates bays, seas, straits, isthmuses, peninsulas, and capes; while rivers and mountains serve to the same purpose. It is by these means that continents, nations, and the position of cities are capable of being clearly distinguished, together with those various other details of which a chorographical chart is full. Amongst these latter are the multitude of islands scattered throughout the seas, and along every coast; each of them distinguished by some good or bad quality, by certain advantages or disadvantages, due either to nature or to art.

The natural advantages [of a place] should always be mentioned, since they are permanent. Advantages which are adventitious are liable to change, although the majority of those which have continued for any length of time should not be passed over, nor even those which, although but recent, have yet acquired some note and celebrity. For those which continue, come to be regarded by posterity not as works of art, but as the natural advantages of the place; these therefore it is evident we must notice. True it is, that to many a city we may apply the reflection of Demosthenes¹ on Olynthus

¹ Demosthenes, Philipp. III. edit. Reisk. t. i. p. 117, l. 22.—Demosthenes is here alluding to the cities which different Grecian colonies had founded in the maritime districts of Thrace. The principal of these was the opulent and populous city of Olynthus, which, together with others,

and its neighbouring towns : “ So completely have they vanished, that no one who should now visit their sites could say that they had ever been inhabited ! ”

Still we are gratified by visiting these and similar localities, being desirous of beholding the traces of such celebrated places, and the tombs of famous men. In like manner we should record laws and forms of government no longer in existence, since these are serviceable to have in mind, equally with the remembrance of actions, whether for the sake of imitating or avoiding the like.

18. Continuing our former sketch, we now state that the earth which we inhabit contains numerous gulfs, formed by the exterior sea or ocean which surrounds it. Of these there are four principal. The northern, called the Caspian, by others designated the Hyrcanian Sea, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, formed by the [Southern] Sea, the one being nearly opposite to the Caspian, the other to the Euxine; the fourth, which in size is much more considerable than the others, is called the Internal and Our Sea.¹ It commences in the west at the Strait of the Pillars of Hercules, and continues in an easterly direction, but with varying breadth. Farther in, it becomes divided, and terminates in two gulfs; that on the left being called the Euxine Sea, while the other consists of the seas of Egypt, Pamphylia, and Issus. All these gulfs formed by the exterior sea, have a narrow entrance; those of the Arabian Gulf, however, and the Pillars of Hercules are smaller than the rest.² The land which surrounds these, as before remarked, consists of three divisions. Of these, the configuration of Europe is the most irregular. Libya, on the contrary, is the most regular; while Asia holds a middle place between the two. In all of these continents, the regularity or irregularity of form relates merely to the interior coasts; the exterior, with the exception of the gulfs be-

was taken, and razed to its foundations, by Philip of Macedon. Olynthus has become famous through the three orations of Demosthenes, urging the Athenians to its succour.

¹ The Mediterranean.

² The entrance to the Arabian Gulf is about six or seven marine leagues, that of the Mediterranean two and three-fourths. The entrance to the Persian Gulf is seven or eight leagues in extent; while the Caspian, being a lake, has of course no outlet whatever.

fore mentioned, is unindented; and, as I have stated, resembles a chlamys in its form; any slight differences being of course overlooked, as in large matters what is insignificant passes for nothing. Since in geographical descriptions we not only aim at portraying the configuration and extent of various places, but also their common boundaries, we will remark here, as we have done before, that the coasts of the Internal Sea¹ present a greater variety in their appearance than those of the Exterior [Ocean]; the former is also much better known, its climate is more temperate, and more civilized cities and nations are here than there. We are also anxious to be informed where the form of government, the arts, and whatever else ministers to intelligence, produce the greatest results. Interest will always lead us to where the relations of commerce and society are most easily established, and these are advantages to be found where government is administered, or rather where it is well administered. In each of these particulars, as before remarked, Our Sea² possesses great advantages, and here therefore we will begin our description.

19. This gulf,³ as before stated, commences at the Strait of the Pillars; this at its narrowest part is said to be 70 stadia. Having sailed down a distance of 120 stadia, the shores widen considerably, especially to the left, and you behold a vast sea, bounded on the right by the shore of Libya as far as Carthage, and on the opposite side by those of Iberia and Keltica as far as Narbonne and Marseilles, thence by the Ligurian,⁴ and finally by the Italian coast to the Strait of Sicily. The eastern side of this sea is formed by Sicily and the straits on either side of it. That next Italy being 7 stadia [in breadth], and that next Carthage 1500 stadia. The line drawn from the Pillars to the lesser strait of 7 stadia, forms part of the line to Rhodes and the Taurus, and intersects the sea under discussion about its middle; this line is said to be 12,000 stadia, which is accordingly the length of the sea. Its greatest breadth is about 5000 stadia, and extends from the Galatic Gulf, between Marseilles and Narbonne, to the opposite coast of Libya.

¹ Mediterranean.

² Strabo here means the countries bordering the Mediterranean.

³ Viz. the Mediterranean.

⁴ The state of Genoa.

perides¹ to Automala,² and the frontier which separates the Cyrenaic from the rest of Libya. According to others, its circumference is only 4000 stadia, its depth 1500 stadia, and the breadth at its mouth the same.

The Sea of Sicily washes Italy, from the Strait of Rhegium³ to Locris,⁴ and also the eastern coast of Sicily from Messene⁵ to Syracuse⁶ and Pachynus.⁷ On the eastern side it reaches to the promontories of Crete, surrounds the greater part of Peloponnesus, and fills the Gulf of Corinth.⁸ On the north it advances to the Iapygian Promontory,⁹ the mouth of the Ionian Gulf,¹⁰ the southern parts of Epirus,¹¹ as far as the Ambraciac Gulf,¹² and the continuation of the coast which forms the Corinthian Gulf, near the Peloponnesus.

The Ionian Gulf forms part of what we now call the Adriatic.¹³ Illyria forms its right side, and Italy as far as the recess where Aquileia is situated, the left.

The Adriatic stretches north and west; it is long and narrow, being in length about 6000 stadia, and its greatest breadth 1200. There are many islands situated here opposite the coasts of Illyria, such as the Absyrtides,¹⁴ Cyrictica,¹⁵ and the Libyrnides,¹⁶ also Issa,¹⁷ Tragurium,¹⁸ the Black Corceyra,¹⁹ and Pharos.²⁰ Opposite to Italy are the Islands of Diomedea.²¹ The

¹ Hesperides is the same city which the sovereigns of Alexandria afterwards called Berenice. It is the modern Bernic or Bengazi.

² Automala appears to have been situated on the most northern point of the Greater Syrtis, on the confines of a small gulf, near to a place called Tine, or the Marsh.

³ Now Reggio, on the Strait of Messina, which was also sometimes called the Strait of Rhegium.

⁴ These were the Epizephyrian Locrians, or dwellers near the promontory of Zephyrium. They were situated towards the extremity of Italy, near Rhegium. Traces of their city are seen at Motta di Bourzano on the eastern coast of Ulterior Calabria.

⁵ Messina. ⁶ Syragusa. ⁷ Cape Passaro.

⁸ The Gulf of Lepanto. ⁹ Cape Leuca or Finisterre.

¹⁰ The lower part of the Adriatic was designated the Ionian Gulf.

¹¹ The portion of Greece opposite Corfu. ¹² The Gulf of Arta.

¹³ The Gulf of Venice. ¹⁴ The Islands of Cherso and Ossero.

¹⁵ Apparently the Curicta of Pliny and Ptolemy, corresponding to the island of Veglia.

¹⁶ The Libyrnides are the islands of Arbo, Pago, Isola Longa, Coronata, &c., which border the coasts of ancient Liburnia, now Murlaka.

¹⁷ Lissa. ¹⁸ The Island of Traw. ¹⁹ Curzola. ²⁰ Lesina.

²¹ The Islands of Tremiti.

Sea of Sicily is said to be 4500 stadia from Pachynus to Crete, and the same distance to Tænarus in Laconia.¹ From the extremities of Iapygia to the bottom of the Gulf of Corinth the distance is less than 3000 stadia, while from Iapygia to Libya it is more than 4000. In this sea are the Islands of Corcyra² and Sybota,³ opposite the coasts of Epirus; and beyond these, opposite the Gulf of Corinth, Cephallenia,⁴ Ithaca, Zacynth,⁵ and the Echinades.⁶

21. Next to the Sea of Sicily, are the Cretan, Saronic,⁷ and Myrtoan Seas, comprised between Crete, Argia,⁸ and Attica.⁹ Their greatest breadth, measured from Attica, is 1200 stadia, and their length not quite double the distance. Within are included the Islands of Cythera,¹⁰ Calauria,¹¹ Ægina,¹² Salamis,¹³ and certain of the Cyclades.¹⁴ Adjacent to these are the Ægæan Sea,¹⁵ the Gulf of Melas,¹⁶ the Hellespont,¹⁷ the Icarian and Carpathian Seas,¹⁸ as far as Rhodes, Crete, Cnidus, and the commencement of Asia. [In these seas] are the Cyclades, the Sporades, and the islands opposite Caria, Ionia, and Æolia, as far as the Troad, namely, Cos,¹⁹ Samos,²⁰ Chios,²¹ Lesbos,²² and Tenedos;²³ likewise on the Grecian side as far as Macedonia and the borders of Thrace, Eubœa,²⁴ Scyros,²⁵ Peparethus,²⁶ Lemnos,²⁷ Thasos,²⁸ Imbros,²⁹ Samothracia,³⁰ and numerous others, of which it is our intention to speak in detail. The length of this sea is about 4000 stadia, or rather

¹ From Cape Pachynus or Passaro to Cape Krio, the ancient Criu-metopon, on the western extremity of the Island of Crete, measures 4516 stadia of 700 to a degree.

² Corfu.

³ Sibota, Sajades; certain small islands between Epirus and Corcyra.

⁴ Cefalonia. ⁵ Zante.

⁶ The Curzolari Islands at the mouth of the Aspro-Potamo.

⁷ The Gulf of Engia. ⁸ A district of the Peloponnesus.

⁹ A part of the modern Livadia. ¹⁰ Cerigo.

¹¹ Poro, or Poros, near the little Island of Damala, and connected to it by a sand-bank.

¹² Egina or Engia. ¹³ Koluri. ¹⁴ Islands surrounding Delos.

¹⁵ Egio-Pelago. ¹⁶ The Gulf of Saros. ¹⁷ The Dardanelles.

¹⁸ The sea surrounding the Islands of Icaria and Carpathos, now Nikaria and Scarpanto.

¹⁹ Stanko. ²⁰ Samo. ²¹ Skio. ²² Mytileni.

²³ Tenedo. ²⁴ Egripo, or Negropont. ²⁵ Skyro.

²⁶ Probably Piperi; others suppose it to be Skopelo or Pelagonesi.

²⁷ Stalimene. ²⁸ Thaso. ²⁹ Imbro. ³⁰ Samothraki.

more, its breadth about 2000.² It is surrounded by the coast of Asia above mentioned, and by those of Greece from Sunium³ northwards to the Thermaic Gulf⁴ and the Gulfs of Macedonia,⁵ and as far as the Thracian Chersonesus.⁶

22. Here too is the strait, seven stadia in length, which is between Sestos⁷ and Abydos,⁸ and through which the Ægæan and Hellespont communicate with another sea to the north, named the Propontis,⁹ and this again with another called the Euxine. This latter is, so to speak, a double sea, for towards its middle are two projecting promontories, one to the north, on the side of Europe, and the other opposite from the coast of Asia, which leave only a narrow passage between them, and thus form two great seas. The European promontory is named Criu-metopon;¹⁰ that of Asia, Carambis.¹¹ They are distant from each other about 2500 stadia.¹² The length of the western portion of this sea¹³ from Byzantium to the outlets of the Dnieper is 3800 stadia, its breadth 2000. Here is situated the Island of Leuca.¹⁴ The eastern portion is oblong and terminates in the narrow recess in which Dioscurias is situated. In length it is 5000 stadia, or rather more, and in breadth about 3000. The entire circumference of the Euxine is about 25,000 stadia. Some have compared the shape of its circumference to a Scythian bow when bent, the string representing the southern portions of the Euxine, (viz. the coast, from its mouth to the recess in which Dioscurias is situated; for, with the exception of Carambis, the sinuosities of the shore are but trifling, so that it

¹ The distance from the southern coast of Crete to the northern shores of the Ægæan is just 4200 stadia, or 120 marine leagues.

² This is just the distance from Cape Colonna to Rhodes.

³ Cape Colonna. ⁴ The Gulf of Saloniki.

⁵ Those of Kassandra, Monte-Santo, and Contessa.

⁶ The peninsula of Gallipoli.

⁷ Semenik, or according to others, Jalowa.

⁸ Maïto, or according to others, Avido. ⁹ Sea of Marmora.

¹⁰ Karadje-Burun, the southern point of the Crimea.

¹¹ Kerempi-Burun.

¹² We should here read 1500 stadia. See French Translation, vol. i. p 344, n. 3.

¹³ The Euxine.

¹⁴ Also called the Island of Achilles, and the Island of the Blessed, row Ilan-Adassi.

may be justly compared to a straight line,) and the remainder [of the circumference representing] the wood of the bow with its double curve, the uppermost very much rounded, the lower more in a straight line. So this sea forms two gulfs, the western much more rounded than the other.

23. To the north of the eastern Gulf of the Pontus, is the Lake Mæotis, whose perimeter is 9000 stadia or rather more. It communicates with the Euxine by means of the Cimmerian Bosphorus,¹ and the Euxine with the Propontis² by the Thracian Bosphorus, for such is the name given to the Strait of Byzantium, which is four stadia in breadth. The length of the Propontis from the Troad to Byzantium is stated to be 1500 stadia. Its breadth is about the same. It is in this sea that the Island of the Cyziceni³ is situated, with the other islands around it.

24. Such and so great is the extent of the Ægæan Sea towards the north.⁴ Again, starting from Rhodes, the [Mediterranean] forms the seas of Egypt, Pamphylia, and Issus, extending in an easterly direction from Cilicia to Issus, a distance of 5000 stadia, along the coasts of Lycia, Pamphylia, and the whole of Cilicia. From thence Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt surround the sea to the south and west as far as Alexandria. The Island of Cyprus is situated in the Gulfs of Issus and Pamphylia, close to the Sea of Egypt. The passage between Rhodes and Alexandria from north [to south] is about 4000 stadia;⁵ sailing round the coasts it is double this distance. Eratosthenes informs us that, although the above

¹ The Strait of Zabache.

² The Sea of Marmora.

³ The Island of Cyzicus was joined to the mainland by Alexander, and thus formed a peninsula, notwithstanding Strabo describes it as an island. Its present name is Artaki.

⁴ The extent of the Ægæan amongst the ancients was the same as the Egio-Pelago, or Archipelago, with us. It was comprehended between the southern coasts of Crete, the western coasts of Peloponnesus, the southern coasts of Macedonia and Thrace, and the western borders of Asia Minor. Strabo however, in his description, seems to comprise under the name of the Ægæan not only those parts of the Mediterranean south of the meridian of Cape Matapan, but also the Propontis and the Euxine, as far as the mouth of the river Halys, now Kizil-Ermak. In this however he seems to be unique.

⁵ This is just the distance, says Gosselin, from the northern part of Rhodes to Alexandria, but the route, instead of being from north to south, as supposed by the ancients, is S. S. W.

is the distance according to some mariners, others avow distinctly that it amounts to 5000 stadia; while he himself, from observations of the shadows indicated by the gnomon, calculates it at 3750.

That part of the Mediterranean Sea which washes the coasts of Cilicia and Pamphylia together with the right side of the Euxine, the Propontis, and the sea-coast beyond this as far as Pamphylia, form a kind of extensive Chersonesus, the isthmus of which is also large, and reaches from the sea near Tarsus¹ to the city of Amisus,² and thence to the Themiscyran³ plain of the Amazons. In fact the whole region within this line as far as Caria and Ionia, and the nations dwelling on this side the Halys,⁴ is entirely surrounded by the Ægæan and the aforementioned parts of the Mediterranean and Euxine Seas.⁵ This is what we call Asia properly,⁶ although the whole continent bears the same name.

25. To speak shortly, the southernmost point of Our Sea is the recess of the Greater Syrtes;⁷ next to this Alexandria in Egypt, and the mouths of the Nile; while the most northerly is the mouth of the Dnieper, or if the Mæotis be considered to belong to the Euxine, (and it certainly does appear to form a part of it,) the mouth of the Don. The Strait at the Pillars is the most westerly point, and the most easterly is the said recess, in which Dioscurias⁸ is situated; and not, as Eratosthenes falsely states, the Gulf of Issus,⁹ which is under the same meridian as Amisus¹⁰ and Themiscyra, and, if you will have it so, Sidene as far as Pharnacia.¹¹ Proceeding thence in an easterly direction to Dioscurias, the distance by sea is above 3000 stadia, as will be seen more plainly in my detailed account of those countries. Such then is the Mediterranean.

¹ Tarsous.

² Samsoun.

³ Themiscyra, a town of Cappadocia at the mouth of the Thermodon, (now the Termeh,) belonging to the kingdom of the Amazons. The territories around it bore the same name. The plain is now comprehended in the modern Djanik.

⁴ Kizil-Ermak.

⁵ *Lit.* the before-mentioned parts of the sea on either side.

⁶ Asia Minor, or Anadolî.

⁷ The Sidra of the moderns.

⁸ Iskouriah.

⁹ The Gulf of Aïas.

¹⁰ Samsoun.

¹¹ The ruins of this city are said to be called by the modern Greeks *Φερνάκη* or *Πλατένα* indiscriminately.

26. We must now describe the countries which surround it; and here we will begin from the same point, whence we commenced our description of the sea itself.

Entering the Strait at the Pillars, Libya, as far as the river Nile, is on the right hand, and to the left, on the other side of the Strait, is Europe, as far as the Don. Asia bounds both these continents. We will commence with Europe, both because its figure is more varied, and also because it is the quarter most favourable to the mental and social ennoblement of man, and produces a greater portion of comforts than the other continents.

Now the whole of Europe is habitable with the exception of a small part, which cannot be dwelt in, on account of the severity of the cold, and which borders on the Hamaxœci,¹ who dwell by the Don, Mæotis, and Dnieper. The wintry and mountainous parts of the habitable earth would seem to afford by nature but a miserable means of existence; nevertheless, by good management, places scarcely inhabited by any but robbers, may be got into condition. Thus the Greeks, though dwelling amidst rocks and mountains, live in comfort, owing to their economy in government and the arts, and all the other appliances of life. Thus too the Romans, after subduing numerous nations who were leading a savage life, either induced by the rockiness of their countries, or want of ports, or severity of the cold, or for other reasons scarcely habitable, have taught the arts of commerce to many who were formerly in total ignorance, and spread civilization amongst the most savage. Where the climate is equable and mild, nature herself does much towards the production of these advantages. As in such favoured regions every thing inclines to peace, so those which are sterile generate bravery and a disposition to war. These two races receive mutual advantages from each other, the one aiding by their arms, the other by their husbandry, arts, and institutions. Harm must result to both when failing to act in concert, but the advantage will lie on the side of those accustomed to arms, except in instances where they are overpowered by multitudes. This continent is very much favoured in this respect, being in-

¹ *Dwellers in waggons*, or huts fixed on wheels for the purpose of transportation from one pasturage to another, as necessity might require.

terspersed with plains and mountains, so that every where the foundations of husbandry, civilization, and hardihood lie side by side. The number of those who cultivate the arts of peace, is, however, the most numerous, which preponderance over the whole is mainly due to the influence of the government, first of the Greeks, and afterwards of the Macedonians and Romans.

Europe has thus within itself resources both for war [and peace]. It is amply supplied with warriors, and also with men fitted for the labours of agriculture, and the life of the towns. It is likewise distinguished for producing in perfection those fruits of the earth necessary to life, and all the useful metals. Perfumes and precious stones must be imported from abroad, but as far as the comfort of life is concerned, the want or the possession of these can make no difference. The country likewise abounds in cattle, while of wild beasts the number is but small. Such is the general nature of this continent.

27. We will now describe separately the various countries into which it is divided. The first of these on the west is Iberia, which resembles the hide of an ox [spread out]; the eastern portions, which correspond to the neck, adjoining the neighbouring country of Gaul. The two countries are divided on this side by the chain of mountains called the Pyrenees; on all its other sides it is surrounded by sea; on the south, as far as the Pillars, by Our Sea; and thence to the northern extremity of the Pyrenees by the Atlantic. The greatest length of this country is about 6000 stadia, its breadth 5000.¹

28. East of this is Keltica, which extends as far as the Rhine. Its northern side is washed by the entire of the British Channel, for this island lies opposite and parallel to it throughout, extending as much as 5000 stadia in length. Its eastern side is bounded by the river Rhine, whose stream runs parallel with the Pyrenees; and its southern side commencing from the Rhine, [is bounded] partly by the Alps, and partly by Our Sea; where what is called the Galatic Gulf² runs in, and on this are situated the far-famed cities of Marseilles and Narbonne. Right opposite to the Gulf on the other side of the land, lies another Gulf, called by the same name, Galatic,³ look-

¹ From Cape Gata in Granada to the borders of Asturias the distance is about 5000 stadia. But the greatest breadth of Spain is from Cape Gata to Cape Belem in Galicia, which equals 5890 stadia of 700 to a degree.

² The Gulf of Lyon.

³ The Gulf of Aquitaine or Gascony.

ing towards the north and Britain. It is here that the breadth of Keltica is the narrowest, being contracted into an isthmus less than 3000 stadia, but more than 2000. Within this region there is a mountain ridge, named Mount Cemmenus,¹ which runs nearly at right angles to the Pyrenees, and terminates in the central plains of Keltica.² The Alps, which are a very lofty range of mountains, form a curved line, the convex side of which is turned towards the plains of Keltica, mentioned before, and Mount Cemmenus, and the concave towards Liguria³ and Italy.

The Alps are inhabited by numerous nations, but all Keltic with the exception of the Ligurians, and these, though of a different race, closely resemble them in their manner of life. They inhabit that portion of the Alps which is next the Apennines, and also a part of the Apennines themselves. This latter mountain ridge traverses the whole length of Italy from north to south, and terminates at the Strait of Sicily.

29. The first parts of Italy are the plains situated under the Alps, as far as the recess of the Adriatic and the neighbouring places.⁴ The parts beyond form a narrow and long slip, resembling a peninsula, traversed, as I have said, throughout its length by the Apennines; its length is 7000 stadia, but its breadth is very unequal. The seas which form the peninsula of Italy are, the Tyrrhenian, which commences from the Ligurian, the Ausonian, and the Adriatic.⁵

30. After Italy and Keltica, the remainder of Europe extends towards the east, and is divided into two by the Danube. This river flows from west to east, and discharges itself into the Euxine Sea, leaving on its left the entire of Germany commencing from the Rhine, as well as the whole of the Getæ,

¹ The Cevennes.

² This ridge commences at the eastern part of the Pyrenees. Its ramifications extend to about Dijon.

³ Genoa.

⁴ The Romans gave to the whole of this country, which was peopled by a race of Keltic extraction, the name of Cisalpine Gaul, because situated on this side the Alps, with respect to them. France was designated Transalpine Gaul.

⁵ The Tyrrhenian or Tuscan Sea commenced about the mouth of the Arno, and extended as far as Naples. The Ligurian Sea is the Gulf of Genoa. The Ausonian Sea, afterwards called the Sea of Sicily, washes the southern parts of Italy. The Adriatic Gulf, is the Gulf of Venice.

the Tyrigetæ, the Bastarni, and the Sauromati, as far as the river Don, and the Lake Mæotis,¹ on its right being the whole of Thrace and Illyria,² and in fine the rest of Greece.

Fronting Europe lie the islands which we have mentioned. Without the Pillars, Gadeira,³ the Cassiterides,⁴ and the Britannic Isles. Within the Pillars are the Gymnesian Islands,⁵ the other little islands of the Phœnicians,⁶ the Marseillais, and the Ligurians; those fronting Italy as far as the islands of Æolus and Sicily, and the whole of those⁷ along Epirus and Greece, as far as Macedonia and the Thracian Chersonesus.

31. From the Don and the Mæotis⁸ commences [Asia] on this side the Taurus; beyond these is [Asia] beyond the Taurus. For since this continent is divided into two by the chain of the Taurus, which extends from the extremities of Pamphylia to the shores of the Eastern Sea,⁹ inhabited by the Indians and neighbouring Scythians, the Greeks naturally called that part of the continent situated north of these mountains [Asia] on this side the Taurus, and that on the south [Asia] beyond the Taurus. Consequently the parts adjacent to the Mæotis and Don are on this side the Taurus. The first of these is the territory between the Caspian Sea and the Euxine, bounded on one side¹⁰ by the Don, the Exterior Ocean,¹¹ and the Sea of Hyrcania; on the other¹² by the Isthmus where it is narrowest from the recess of the Euxine to the Caspian.

Secondly, but still on this side the Taurus, are the countries above the Sea of Hyrcania as far as the Indians and

¹ The Getæ inhabited Moldavia. The Tyrigetæ, or Getæ of Tyras or the Dniester, dwelt on the banks of that river. The Bastarni inhabited the Ukraine. The Sarmatians, or Sauromatians, extended along either bank of the Don and the environs of the Sea of Azof, the ancient Palus Mæotis.

² Thrace and Macedonia form part of the modern Roumelia: Illyria comprehended Dalmatia, Bosnia, Croatia, &c.

³ Cadiz.

⁴ The Scilly Isles.

⁵ Majorca and Minorca.

⁶ Iviça, Formentera, Spalmador, &c. They were called Phœnician Islands, because the Carthaginians had sent out a colony thither 160 years after the founding of their city.

⁷ Namely all the islands of the Icnian and Ægæan Seas, from Corfu to the Dardanelles.

⁸ The Sea of Azof.

⁹ The Bay of Bengala.

¹⁰ The North.

¹¹ The Northern Ocean.

¹² The south.

Scythians, who dwell along the said sea¹ and Mount Imaus. These countries are possessed on the one side by the Mæotæ,² and the people dwelling between the Sea of Hyrcania and the Euxine as far as the Caucasus, the Iberians³ and Albanians,⁴ viz. the Sauromatians, Scythians,⁵ Achæans, Zygi, and Heniochi: on the other side beyond the Sea of Hyrcania,⁶ by the Scythians,⁷ Hyrcanians, Parthians, Bactrians, Sogdians, and the other nations of India farther towards the north. To the south, partly by the Sea of Hyrcania, and partly by the whole isthmus which separates this sea from the Euxine, is situated the greater part of Armenia, Colchis,⁸ the whole of Cappadocia⁹ as far as the Euxine, and the Tibaranic nations.¹⁰ Further [west] is the country designated on this side the Halys,¹¹ containing on the side of the Euxine and Propontis the Paphlagonians, Bithynians, Mysians, and Phrygia on the Hellespont, which comprehends the Troad; and on the side of the Ægæan and adjacent seas Æolia, Ionia, Caria, and Lycia. Inland is the Phrygia which contains that portion of Gallo-Græcia styled Galatia, Phrygia Epictetus,¹² the Lycaonians, and the Lydians.

32. Next these on this side the Taurus are the mountaineers of Paropamisus, and various tribes of Parthians, Medes, Armenians, Cilicians, with "the Lycaonians,"¹³ and Pisidians.¹⁴

¹ The Bay of Bengal.

² Sarmatian Mæotæ in the Greek text, but apparently incorrect.

³ Inhabitants of Georgia.

⁴ Inhabitants of Shirvan.

⁵ The Scythians here alluded to are the Tartars of Kuban; the Achæans and Zygi are the modern Ziketi; the Heniochi are the Abkazeti.

⁶ East of the Caspian.

⁷ These Scythians are the Tartars of the Kharasm. The Hyrcanians are the inhabitants of Daghistan and the Corcan. The Parthians occupied the north of Khorasan; the Bactrians the country of Balk. The Sogdians inhabited Bukaria, where are Samarcand and the valley of Al-Sogd.

⁸ Mingrelia.

⁹ Cappadocia comprehended a portion of the modern Roum and Karamania between the Euphrates and the river Halys.

¹⁰ Under this name Strabo included a portion of the kingdom of Pontus and other small tribes as far as Colchis.

¹¹ Now the Kizil-Irmak.

¹² The northern and western portions of Phrygia.

¹³ Probably an interpolation.

¹⁴ The mountaineers of Paropamisus were those who inhabited the mountains which separate Bactriana from India. The Parthians occupied the mountains north of the modern Khorasan. Under the name of Medians Strabo comprehends the various nations who inhabited the mountainous country between Parthia and Armenia. The Cilicians in

After these mountaineers come the people dwelling beyond the Taurus. First amongst these is India, a nation greater and more flourishing than any other; they extend as far as the Eastern Sea¹ and the southern part of the Atlantic. In the most southerly part of this sea opposite to India is situated the island of Taprobana,² which is not less than Britain. Beyond India to the west, and leaving the mountains [of the Taurus] on the right, is a vast region, miserably inhabited, on account of the sterility of its soil, by men of different races, who are absolutely in a savage state. They are named Arians, and extend from the mountains to Gedrosia and Carmania.³ Beyond these towards the sea are the Persians,⁴ the Susians,⁵ and the Babylonians,⁶ situated along the Persian Gulf, besides several smaller neighbouring states. On the side of the mountains and amidst the mountains are the Parthians, the Medes, the Armenians, and the nations adjoining these, together with Mesopotamia.⁷ Beyond Mesopotamia are the countries on this side the Euphrates; viz. the whole of Arabia Felix, bounded by the entire Arabian and Persian Gulfs, together with the country of the Scenitæ and Phylarchi, who are situated along the Euphrates and in Syria. Beyond the Arabian Gulf and as far as the Nile dwell the Ethiopians⁸ and Arabians,⁹ and next these the Egyptians, Syrians, and Cilicians,¹⁰ both those styled Trachiotæ and others besides, and last of all the Pamphylians.¹¹

habited Aladeuli; the Lycaonian mountaineers the mountains which separate Karaman from Itch-iili; and the Pisidians the country of Hamid.

¹ The Bay of Bengal.

² Ceylon.

³ The Arians inhabited Sigistan and a part of modern Persia. Strabo gave the name of Arians to all the people who occupied the portions of Asia comprised between the Indus and Persia, and between the chain of the Taurus and Gedrosia and Carmania. In after-times the designation of Arians was restricted to the inhabitants of the modern Khorasan. Gedrosia is Mekran; Carmania yet preserves the name of Kerman.

⁴ Ancient Persia is the modern province of Fars, Pars, or Paras; our Persia being much more extensive than the ancient country designated by the same name.

⁵ The Susians inhabited the modern Khosistan.

⁶ The Babylonians occupied the present Irak-Arabi.

⁷ Now al-Djezira.

⁸ Viz. the Ethiopians occupying the territory from Syene to Abyssinia.

⁹ The Troglodyte Arabians.

¹⁰ The Cilicians occupied the modern Itch-iili and Aladeuli; the Trachiotæ or mountaineers, the former of these countries.

¹¹ Pamphylia is the modern Tekieh.

33. After Asia comes Libya, which adjoins Egypt and Ethiopia. The coast next us, from Alexandria almost to the Pillars, is in a straight line, with the exception of the Syrtes, the sinuosities of some moderately sized bays, and the projection of the promontories by which they are formed. The side next the ocean from Ethiopia up to a certain point is almost parallel to the former; but after this the southern portions become narrowed into a sharp peak, extending a little beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and giving to the country something the figure of a trapezium. Its appearance, both by the accounts of other writers, and also the description given to ourselves by Cnæus Piso, who was governor of this province, is that of a panther's skin, being dotted over with habitations surrounded by parched and desert land: these habitations the Egyptians call Auases.¹ This continent offers besides several other peculiarities, which may be said to divide it into three distinct portions. Most of the coast next us is very fertile, more especially about the Cyrenaic and the parts about Carthage, as far as Maurusia and the Pillars of Hercules.² Next the ocean it is likewise tolerably fitted for the habitation of man; but not so the centre of the country, which produces silphium;³ this for the most part is barren, rugged, and sandy; and the same is the case with regard to the whole of Asia lying under the same right line which traverses Ethiopia, the Troglodytic,⁴ Arabia, and the part of Gedrosia occupied by the Ichthyophagi.⁵ The people inhabiting Libya are for the most part unknown to us, as it has rarely been entered, either by armies or adventurers. But few of its inhabitants from the farther parts come amongst us, and their accounts are both incomplete and not to be relied on. The sum of what they say is as follows. Those which are most southern are called Ethiopians.⁶ North of these the principal nations are

¹ Or Oases, according to the common spelling.

² That is to say, from Tunis to Gibraltar. The Maurusians, called by the Latins Mauritanians, occupied the present Algiers and Fez.

³ Probably asa-fœtida. ⁴ The Troglodytic extended along the western coast of the Arabian Gulf.

⁵ The Ichthyophagi of Gedrosia inhabited the barren coasts of Mekran.

⁶ The term of Ethiopians was a generic name given by the Greeks and Romans to the most southern inhabitants of Africa they at any time happened to be acquainted with; consequently the position of this country frequently shifted.

the Garamantes, the Pharusians, and the Nigritæ.¹ Still farther north are the Gætuli. Close to the sea, and adjoining it next Egypt, and as far as the Cyrenaic, dwell the Marmaridæ.² Above³ the Cyrenaic and the Syrtes⁴ are the Psylli and Nasamones,⁵ and certain of the Gætuli; and after them the Asbystæ⁶ and Byzacii,⁷ as far as Carthage. Carthage is vast. Adjoining it are the Numidæ;⁸ of these people the tribes best known to us are called the Masylies and the Masæsylii. The most westerly are the Maurusians.⁹ The whole land, from Carthage to the Pillars of Hercules, is fertile. Nevertheless it abounds in wild beasts no less than the interior; and it does not seem improbable that the cause why the name of Nomades,¹⁰ or Wanderers, was bestowed on certain of these people originated in their not being able anciently to devote themselves to husbandry on account of the wild beasts. At the present day, when they are well skilled in hunting, and are besides assisted by the Romans in their rage for the spectacle of fights with beasts, they are both masters of the beasts and of husbandry. This finishes what we have to say on the continents.

34. It now remains for us to speak of the climata.¹¹ Of

¹ The Garamantæ inhabited the Kawan; Garama, their capital, is now named Gherma. The Pharusians and Nigritæ dwelt south of the present kingdom of Morocco.

² The Marmaridæ extended west from Egypt, as far as Catabathmus, near the present Cape Luco.

³ Viz. to the south and west. ⁴ The Gulfs of Sydra and Cabes.

⁵ The Psylli and Nasamones inhabited the eastern parts of the present kingdom of Tripoli, above the Greater Syrtes and the desert of Barca.

⁶ The Asbystæ were a people of Libya above Cyrene, where the temple of Ammon stood; Jupiter is sometimes called on that account Asbysteus.

⁷ The Byzacii occupied the southern parts of the kingdom of Tunis.

⁸ Greek, Nomades, or wandering shepherds, from which the Latins formed the name Numidæ. These people inhabited Algiers.

⁹ Carthage extended as far west as the promontory of Tretum, now Sebta-Ras or the Seven Heads. From thence the Masylies inhabited as far as Cape Carbon; and from thence the Masæsylii possessed the country as far as the river Molochath, now the Maluia, beyond which were the Maurusians extending to the Atlantic.

¹⁰ Numidæ.

¹¹ The climata are zones parallel to the equator. The ancients generally reckoned seven climata, which in the time of Hipparchus terminated at 48° 30' 35", where the longest day consisted of sixteen hours. He however multiplied these divisions and extended them farther towards the poles. It is a great pity that Strabo has not noted all of them.

these too we shall give but a general description, commencing with those lines which we have denominated elementary, namely, those which determine the greatest length and breadth of the [habitable earth], but especially its breadth.

To enter fully into this subject is the duty of astronomers. This has been done by Hipparchus, who has noted down (as he says) the differences of the heavenly appearances for every degree of that quarter of the globe in which our habitable earth is situated, namely, from the equator to the north pole.

What is beyond our habitable earth it is not however the business of the geographer to consider. Nor yet even in regard to the various parts of the habitable earth must too minute and numerous differences be noticed, since to the man of the world they are perplexing; it will suffice to give the most striking and simple of the statements of Hipparchus. Assuming, as he does himself after the assertion of Eratosthenes, that the circumference of the earth is 252,000 stadia, the differences of the [celestial] phenomena will not be great for each [degree] within the limits between which the habitable earth is contained. Supposing we cut the grand circle of the earth into 360 divisions, each of these divisions will consist of 700 stadia. This is the calculation adopted by [Hipparchus] to fix the distances, which [as we said] should be taken under the before-mentioned meridian of Meroe. He commences at the regions situated under the equator, and stopping from time to time at every 700 stadia along the whole length of the meridian above mentioned, proceeds to describe the celestial phenomena as they appear from each. But the equator is not the place for us to start from. For even if there be there a habitable region, as some suppose, it forms a habitable earth to itself, a narrow slip enclosed by the regions uninhabitable on account of the heat; and can be no part of our habitable earth. Now the geographer should attend to none but our own habitable earth, which is confined by certain boundaries; on the south by the parallel which passes over the Cinnamon Country;¹ on the north by that which passes over Ierna.² But keeping in mind the scheme of our geography, we have no occasion to mark all the places comprehended within this distance, nor yet all the ce-

¹ According to Strabo, 12° 34' 17". ² According to Strabo, 52° 25' 42'.

lestial phenomena. We must however commence, as Hipparchus does, with the southern regions.

35. He tells us that the people who dwell under the parallel of the Cinnamon Country, which he places at 3000 stadia south of Meroe,¹ and 8800 [north] of the equator, live nearly at equal distances between the equator and the summer tropic which passes by Syene; for Syene is 5000 stadia [north] of Meroe. They are the first² for whom the whole [constellation] of the Lesser Bear is comprised within the Arctic Circle, and to whom it is always visible. For the bright and most southern star, at the tip of the tail, is here contained within the Arctic Circle, and appears to touch the horizon.

The Arabian Gulf lies eastward parallel to the said meridian. Its egress³ into the Exterior Ocean is [in the same latitude as] the Cinnamon Country, the place where anciently they used to hunt the elephants. The parallel of the Cinnamon Country on the one side⁴ passes a little south of Taprobana, or perhaps over its southern extremity; and on the other side⁵ over the most southern parts of Libya.⁶

36. At Meroe and Ptolemais⁷ in the Troglodytic the longest day consists of thirteen equinoctial hours. These cities are at nearly equal distances between the equator and Alexandria, the preponderance on the side of the equator being only 1800 stadia. The parallel of Meroe passes on one side⁸ over unknown countries, and on the other⁹ over the extremities of India.¹⁰ At Syene, and at Berenice, which is situated on the Arabian Gulf and in the Troglodytic, at the summer solstice the sun is vertical, and the longest day consists of thirteen equinoctial hours and a half, and the whole of the Greater Bear appears within the Arctic Circle, with the exception of his thighs, the tip of his tail, and one of the stars composing his body. The parallel of Syene traverses on one side¹¹ the

¹ Now Gherri, on the banks of the Nile.

² i. e. they are the most southern of those for whom, &c.

³ Bab-el-mandeb, The Gate of Tears. ⁴ The east. ⁵ The west.

⁶ This passage proves that in Strabo's opinion the continent of Africa did not extend so far south as the equator,

⁷ This town was sometimes called Ptolemais Epitheras, having been built by Eumedes in the reign of Philadelphus for the chase of elephants and other wild animals.

⁸ On the west.

⁹ The east.

¹⁰ About Cape Comorin.

¹¹ The east.

portion of Gedrosia occupied by the Ichthyophagi, and India; and on the other side¹ the countries situated south of Cyrene by rather less than 5000 stadia.

37. In all the countries situated between the tropic and the equatorial circle, the shadows fall [alternately] on either side, north and south. In those which are north of Syene and beyond the summer tropic the shadows at mid-day fall to the north. The former are called amphiscii, the latter heteroscii. There is also another method of determining what places are under the tropic, which we spoke of in our observations on the zones. The soil is sandy, arid, and produces nothing but silphium, while more to the south the land is well irrigated and fertile.

38. In the countries situated about 400 stadia south of the parallel of Alexandria and Cyrene, where the longest day consists of fourteen equinoctial hours, Arcturus passes the zenith, slightly declining towards the south. At Alexandria at the time of the equinox the proportion which the gnomon bears to the shadow is as five to seven.² Thus they are south of Carthage 1300 stadia, that is, admitting that in Carthage at the time of the equinox the proportion which the gnomon bears to the shadow is as eleven to seven. This parallel on the one side³ passes by Cyrene and the regions 900 stadia south of Carthage as far as the midst of Maurusia;⁴ and on the other side⁵ through Egypt,⁶ Cœlosyria, Upper Syria, Babylonia, Susiana,⁷ Persia,⁸ Carmania,⁹ Upper Gedrosia,¹⁰ and India.

39. At Ptolemais in Phœnicia,¹¹ and at Sidon¹² and Tyre,¹³ the longest day consists of fourteen hours and a quarter. These cities are north of Alexandria by about 1600 stadia, and north of Carthage about 700. In the Peloponnesus, and about the middle of Rhodes, at Xanthus¹⁴ in Lycia, or a little to the south of this place, and at 400 stadia south of Syracuse,¹⁵ the longest day consists of fourteen and a half equinoctial hours. These places are distant from Alexandria 3640 stadia

¹ The west. ² Kramer follows Gosselin in proposing to substitute *ρῖα* in place of *ἑπτά*. ³ The west side. ⁴ Algiers and Fez.

⁵ The eastern side. ⁶ Lower Egypt is intended. ⁷ Khosistan.

⁸ The modern province of Fars. ⁹ Kerman. ¹⁰ Upper Mekran.

¹¹ S. Jean d' Acre.

¹² Seide.

¹³ Tsur.

¹⁴ Eksenide.

¹⁵ Siragusa

This parallel, according to Eratosthenes, passes through Caria, Lycaonia, Cataonia, Media, the Caspian Gates, and India next the Caucasus.¹

40. In the parts of the Troad next Alexandria² in Amphipolis,³ Apollonia in Epirus,⁴ the countries just south of Rome and north of Neapolis, the longest day consists of fifteen hours. This parallel is distant from that of Alexandria in Egypt 7000 stadia to the north, above 28,800 stadia north of the equator, and 3400 stadia from the parallel of Rhodes; it is south of Byzantium, Nicæa,⁵ and Marseilles 1500 stadia. The parallel of Lysimachia⁶ is a little to the north, and according to Eratosthenes passes through Mysia,⁷ Paphlagonia, Sinope,⁸ Hyrcania,⁹ and Bactra.¹⁰

41. About Byzantium the longest day consists of fifteen and a quarter equinoctial hours; the proportion borne by the gnomon to the shadow at the summer solstice, is as 120 to 42, minus one-fifth. These places are distant¹¹ from the middle of Rhodes about 4900 stadia, and 30,300 from the equator. Sailing into the Euxine and advancing 1400 stadia to the north, the longest day is found to consist of fifteen and a half equinoctial hours. These places are equi-distant between the pole and equatorial circle; the arctic circle is at their zenith, the star in the neck of Cassiopeia is within this circle, the star forming the right elbow of Perseus being a little more to the north.

42. In regions 3800 stadia north of Byzantium the longest day consists of sixteen equinoctial hours; the constellation Cassiopeia being brought within the arctic circle. These regions are situated around [the mouth of] the Dnieper and the southern parts of the Mæotis, at a distance from the equator of 34,100 stadia; and the northern part of the horizon during almost all the summer nights is illuminated by the light of the sun; a certain degree of light continuing from sunset to sunrise. For the summer tropic is distant from the

¹ Caria occupied the southern and western parts of Anadoli, near the Island of Rhodes. Lycaonia formed a part of the modern Karaman. Cataonia was comprised in Aladeuli. Media is now Irak-Adjami. The Caspian Gates are the defiles of Firouz-Koh.

² Eski-Stambul.

³ Emboli or Jamboli.

⁴ Polina.

⁵ Isnik.

⁶ Eksemil.

⁷ Karasi in Anadoli.

⁸ Sinoub.

⁹ Corcan and Daghistan.

¹⁰ Balk.

¹¹ To the north.

horizon only the half and the twelfth part of a sign¹ [of the zodiac], and this therefore is the greatest distance of the sun below the horizon at midnight. With us when the sun is at this distance from the horizon before sunrise and after sunset, the atmosphere is enlightened to the east and west respectively. In the winter the sun when at the highest is nine cubits above the horizon.² These places, according to Eratosthenes, are distant from Meroe rather more than 23,000 stadia,³ for he says that [from the parallel of Meroe] to the Hellespont⁴ there are 18,000 stadia, and thence to the Dnieper 5000 more. In regions distant 6300 stadia from Byzantium, and north of the Mæotis, the sun during the winter time is, when highest, six cubits [above the horizon]. The longest day consists of seventeen hours.

43. The countries beyond this which border upon the regions uninhabitable on account of their cold, have no interest to the geographer. He who desires to learn about them, and the celestial phenomena which Hipparchus has described, but which we pass over as being too much in detail for our present undertaking, must seek for them in that author. The statements of Posidonius concerning the periscii, the amphiscii, and the heteroscii are likewise too detailed. Still we must touch on these points sufficiently to explain his view, and to point out how far such matters are serviceable in geography, and how far not. The terms made use of refer to the shadows cast from the sun. The sun appears to the senses to describe a circle parallel to that of the earth.⁵ Of those people for whom each revolution of the earth produces a day and a night, the sun being carried first over, then under, the earth, some are denominated amphiscii, others heteroscii. The amphiscii are the inhabitants of countries in which when a gnomon is placed perpendicularly on a plane surface, the shadow which it casts at mid-day, falls first to one side then to the other, as the sun illumines first this side, then that. This however only occurs in places situated between the tropics. The heteroscii are those amongst whom the shadow always falls to the north, as with us; or to the

¹ Or 17° 30'. This would indicate a latitude of 48° 38' 40".

² The astronomical cubit was equal to two degrees.

³ Read 23,100.

⁴ The northern extremity of the Hellespont.

⁵ Κόσμος, the universe.

south, as amongst those who inhabit the other temperate zone. This occurs in all those regions where the arctic circle is less than the tropic. Where however it becomes the same as or greater than the tropic, this shows the commencement of the periscii, who extend thence to the pole. In regions where the sun remains above the horizon during an entire revolution of the earth, the shadow must evidently have turned in a complete circle round the gnomon. On this account he named them periscii. However they have nought to do with geography, inasmuch as the regions are not habitable on account of the cold, as we stated in our review of Pytheas. Nor is there any use in determining the size of this uninhabitable region, [it is enough to have established] that those countries, having the tropic for their arctic circle, are situated beneath the circle which is described by the pole of the zodiac¹ in the [diurnal] revolution of the earth, and that the distance between the equator and the tropic equals four-sixtieths of the great circle [of the earth].

¹ The pole of the ecliptic

BOOK III.

SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

1. HAVING thus given a general view of Geography, it will now be proper to describe each separate country in detail, as we engaged to do. We fancy that the method which we have adopted in the division of our subject, up to this point, has been correct; and we now re-commence with Europe and the various countries into which it is divided, on the same principles as formerly, and induced by the same reasons.

2. The first division of this continent towards the west is Iberia, as we before stated. The greater part of this country is but little fitted for habitation; consisting chiefly of mountains, woods, and plains covered with a light meagre soil, the irrigation of which is likewise uncertain. The part next the north, which borders on the ocean, is extremely cold, and besides its rugged character, has no communication or intercourse with other [countries], and thus to dwell there is attended with peculiar hardship. Such is the character of this portion; on the other hand, almost the whole of the south is fertile, especially what is beyond the Pillars [of Hercules]. This however will be shown more in detail, but we must first describe the figure and extent [of the country].

3. In shape it resembles a hide stretched out in length from west to east, the forepart¹ towards the east, its breadth being from north to south. Its length is about 6000 stadia; the greatest breadth is 5000; while there are parts considerably less

¹ The neck, &c.

than 3000, particularly in the vicinity of the Pyrenees, which form the eastern side. This chain of mountains stretches without interruption from north to south,¹ and divides Keltica² from Iberia. The breadth both of Keltica and Iberia is irregular, the narrowest part in both of them from the Mediterranean to the [Atlantic] Ocean being near the Pyrenees, particularly on either side of that chain; this gives rise to gulfs both on the side of the Ocean, and also of the Mediterranean; the largest of these are denominated the Keltic or Galatic Gulfs,³ and they render the [Keltic] Isthmus narrower than that of Iberia.⁴ The Pyrenees form the eastern side of Iberia, and the Mediterranean the southern from the Pyrenees to the Pillars of Hercules, thence the exterior [ocean]⁵ as far as the Sacred Promontory.⁶ The third or western side runs nearly parallel to the Pyrenees from the Sacred Promontory to the promontory of the Artabri, called [Cape] Nerium.⁷ The fourth side extends hence to the northern extremity of the Pyrenees.

4. We will now commence our detailed account, beginning from the Sacred Promontory. This is the most western point not only of Europe, but of the whole habitable earth. For the habitable earth is bounded to the west by two continents, namely, the extremities of Europe and Libya,⁸ which are inhabited respectively by the Iberians and the Maurusians.⁹ But the Iberian extremity, at the promontory¹⁰ we have mentioned, juts out beyond the other as much as 1500 stadia.¹¹ The region adjacent to this cape they call in the Latin tongue *Cu-*

* *Note.* The pages of Casaubon's edition of 1620 are given to facilitate reference to various editions and translations of Strabo.

¹ The Pyrenees, on the contrary, range from east to west, with a slight inclination towards the north. This error gives occasion to several of the mistakes made by Strabo respecting the course of certain of the rivers in France.

² France.

³ The Gulfs of Lyons and Gascony.

⁴ Gosselin remarks that the distance between S. Jean de Luz and Tarragona, is rather less than that between Bayonne and Narbonne.

⁵ The Atlantic.

⁶ Cape St. Vincent.

⁷ Cape Finisterre.

⁸ Africa.

⁹ The Mauritanians.

¹⁰ Cape St. Vincent.

¹¹ Cape St. Vincent is about 1600 stadia west of Cape Spartel in Africa. Strabo imagined that beyond this cape the African coast inclined to the south-east. In reality it advances eleven degrees and a half farther west to Cape Verd, which is 8° 29' west of Cape St. Vincent.

neum,¹ which signifies *a wedge*. The promontory which projects into the sea, Artemidorus (who states that he has himself been at the place) compares to a ship; three little islands, [he says,] each having a small harbour, contribute to give it this form; the former island resembling the beak of the ship, and the two latter the beams on each side of the ship's bows. [He adds] that there is no temple of Hercules shown there, as Ephorus falsely states, nor yet any altar [to him] nor to any other divinity; but in many parts there are three or four stones placed together, which are turned by all travellers who arrive there, in accordance with a certain local custom, and are changed in position by such as turn them incorrectly.² It is not lawful to offer sacrifice there, nor yet to approach the place during the night, for it is said that then the gods take up their abode at the place. Those who go thither to view it stay at a neighbouring village over-night, and proceed to the place on the morrow, carrying water with them, as there is none to be procured there.

5. It is quite possible that these things are so, and we ought not to disbelieve them. Not so however with regard to the other common and vulgar reports; for Posidonius tells us the common people say that in the countries next the ocean the sun appears larger as he sets, and makes a noise resembling the sound of hot metal in cold water, as though the sea were hissing as the sun was submerged in its depths. The statement [of Artemidorus] is also false, that night follows immediately on the setting of the sun: it does not follow immediately, although certainly the interval is short, as in other great seas. For when he sets behind mountains the agency of the false light continues the day for a long period; over the sea the twilight is shorter, still darkness does not immediately supervene. The same thing may be remarked in large plains. The image of the sun is enlarged on the seas at its rising as well as at its setting, because at these times a larger mass of

¹ Herodotus is the first who speaks of a people of Iberia, to whom he gives the name of *Κυνήσιοι* or *Κύνητες*: he describes them as inhabiting the most western part of Europe, beyond the Pillars of Hercules.

² This passage of Strabo relative to the rocking-stones has occasioned much perplexity to the critics. We have attempted to render the Greek words as near as possible. Many curious facts relative to rocking and amber stones have been collected by Jabez Allies, F. S. A., in his work on the Antiquities of Worcestershire, now in the press.

exhalations rises from the humid element; and the eye looking through these exhalations, sees images refracted into larger forms, as observed through tubes. The same thing happens when the setting sun or moon is seen through a dry and thin cloud, when those bodies likewise appear reddish.¹ Posidonius tells us that, having himself passed thirty days at Gades,² during which time he carefully observed the setting of the sun, he is convinced of the falsity of Artemidorus's account. This latter writer tells us, that at the time of its setting the sun appears a hundred times larger than its ordinary size, and that night immediately succeeds. If we attend to his account, we cannot believe that he himself remarked this phenomenon at the Sacred Promontory,³ for he tells us that no one can approach during the night; therefore they cannot approach at sunset, since night immediately supervenes thereupon. Neither did he observe it from any other part of the coast washed by the ocean, for Gades is upon the ocean, and both Posidonius and many others testify that there such is not the case.

6. The sea-coast next the Sacred Promontory forms on one side the commencement of the western coast of Spain as far as the outlet of the river Tagus; and on the other forms the southern coast as far as the outlet of another river, named the Guadiana.⁴ Both of these rivers descend from the eastern parts [of Spain]; but the former, which is much larger than the other, pursues a straight course towards the west, while the Guadiana bends its course towards the south.⁵ They enclose an extent of country peopled for the most part by Kelts and

¹ We extract the following notice on this passage from Humboldt (Cosmos, vol. iii. 54, Bohn's edition). "This passage has recently been pronounced corrupt, (Kramer i. 211,) and *δι' ὑάλων* (through glass spheres) substituted for *δι' αἰθῶν* (Schneider, Eclog. Phys. ii. 273). The magnifying power of hollow glass spheres, filled with water, (Seneca i. 6,) was, indeed, as familiar to the ancients as the action of burning glasses or crystals, (Aristoph. Nub. v. 765,) and that of Nero's emerald (Plin. xxxvii. 5); but these spheres most assuredly could not have been employed as astronomical measuring instruments. (Compare Cosmos i. p. 619.) Solar altitudes taken through thin light clouds, or through volcanic vapours, exhibit no trace of the influence of refraction."

² Cadiz.

³ Cape St. Vincent.

⁴ **Αναγ.*

⁵ The Tagus, the Guadiana, and the Guadalquiver, pursue a course nearly parallel to each other, and all incline towards the south before discharging themselves into the sea; the inclination of the Tagus is not equal to that of the other rivers.

certain Lusitanians,¹ whom the Romans caused to settle here from the opposite side of the Tagus. Higher up, the country is inhabited by the Carpetani,² the Oretani,³ and a large number of Vettones.⁴ This district is moderately fertile, but that which is beyond it to the east and south, does not give place in superiority to any part of the habitable earth with which it may be compared, in the excellence of its productions both of land and sea. This is the country through which the river Guadalquiver⁵ flows. This river takes its rise from the same parts as the Guadiana⁶ and the Tagus, and is between these two in size.⁷ Like the Guadiana, the commencement of its course flows towards the west, but it afterwards turns to the south, and discharges itself at the same side of the coast as that river.

From this river⁵ the country has received the name of Bætica; it is called Turdetania by the inhabitants, who are themselves denominated Turdetani, and Turduli. Some think these two names refer to one nation, while others believe that they designate two distinct people. Of this latter opinion is Polybius, who imagines that the Turduli dwell more to the north than the Turdetani. At the present day however there does not appear to be any distinction between them. These people are esteemed to be the most intelligent of all the Iberians; they have an alphabet, and possess ancient writings, poems, and metrical laws six thousand years old, as they say. The other Iberians are likewise furnished with an alphabet, although not of the same form, nor do they speak the same language. Their country,⁸ which is on this side the

¹ Lusitania occupied the greater part of the present kingdom of Portugal. It was from the countries north of the Tagus that the Romans caused certain of the inhabitants to emigrate to the south side of that river.

² The Carpetani occupied a portion of New Castile, where the cities of Madrid, Toledo, &c. are now situated.

³ These people inhabited the southern portions of New Castile, now occupied by the cities of Calatrava, Ciudad-real, Alcaraz, &c. They also possessed a part of the Sierra-Morena.

⁴ The Vettones inhabited that part of Estremadura, where the cities of Alcantara, Truxillo, &c. are now situated.

⁵ Bætis.

⁶ Anas.

⁷ The course of the Guadiana is longer than that of the Guadalquiver.

⁸ Viz. Turdetania.

Guadiana, extends eastward as far as Oretania,¹ and southward along the sea-coast from the outlets of the Guadiana to the Pillars [of Hercules]. But it is necessary that I should enter into further particulars concerning this and the neighbouring places, in order to illustrate their excellence and fertility.

7. Between this coast, where the Guadalquiver and Guadiana discharge themselves, and the extremities of Maurusia, the Atlantic Ocean forms the strait at the Pillars [of Hercules] by which it is connected with the Mediterranean. Here is situated Calpe,² the mountain of the Iberians who are denominated Bastetani, by others Bastuli. Its circumference is not large, but it is so high and steep as to resemble an island in the distance. Sailing from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic, it is left on the right hand. At a distance of 40 stadia from this [mountain] is the considerable and ancient city of Carteia, formerly a marine arsenal of the Iberians. Some assert that it was founded by Hercules; of this number is Timosthenes,³ who tells us it was anciently called Heraclæa, and that vast walls and ship-sheds are still shown.

8. Next to these is Mellaria,⁴ where they make salted provisions. After this the city and river⁵ of Belo. Here the merchandise and salted provisions for Tingis in Maurusia are principally shipped. There was a city named Zelis⁶ near to Tingis, but the Romans transferred it to the opposite coast [of Spain], and having placed there in addition some of the inhabitants of Tingis, and sent over also some of their own people, they then gave to the city the name of Julia Joza.⁷ Beyond this is Gadeira,⁸ an island separated from Turdetania by a narrow strait, and distant from Calpe about 750 stadia, or, as others say, 800. This island has nothing to distinguish it above others, but owing to the boldness of its people in

¹ The mountainous country in which the Guadalquiver takes its source.

² The rock of Gibraltar.

³ This Timosthenes was the admiral of Ptolemy II. Strabo mentions him repeatedly.

⁴ The place on which this town formerly stood is now designated *Val de Vacca*.

⁵ Rio Barbate.

⁶ Now Azzila.

⁷ Called by Pliny and Ptolemy *Julia Transducta*. It appears to have been situated at the western entrance of the Bay of Gibraltar, at the place now called Al-Gesira.

⁸ Cadiz.

their expeditions by sea, and their friendship with the Romans, has attained to that pitch of good fortune, that although situated at the farthest extremities of the earth, it possesses a greater celebrity than any other island. But we will describe it when we come to speak of the other islands.

9. Next after [Cadiz] is the port of Menestheus,¹ and the estuary near to Asta and Nebrissa.² These estuaries are valleys filled by the sea during its flood-tides, up which you may sail into the interior, and to the cities built on them, in the same way as you sail up a river. Immediately after are the two outlets of the Guadalquiver.³ The island embraced by these mouths has a coast of a hundred stadia, or rather more according to others. Hereabouts is the Oracle of Menestheus,⁴ and the tower of Cæpio,⁵ built upon a rock and washed on all sides by the sea. This is an admirable work, resembling the Pharos, and constructed for the safety of vessels. For the mud carried out by the river forms shallows, and sunken rocks are also scattered before it, so that a beacon was greatly needed. Thence sailing up the river is the city of Eburæ,⁶ and the temple of Phosphorus,⁷ which they call *Lux Dubia*.⁸ You then pass up the other estuaries; and after these the river Guadiana, which has also two mouths,⁹ up either of which you may sail. Lastly, beyond is the Sacred Promontory,¹⁰ distant from Gadeira¹¹ less than 2000 stadia. Some say that from the Sacred Promontory to the mouth of the Guadiana there are 60 miles; thence to the mouth of the Guadalquiver 100; and from this latter place to Gadeira 70.

¹ An Athenian king, who led the Athenians against Troy. The port of Menestheus is now Puerto Sta. Maria.

² *Hodie* Lebrixa.

³ Bætis.

⁴ At or near the port of Menestheus, just mentioned.

⁵ Quintus Servilius Cæpio, a famous Roman general. Vide lib. iv. c. i. § 13.

⁶ This city is not to be confounded with others of the same name in Spain.

⁷ Strabo is the only writer who speaks of this temple of Phosphorus. It was no doubt a temple to Diana, who was named Ἄρτεμις Φωσφόρος. This temple, according to the Spanish authors quoted by Lopez in his translation of Strabo, corresponds to the present San-Lucar de Barrameda.

⁸ Strabo here gives the Latin *Lucem dubiam* in Greek characters, Λούκειμ δουβίαν.

⁹ The Guadiana at the present day has but one mouth.

¹⁰ Cape St. Vincent.

¹¹ Cadiz.

CHAPTER II.

1. TURDETANIA lies above the coast on this side the Guadiana,¹ and is intersected by the river Guadalquivir.² It is bounded on the west and north by the river Guadiana; on the east by certain of the Carpetani and the Oretani; on the south by those of the Bastetani who inhabit the narrow slip of coast between Calpe and Gadeira, and by the sea beyond as far as the Guadiana. The Bastetani whom I have mentioned, together with the people on the other side the Guadiana, and many of the places adjacent, belong to Turdetania. The size of this country in its length and breadth does not exceed two thousand stadia, still it contains a vast number of towns; two hundred, it is said. Those best known are situated on the rivers, estuaries, and sea; but the two which have acquired the greatest name and importance are, Corduba, founded by Marcellus,³ and the city of the Gaditanians.⁴ The latter for its naval importance, and its alliance with the Romans; and the former on account of its fertility and extent, a considerable portion of the Guadalquivir flowing by it; in addition to this it has been from its commencement inhabited by picked men, whether natives or Romans; and it was the first colony planted by the Romans in these parts.

After this city and that of the Gaditanians, Hispalis⁵ is the most noted. This also is a Roman colony. Commerce is still

¹ Anas.

² Bætis.

³ Cordova, situated on the Guadalquivir in Andalusia. We do not know whether it were founded by the Marcellus who was prætor in Thither Iberia, and created consul in the year of Rome 601, or Marcellus who joined Pompey's party against Cæsar. This city served for the winter quarters of the Romans, who during summer made war on the inhabitants of the western and northern parts of Spain. It was the native place of the two Senecas and Lucan, and the chief emporium of Iberia. We may form some idea of the amount of its population from the number of those who perished when taken by Cæsar, as narrated by Hirtius, Spanish War, § 34. But the period in which Cordova's glory was at its zenith was during the empire of the Moors, in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, when it numbered 300,000 inhabitants.

⁴ Cadiz.

⁵ Seville. This city was surnamed Julia Romulensis. It was founded by Cæsar, and regarded as the second city of the province, although, as we see, in the time of Strabo it was only third-rate.

carried on here, although at the present moment the city of Bætis¹ though not so finely built, is outshining it, on account of the honour it has received from the soldiers of Cæsar taking up their quarters there.

2. After these are Italica,² and Ilipa,³ situated on the Guadalquiver; farther on are Astygis,⁴ Carmo,⁵ and Obulco; and besides these Munda,⁶ Ategua, Urso,⁷ Tukkis,⁸ Julia,⁹ and Ægua, where the sons of Pompey were defeated. None of these places are far from Corduba. Munda is in some sort regarded as the metropolis of the whole district. This place is distant from Carteia 1400¹⁰ stadia, and it was here that Cnæus fled after his defeat, and sailing thence landed on a rocky height overlooking the sea, where he was murdered. His brother Sextus, having escaped from Corduba, after carrying on the war for a short time in Spain, caused a revolt in Sicily. Flying thence into Asia he was seized at Miletus¹¹ by the generals¹² of Antony, and executed. Amongst the Kelts the most famous place is Conistorgis.¹³ Upon the estuaries is Asta,¹⁴ in which the Gaditani mostly hold their assemblies; it is opposite the sea-port of the island, at a distance of not more than 100 stadia.

3. A vast number of people dwell along the Guadalquiver; and you may sail up it almost 1200 stadia from the sea to Corduba, and the places a little higher up. The banks and little islets of this river are cultivated with the greatest diligence.

¹ Strabo is the only writer who mentions this city of Bætis. Casaubon and others are inclined to the opinion that the MSS. are corrupted, and that formerly another name stood here.

² This city, the native place of the emperors Trajan and Adrian, and the poet Silius Italicus, was founded by Publius Scipio in the second Punic war, who placed here the soldiers incapacitated from the performance of military service. It is supposed to correspond to Sevilla la Vieja, about a league distant from Seville.

³ The Ilipa Ilia of Pliny and Illipula Magna of Ptolemy. Its exact position is not determined.

⁴ *Hodie* Ecija on the Xenil.

⁵ Carmona.

⁶ Monda, seven leagues west of Malaga.

⁷ Osuna.

⁸ *Hodie* Martos, Pliny gave it the surname of Augusta Gemella.

⁹ The Itucci of Pliny, to which he gives the surname Virtus Julia.

¹⁰ We should probably read 430.

¹¹ Kramer, using the criticism of Lachmann, observes that this is a misreading for Midaium, and that a like mistake occurs in Appian.

¹² Furnius and Titius.

¹³ In Lusitania.

¹⁴ About the spot where this city is supposed to have stood, between Xerez and Tribugena, there is still a place called Mesa de Asta,

The eye is also delighted with groves and gardens, which in this district are met with in the highest perfection. As far as Ispalis, which is a distance of not less than 500 stadia, the river is navigable for ships¹ of considerable size; but for the cities higher up, as far as Ilipas, smaller vessels are employed, and thence to Corduba river-boats. These are now constructed of planks joined together, but they were formerly made out of a single trunk. Above this to Castlon the river is no longer navigable. A chain of mountains, rich in metal, runs parallel to the Guadalquiver,² approaching the river sometimes more, sometimes less, towards the north.

There is much silver found in the parts about Ilipas and Sisapo, both in that which is called the old town and the new. There are copper and gold about the Cotinæ.³ These mountains are on the left as you sail up the river; on the right there is a vast and elevated plain, fertile, full of large trees, and containing excellent pasturage. The Guadiana⁴ is likewise navigable, but not for vessels equally large, nor yet so far up. It is also bordered by mountains containing metal, and extends as far as the Tagus. Districts which contain metals must, of necessity, be rugged and poor,⁵ as indeed are those adjoining Carpetania, and still more those next the Keltiberians. The same is the case with Bæturia, the plains of which, bordering on the Guadiana, are arid.

4. Turdetania, on the other hand, is marvellously fertile, and abounds in every species of produce. The value of its productions is doubled by means of exportation, the surplus products finding a ready sale amongst the numerous ship-owners. This results from its rivers and estuaries, which, as we have said, resemble rivers, and by which you may sail from the sea to the inland towns, not only in small, but even in large-sized skiffs. For the whole country above the coast, and situated between the Sacred Promontory⁶ and the Pillars, consists of an extended plain. Here in many places are hollows running inland from the sea, which resemble moderately-sized ravines or the beds of rivers, and extend

¹ Strabo uses *ὀκκάσιν ἀξιολόγοις*, but the English hulk would not bear the same import in this place as the Greek.

² Bætis. ³ Cotillas, or perhaps Constantina near Almaden. ⁴ Anas.

⁵ Experience does not seem to warrant this conclusion.

⁶ Cape St. Vincent.

for many stadia. These are filled by the approach of the sea at high tide, and may be navigated as easily, or even more so than rivers. They are navigated much the same as rivers; the sea, meeting with no obstacle, enters like the flow of a river at flood-tide. The sea comes in here with greater force than in the other places; for being forced from the wide ocean into the narrow strait,¹ formed by the coast of Maurusia and Iberia, it experiences recoils, and thus is borne full into the retiring parts of the land. Some of these shallows are left dry as the tide ebbs, while others are never destitute of water; others again contain islands, of this kind are the estuaries between the Sacred Promontory² and the Pillars, where the tide comes in with more violence than at other places. Such a tide is of considerable advantage to sailors, since it makes the estuaries both fuller and more spacious, frequently swelling them to a breadth of eight³ stadia, so that the whole land, so to speak, is rendered navigable, thus giving wonderful facility both for the export and import of merchandise. Nevertheless there is some inconvenience. For in the navigation of the rivers, the sailors run considerable danger both in ascending and descending, owing to the violence with which the flood-tide encounters the current of the stream as it flows down. The ebb-tides are likewise the cause of much damage in these estuaries, for resulting as they do from the same cause as the flood-tides, they are frequently so rapid as to leave the vessel on dry land; and herds in passing over to the islands that are in these estuaries are sometimes drowned [in the passage] and sometimes surprised in the islands, and endeavouring to cross back again to the continent, are unable, and perish in the attempt. They say that certain of the cattle, having narrowly observed what takes place, wait till the sea has retired, and then cross over to the main-land.

5. The men [of the country], being well acquainted with the nature of these places, and that the estuaries would very well answer the same purpose as rivers, founded cities and other settlements along them the same as along rivers. Of this number are Asta, Nebrissa,⁴ Onoba,⁵ Ossonoba, Mænoba,

¹ Of Gibraltar. ² Cape St. Vincent.

³ The text here is evidently corrupt, but it is not easy to determine to what extent the overflow reached at the time Strabo wrote.

⁴ Lebrixa. ⁵ Gibrleon.

besides many others. The canals which have been cut in various directions are also found useful in the traffic which is carried on between place and place, both amongst the people themselves and with foreigners. The conflux of water at the flood-tides is also valuable, as rendering navigable the isthmuses which separate the different pieces of water, thus making it possible to ferry over from the rivers into the estuaries, and from the estuaries into the rivers. Their trade is wholly carried on with Italy and Rome. The navigation is excellent as far as the Pillars, (excepting perhaps some little difficulties at the Strait,) and equally so on the Mediterranean, where the voyages are very calm, especially to those who keep the high seas. This is a great advantage to merchant-vessels. The winds on the high seas blow regularly; and peace reigns there now, the pirates having been put down, so that in every respect the voyage is facile. Posidonius tells us he observed the singular phenomenon in his journey from Iberia,¹ that in this sea, as far as the Gulf of Sardinia, the south-east² winds blow periodically. And on this account he strove in vain for three whole months to reach Italy, being driven about by the winds against the Gymnesian islands,³ Sardinia, and the opposite coasts of Libya.

6. Large quantities of corn and wine are exported from Turdetania, besides much oil, which is of the first quality;⁴ also wax, honey, pitch, large quantities of the kermes-berry,⁵ and vermilion not inferior to that of Sinope.⁶ The country furnishes the timber for their shipbuilding. They have likewise mineral salt, and not a few salt streams. A considerable quantity of salted fish is exported, not only from hence, but also from the remainder of the coast beyond the Pillars, equal to that of Pontus. Formerly they exported large quantities of garments, but they now send the [unmanufactured] wool, which is superior even to that of

¹ Spain.

² οἱ Εὐροῖ.

³ Majorca and Minorca.

⁴ In his third book, Strabo, speaking of Campania, regards the oil of Venafrum as superior to any other. In this he agrees with Pliny, who places in the second class the oils of Bætica and Istria. Pausanias considers these two oils, both for beauty of colour and excellence of flavour, inferior to that produced at Tithorea in Phocis, and which was sent to Rome for the service of the emperor's table.

⁵ *Coccus tinctorius*, used to dye scarlet.

⁶ Sinoub, still a Turkish city of importance.

the Coraxi,¹ and remarkable for its beauty. Rams for the purpose of covering fetch a talent. The stuffs manufactured by the Saltiatæ² are of incomparable texture. There is a superabundance of cattle, and a great variety of game: while, on the other hand, of destructive animals there are scarcely any, with the exception of certain little hares which burrow in the ground, and are called by some leberides.³ These creatures destroy both seeds and trees by gnawing their roots. They are met with throughout almost the whole of Iberia,⁴ and extend to Marseilles, infesting likewise the islands. It is said that formerly the inhabitants of the Gymnesian islands⁵ sent a deputation to the Romans soliciting that a new land might be given them, as they were quite driven out of their country by these animals, being no longer able to stand against their vast multitudes.⁶ It is possible that people should be obliged to have recourse to such an expedient for help in waging war in so great an extremity, which however but seldom happens, and is a plague produced by some pestilential state of the atmosphere, which at other times has produced serpents and rats in like abundance; but for the ordinary increase of these little hares, many ways of hunting have been devised, amongst others by wild cats from Africa,⁷ trained for the purpose. Having muzzled these, they turn them into the holes, when they either drag out the animals they find there with their claws, or compel them to fly to the surface of the earth, where they are taken by people standing by for that purpose. The large amount of the exports from Turdetania is evinced by the size and number of their ships. Merchant-vessels of the greatest size sail thence to Dicæarchia⁸ and

¹ A people inhabiting the western parts of the Caucasus.

² This name occurs only in Strabo: of the various conjectures which have been hazarded on the subject, one of the most probable seems to be that we should read Saltigetæ, a people of Bastetania, mentioned by Ptolemy.

³ These were evidently rabbits.

⁴ Spain.

⁵ Majorca and Minorca.

⁶ According to Pliny, (lib. viii. c. 55,) this deputation was sent to Augustus to demand of him a military force, apparently for the purpose of assisting the inhabitants in destroying the rabbits. The same writer has brought together a variety of instances in which cities have been abandoned or destroyed through similar causes. Vide lib. viii. c. 29. The inhabitants of Abdera in Thrace were forced to quit their city on account of the rats and frogs, and settled on the frontiers of Macedonia. (Justin. lib. xv. c. 2.)

⁷ Ferrets.

⁸ Pozzuolo,

Ostia, a Roman port; they are in number nearly equal to those which arrive from Libya.

7. Such is the wealth of the inland part of Turdetania, and its maritime portions are found fully to equal it in the richness of their sea-productions. In fact, oysters and every variety of shell-fish, remarkable both for their number and size, are found along the whole of the exterior sea, but here in particular. It is probable that the flow and ebb tides, which are particularly strong here, contribute both to their quantity and size, on account of the great number of pools and standing waters which they form.¹ The same is the case with regard to all kinds of cetacea, narwhals, whales, and physeteri,² which when they blow [up the water from their snouts] appear to observers from a distance to resemble a cloud shaped like a column. The congers are quite monstrous, far surpassing in size those of our [sea];³ so are the lampreys, and many other fish of the same kind. It is said that in Carteia there are kerukæ⁴ and cuttle-fish which would contain as much as ten cotylæ.⁵ In the parts more exterior there are lampreys and congers weighing 80 minæ,⁶ and polypes a talent,⁷ also teuthidæ⁸ two cubits in length, with other fish in proportion. Shoals of rich fat thunny are driven hither from the sea-coast beyond. They feed on the fruit of a species of stunted oak, which grows at the bottom of the sea, and produces very large acorns. The same oaks grow in large numbers throughout the land of Iberia, their roots are of the same size as those of the full-grown oak, although the tree itself never attains the height of a low shrub. So great is the quantity of fruit which it produces, that at the season when they are ripe, the whole coast on either side of the Pillars is covered with acorns which have been thrown up by the tides: the quantity however

¹ We have here followed Gosselin's suggestion of *λιμνασίαν* instead of *γυμνασίαν*, the reading of MSS.

² A kind of whale, mentioned also by Aristotle, but which does not seem to have been identified.

³ The Mediterranean.

⁴ A kind of shell-fish with a wreathed shell, which might be used as a sort of trumpet. It is mentioned by Aristotle.

⁵ The cotyla held about three-fourths of a pint.

⁶ This weight equalled 15 oz. 83½ grs.

⁷ The Euboic or Attic talent, which is here meant, equalled almost 57 lb.

⁸ A kind of cuttle-fish or squid.

is always less on this side the Pillars [than on the other]. Polybius states that these acorns are ejected [by the sea] as far as [the shores of] Latium, unless, he adds, Sardo¹ and the neighbouring districts also produce them. The thunny-fish become gradually thinner, owing to the failure of their food, as they approach the Pillars from the outer sea. This fish, in fact, may be regarded as a kind of sea-hog, being fond of the acorn, and growing marvellously fat upon it; and whenever acorns are abundant, thunny-fish are abundant likewise.

8. Of the various riches of the aforementioned country,² not the least is its wealth in metals: this every one will particularly esteem and admire. Of metals, in fact, the whole country of the Iberians is full, although it is not equally fertile and flourishing throughout, especially in those parts where the metals most abound. It is seldom that any place is blessed with both these advantages, and likewise seldom that the different kinds of metals abound in one small territory. Turdetania, however, and the surrounding districts surpass so entirely in this respect, that however you may wish, words cannot convey their excellence. Gold, silver, copper, and iron, equal in amount and of similar quality, not having been hitherto discovered in any other part of the world.³ Gold is not only dug from the mines, but likewise collected; sand containing gold being washed down by the rivers and torrents. It is frequently met with in arid districts, but here the gold is not visible to the sight, whereas in those which are overflowed the grains of gold are seen glittering. On this account they cause water to flow over the arid places in order to make the grains shine; they also dig pits, and make use of other contrivances for washing the sand, and separating the gold from it; so that at the present day more gold is procured by washing than by digging it from the mines. The Galatæ affirm that the mines along the Kemmenus mountains⁴ and their side of the Pyrenees are superior; but most people prefer those on this side. They say that sometimes amongst the

¹ Sardinia.

² Turdetania.

³ The mineral riches of Spain are lauded in equal terms by Herodotus, Aristotle, Pliny, and many other writers. We can only remark, that at the present day the mineral wealth of that country scarcely justifies such descriptions.

⁴ The Cevennes.

grains of gold lumps have been found weighing half a pound, these they call *palæ*; they need but little refining.¹ They also say that in splitting open stones they find small lumps, resembling paps. And that when they have melted the gold, and purified it by means of a kind of aluminous earth, the residue left is *electrum*. This, which contains a mixture of silver and gold, being again subjected to the fire, the silver is separated and the gold left [pure]; for this metal is easily dissipated and fat,² and on this account gold is most easily melted by straw, the flame of which is soft, and bearing a similarity [to the gold], causes it easily to dissolve: whereas coal, besides wasting a great deal, melts it too much by reason of its vehemence, and carries it off [in vapour]. In the beds of the rivers the sand is either collected and washed in boats close by, or else a pit is dug to which the earth is carried and there washed. The furnaces for silver are constructed lofty, in order that the vapour, which is dense and pestilent, may be raised and carried off. Certain of the copper mines are called gold mines, which would seem to show that formerly gold was dug from them.

9. Posidonius, in praising the amount and excellence of the metals, cannot refrain from his accustomed rhetoric, and becomes quite enthusiastic in exaggeration. He tells us we are not to disbelieve the fable, that formerly the forests having been set on fire, the earth, which was loaded with silver and gold, melted, and threw up these metals to the surface, forasmuch as every mountain and wooded hill seemed to be heaped up with money by a lavish fortune. Altogether (he remarks) any one seeing these places, could only describe them as the inexhaustible treasuries of nature, or the unfailing exchequer of some potentate; for not only, he tells us, is this land rich itself, but riches abound beneath it. So that amongst these people the subterraneous regions should not be regarded as the realms of Pluto, but of Plutus. Such is the flourished style in which he speaks on this subject, that you would fancy

¹ Pliny, (lib. xxxiii. c. 4.) writing on the same subject, says, "Inveniuntur ita massæ; necnon in puteis etiam *denas* excedentes libras. *Palacras* Hispani, alii *palacranas*, iidem quod minutum est *balucem* vocant."

² This passage is evidently corrupt, nor do any of the readings which have been proposed seem to clear up the difficulties which it presents.

his turgid language had been dug from a mine itself. Discoursing on the diligence of the miners, he applies to them the remark [of Demetrius] of Phalaris, who, speaking of the silver mines of Attica, said that the men there dug with as much energy as if they thought they could grub up Plutus himself. He compares with these the activity and diligence of the Turdetani, who are in the habit of cutting tortuous and deep tunnels, and draining the streams which they frequently encounter by means of Egyptian screws.¹ As for the rest,² they are quite different from the Attic miners, whose mining (he remarks) may be justly compared to that enigma,³ What I have taken up I have not kept, and what I have got I have thrown away. Whereas the Turdetanians make a good profit, since a fourth part of the ore which they extract from the copper mines is [pure] copper, while from the silver mines one person has taken as much as a Eubœan talent. He says that tin is not found upon the surface, as authors commonly relate, but that it is dug up; and that it is produced both in places among the barbarians who dwell beyond the Lusitanians and in the islands Cassiterides; and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to Marseilles. Amongst the Artabri,⁴ who are the last of the Lusitanians towards the north and west, he tells us that the earth is powdered with silver, tin, and white gold, that is, mixed with silver, the earth having been brought down by the rivers: this the women scrape up with spades, and wash in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. Such is the

¹ Archimedes' Screw. It was called the Egyptian screw because invented by Archimedes when in Egypt, and also because it was much employed by the Egyptians in raising water from the Nile for the irrigation of their lands.

² We read τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν, according to Kramer's suggestion.

³ The following is the enigma alluded to. We have extracted it from Mackenzie's Translation of the Life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus of Halicarnassus. While the sailors and the towns-people of the Isle of Ios (Nio) were speaking with Homer, some fishermen's children ran their vessel on shore, and descending to the sands, addressed these words to the assembled persons: "Hear us, strangers, explain our riddle if ye can." Then some of those who were present ordered them to speak. "We leave," say they, "what we take, and we carry with us that we cannot take." No one being able to solve the enigma, they thus expounded it. "Having had an unproductive fishery," say they in explanation, "we sat down on the sand, and being annoyed by the vermin, left the fish we had taken on the shore, taking with us the vermin we could not catch."

⁴ These people inhabited the province of Galicia in Spain.

substance of what [Posidonius] tells us concerning the mines [of Iberia].

10. Polybius, speaking of the silver mines of New Carthage,¹ tells us that they are extremely large, distant from the city about 20 stadia, and occupy a circuit of 400 stadia, that there are 40,000 men regularly engaged in them, and that they yield daily to the Roman people [a revenue of] 25,000 drachmæ. The rest of the process I pass over, as it is too long, but as for the silver ore collected, he tells us that it is broken up, and sifted through sieves over water; that what remains is to be again broken, and the water having been strained off, it is to be sifted and broken a third time. The dregs which remain after the fifth time are to be melted, and the lead being poured off, the silver is obtained pure. These silver mines still exist; however they are no longer the property of the state, neither these nor those elsewhere, but are possessed by private individuals. The gold mines, on the contrary, nearly all belong to the state. Both at Castlon² and other places there are singular lead mines worked. They contain a small proportion of silver, but not sufficient to pay for the expense of refining.

11. Not far from Castlon is the mountain in which they report that the [river] Guadalquiver³ takes its rise. They call it silver mountain on account of the silver mines which it contains.⁴ Polybius asserts that both the Guadiana⁵ and this river have their sources in Keltiberia, notwithstanding they are separated from each other by a distance of 900 stadia;⁶ [this we are to attribute to] the Keltiberians having increased in power, and having consequently conferred their name on the surrounding country. It appears the ancients knew the Guadalquiver under the name of the Tartessus, and Gades⁷ with the neighbouring islands under that of Erythia; and it is thought that we should understand in this sense the words of Stesichorus⁸ concerning the pastoral poet Geryon, that he was born "al-

¹ Carthagena. ² Caslona. ³ Bætis.

⁴ The Sierra Cazorla. ⁵ Anas.

⁶ These 900 stadia are equal to from 25 to 26 leagues, which is exactly the distance from the sources of the Guadalquiver near to Cazorla to the lagoons named Ojos de Guadiana, adjacent to Villa-Harta. ⁷ Cadiz.

⁸ A Greek poet born at Himera in Sicily, and who flourished about B. C. 570: he lived in the time of Phalaris, and was contemporary with Sappho, Alcæus, and Pittacus.

most opposite to the renowned Erythia, in a rocky cave near to the abundant springs of the silver-bedded river Tartessus." They say that on the piece of land enclosed between the two outlets of this river there formerly stood a city named, like the river, Tartessus, and that the district was called Tartessis, which the Turduli now inhabit. Eratosthenes likewise tells us that the [country] near to Calpe¹ was called Tartessis, and also Erythia the Fortunate Island. This Artemidorus contradicts, and says that it is as false as his other statements, that the Sacred Promontory² is distant from Gades³ five days' sail, when in fact they are [distant from each other] not more than 1700 stadia.⁴ Likewise that the tide ceased at this point, whereas it passes round the whole circuit of the habitable earth. That it is easier to pass from the northern parts of Iberia into Keltica,⁵ than to proceed thither by sea; with many other things which he asserted on the faith of that charlatan Pytheas.

12. Our poet [Homer] being very explicit, and possessing great experience, gives one cause to believe that he was not unfamiliar with these localities. Of this any one may be convinced who will examine carefully what has been written on these points, both the incorrect [comments], and likewise those which are better and more truthful. One amongst these incorrect ideas is, that he considered [Tartessis] to be the farthest country towards the west, where, as he himself expresses it,

The radiant sun in ocean sank,
Drawing night after him o'er all the earth.⁶

Now, since it is evident that night is ominous, and near to Hades, and Hades to Tartarus, it seems probable that [Homer], having heard of Tartessus, took thence the name of Tartarus to distinguish the farthest of the places beneath the earth, also embellishing it with fable in virtue of the poetic licence. In the same way, knowing that the Cimmerians dwelt in northern and dismal territories near to the Bosphorus, he located them

¹ The rock of Gibraltar.

² Cape St. Vincent.

³ Cadiz.

⁴ This is exactly the distance from Cadiz to Cape St. Vincent, following the coasts. It is from 48 to 49 leagues.

⁵ Gaul.

⁶ The bright light of the sun fell into the ocean, drawing dark night over the fruitful earth. Iliad viii. 485.

in the vicinity of Hades ; perhaps also on account of the common hatred of the Ionians against this people. For they say that in the time of Homer, or a little before, the Cimmerians made an incursion as far as Æolia and Ionia. Always drawing his fables from certain real facts, his Planetæ¹ are modelled on the Cyanææ. He describes them as dangerous rocks, as they tell us the Cyanææan rocks are, [and] on which account [in fact] they are called Symplegades.² He adds to this [the account of] Jason's navigating through the midst of them. The Straits of the Pillars³ and Sicily,⁴ likewise, suggested to him the fable of the Planetæ. Thus, even according to the worst comments, from the fiction of Tartarus any one might gather that Homer was acquainted with the regions about Tartessus.

13. Of these facts, notwithstanding, there are better proofs. For instance, the expeditions of Hercules and the Phœnicians to this country were evidence to him of the wealth and luxury of the people. They fell so entirely under the dominion of the Phœnicians, that at the present day almost the whole of the cities of Turdetania and the neighbouring places are inhabited by them. It also seems to me that the expedition of Ulysses hither, as it took place and was recorded, was the foundation both of his Odyssey and Iliad, which he framed upon facts collected into a poem, and embellished as usual with poetical mythology. It is not only in Italy, Sicily, and a few other places that vestiges of these [events] occur ; even in Iberia a city is shown named Ulyssea,⁵ also a temple of Minerva, and a myriad other traces both of the wandering of Ulysses and also of other survivors of the Trojan war, which was equally fatal to the vanquished and those who took Troy. These latter in fact gained a Cadmean victory,⁶ for their homes were destroyed, and the portion of booty which fell to each was exceedingly minute. Consequently not only those who had survived the perils [of their country], but the Greeks as well, betook themselves to piracy, the former because they

¹ Wandering rocks.

² Entwining or conflicting rocks. Euripides, *Medea*, verse 2, gives them the title of Symplegades.

³ Gibraltar.

⁴ The Strait of Messina.

⁵ Ulisipo or Lisbon.

⁶ A proverbial expression by which the Greeks described a victory equally prejudicial to the victors and the vanquished.

had been pillaged of every thing ; the latter, on account of the shame which each one anticipated to himself :

“ The shame
That must attend us, after absence long
Returning unsuccessful, who can bear ? ”¹

In the same way is related the wandering of Æneas, of Antenor, and of the Heneti ; likewise of Diomedes, of Menelaus, of Ulysses,² and of many others. Hence the poet, knowing of similar expeditions to the extremities of Iberia, and having heard of its wealth and other excellencies, (which the Phœnicians had made known,) feigned this to be the region of the Blessed, and the Plain of Elysium, where Proteus informs Menelaus that he is to depart to :

“ But far hence the gods
Will send thee to Elysium, and the earth’s
Extremest bounds ; there Rhadamanthus dwells,
The golden-haired, and there the human kind
Enjoy the easiest life ; no snow is there,
No biting winter, and no drenching shower,
But zephyr always gently from the sea
Breathes on them to refresh the happy race.”³

Now the purity of the air, and the gentle breathing of the zephyr, are both applicable to this country, as well as the softness of the climate, its position in the west, and its place at the extremities of the earth, where, as we have said, he feigned that Hades was. By coupling Rhadamanthus with it, he signifies that the place was near to Minos, of whom he says,

“ There saw I Minos, offspring famed of Jove ;
His golden sceptre in his hand, he sat
Judge of the dead.”⁴

Similar to these are the fables related by later poets ; such, for instance, as the expeditions after the oxen of Geryon, and the

¹ But still it would be disgraceful to remain here so long, and to return home without fitting booty. *Iliad* ii. 298.

² We should probably here read Menestheus.

³ But the immortals will send you to the Elysian plain, and the boundaries of the earth, where is auburn-haired Rhadamanthus ; there of a truth is the most easy life for men. There is nor snow nor long winter, nor ever a shower, but ever does the ocean send forth the gently blowing breezes of the west wind to refresh men. *Odyssey* iv. 563.

⁴ There then I beheld Minos, the illustrious son of Jove, having a golden sceptre, giving laws to the dead. *Odyssey* xi. 567. Bohn’s edition.

golden apples of the Hesperides, the Islands of the Blessed¹ they speak of, which we know are still pointed out to us not far distant from the extremities of Maurusia, and opposite to Gades.

14. I repeat that the Phœnicians were the discoverers [of these countries], for they possessed the better part of Iberia and Libya before the time of Homer, and continued masters of those places until their empire was overthrown by the Romans. This also is an evidence of the wealth of Iberia: in the expedition of the Carthaginians under Barcas,² they found, according to historians, that the people of Turdetania used silver goblets³ and casks. One might guess too that it was on account of this great opulence that the men of the country, and their chiefs in particular, were styled long-lived. Wherefore Anacreon thus sings,

“Neither would I desire the horn of Amalthea, nor to reign over Tartessus one hundred and fifty years.”

Herodotus too has preserved the name of the king, whom he calls Arganthonius.⁴ The passage of Anacreon must therefore either be understood [of this king], or some other like him; or else more generally thus, “nor to reign for a lengthened period in Tartessus.” Some writers⁵ are of opinion that Tartessus is the present Carteia.

15. The Turdetani not only enjoy a salubrious climate, but their manners are polished and urbane, as also are those of the people of Keltica, by reason of their vicinity [to the Turdetani], or, according to Polybius, on account of their

¹ The Canary Islands. ² Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal.

³ We have preferred, in common with the French translation, and the manuscript cited by Xylander, to read *φιάλαις*, instead of *φάρναις*, thinking it probable that Strabo referred in the first instance to the drinking vessels, and afterwards to the wine barrels, as being made of silver.

⁴ Herodotus, who wrote about a century after the time of Anacreon, expressly tells us that Arganthonius reigned during eighty years, and lived one hundred and twenty (l. i. c. 163). Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny report the same, apparently on the testimony of Herodotus. Lucian, Phlegon, and Appian however state the life of Arganthonius at one hundred and fifty years; and what is remarkable, the two former, Lucian and Phlegon, cite as their authority Anacreon and Herodotus. Pliny, citing Anacreon, has taken the *reign* of one hundred and fifty years, mentioned by the poet, as a *life* of that duration. The passage of Strabo is evidently changed from its original form.

⁵ Of the number are Pomponius Mela and Pliny.

being of the same stock, but not to so great a degree, for they live for the most part scattered in villages. The Turdetani, on the other hand, especially those who dwell about the Guadalquiver,¹ have so entirely adopted the Roman mode of life, as even to have forgotten their own language. They have for the most part become Latins,² and received Roman colonists; so that a short time only is wanted before they will be all Romans. The very names of many of the towns at present, such as Pax Augusta³ amongst the Keltici, Augusta-Emerita⁴ amongst the Turduli, Cæsar-Augusta⁵ amongst the Keltiberians and certain other colonies, are proof of the change of manners I have spoken of. Those of the Iberians who adopt these new modes of life are styled *togati*. Amongst their number are the Keltiberians, who formerly were regarded as the most uncivilized of them all. So much for these.

CHAPTER III.

1. STARTING again from the Sacred Promontory,⁶ and continuing along the other side of the coast, we come to the gulf near the Tagus, afterwards Cape Barbarium,⁷ and near to this the outlets of the Tagus, which may be reached by sailing in a straight course for a distance of 10 stadia.⁸ Here are estuaries, one of them more than 400 stadia from the said tower, on a part of which Laccæa is situated.⁹ The breadth of the mouth of the Tagus is about 20 stadia, its depth is so great as to be capable of navigation by vessels of the greatest burden. At the flood-tide the Tagus forms two estuaries in the

¹ Bætis.

² That is, been admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizenship. Pliny tells us that in Bætica alone there were thirty cities enjoying this distinction.

³ Beja in Alentejo: others, with less show of probability, say Badajoz the capital of Estremadura.

⁴ Merida. ⁵ Saragossa. ⁶ Cape St. Vincent. ⁷ Capo Espichel.

⁸ Coray reads two hundred and ten stadia, Groskurd and the French translators adopt 200; but the whole passage is so manifestly corrupt, that it scarcely seemed safe to hazard the correction.

⁹ The text is here very corrupt, and the explanations of the editors and translators unsatisfactory.

plains which lie above it, so that the plain is inundated and rendered navigable for a distance of 150 stadia. In the upper estuary an island is formed about 30 stadia in length, and nearly equal in breadth, which is fertile, and has excellent vines. The island lies near to Moro,¹ a city happily situated on a mountain close to the river, and about 500 stadia from the sea. The country surrounding it is very fine, and the ascent [of the Tagus] for a considerable way practicable for vessels of a large size, the remainder is performed in river-boats. Above Moro it is navigable for a yet longer distance. Brutus, surnamed the Gallician, made use of this city as a military station, when fighting against the Lusitanians, whom he subdued. On the sides of the river he fortified Olysipto, in order that the passage up the river and the carriage of necessaries might be preserved unimpeded. These therefore are the finest cities near the Tagus. The river contains much fish, and is full of oysters. It takes its rise amongst the Keltiberians, and flows through the [country of the] Vettones, Carpetani, and Lusitani, towards the west;² to a certain distance it runs parallel with the Guadiana³ and Guadalquivir,⁴ but parts from them as they decline towards the southern coast.

2. Of those who dwell above the aforesaid mountains, the Oretani are the most southern, extending in part as far as the sea-coast on this side the Pillars. Next these towards the north are the Carpetani, then the Vettones and Vaccæi, through whose [country] the Douro⁵ flows as it passes Acontia,⁶ a city of the Vaccæi. The Gallicians are the last, and inhabit for the most part a mountainous country: on this account they were the most difficult to subdue, and furnished his surname to the conqueror of the Lusitanians; in fact, at the present day the greater part of the Lusitanians are beginning to call themselves Gallicians. The finest cities of Oretania are Castulo⁷ and Oria.⁸

3. North of the Tagus is Lusitania, the principal of the nations of Iberia, and the one which has most frequently encountered the arms of the Romans. On the southern side

¹ A city of Lusitania, *hodie* Al-Merim.

² Literally towards the sunset at the equinox. ³ Anas. ⁴ Bætis.

⁵ Durius. ⁶ This city is not mentioned elsewhere in Strabo.

⁷ Castlona. ⁸ Oreto.

this country is bounded by the Tagus, on the west and north by the ocean, on the east by the well-known nations of the Carpetani, the Vettones, the Vaccæi, the Gallicians, and by others not worthy to be mentioned on account of their insignificance and obscurity. On the other hand, certain historians of the present day give the name of Lusitanians to all of these nations.

To the east the Gallicians border on the nation of the Asturians and Keltiberians, the others [border] on the Keltiberians. In length Lusitania is 3000¹ stadia; its breadth, which is comprised between the eastern side and the opposite sea-coast, is much less. The eastern part is mountainous and rugged, while the country beyond, as far as the sea, consists entirely of plains, with the exception of a few inconsiderable mountains. On this account Posidonius remarks that Aristotle was not correct in supposing that the ebb and flow of the tide was occasioned by the sea-coast of Iberia and Maurusia.² For Aristotle asserted that the tides of the sea were caused by the extremities of the land being mountainous and rugged, and therefore both receiving the wave violently and also casting it back. Whereas Posidonius truly remarks that they are for the most part low and sandy.

4. The country which we are describing is fertile, and irrigated by rivers both large and small, all of which flow from the eastern parts parallel with the Tagus: most of them are navigable and full of gold dust. After the Tagus, the most noted rivers are the Mondego³ and the Vouga,⁴ which are navigable but for a short distance. After these is the Douro,⁵ which flows from afar by Numantia,⁶ and many other colonies of the Keltiberians and Vaccæi; it is capable of being navigated in large vessels for a distance of nearly 800 stadia. Besides these there are other rivers, after which is the [river] of Lethe, which some call the Limæa,⁷ others the Belio,⁸ it likewise rises amongst the Keltiberians and Vaccæi. After

¹ *μυρίων και τρισχιλίων*, in text, but plainly the result of some error.

² We have followed the suggestion of Kramer in the rendering of this passage, the Greek text being evidently corrupt.

³ Munda.

⁴ Vacua.

⁵ Durius.

⁶ A city situated near Soria in Old Castile.

⁷ Now the Lima.

⁸ Xylander and many of the commentators propose to read *Ὀβλιουῶνα*, or Oblivian, in place of *Βελιῶνα*. The conjecture seems extremely probable.

this is the Bænis, (some call it the Minius,¹) by far the largest river of Lusitania,² being navigable for a distance of 800 stadia. Posidonius says this too rises amongst the Cantabrians.³ An island⁴ lies before its outlet, and two moles affording anchorage for vessels. A natural advantage [of this country] well deserving of commendation is, that the banks of the rivers are so lofty as to be capable of containing the entire of the water raised by the high tides of the sea, without either being overfilled, or overflowing the plains. This was the limit of Brutus's expedition. Beyond there are many other rivers parallel to those I have named.

5. The Artabri are the last of the people [on this coast]. They inhabit the promontory called Nerium,⁵ which is the boundary [of Iberia] on its western and northern sides. Around it dwell the Keltici, a kindred race to those who are situated along the Guadiana.⁶ They say that these latter, together with the Turduli, having undertaken an expedition thither, quarrelled after they had crossed the river Lima,⁷ and, besides the sedition, their leader having also died, they remained scattered there, and from this circumstance the river was called the Lethe.⁸ The Artabri have besides many cities established round the Gulf, which mariners and those familiar with the places designate as the Port of the Artabri. At the present day the Artabri are denominated the Arotrebæ. About thirty⁹ different nations occupy the country between the Tagus and the Artabri. Notwithstanding the fertility of the country in corn, cattle, gold, silver, and

¹ The Minho of the present day.

² The Minho is far surpassed in size, both by the Duero and the Tagus.

³ The text here is evidently incorrect. In the first place, the *καὶ αὐτὸν*, which we have rendered *this too*, evidently sustained some relation, no longer subsisting, to what preceded; and in the second, the sources of the Minho were not in Cantabria, but Galicia.

⁴ Strabo here appears to confound the mouth of the Minho with a small bay about five leagues distant, near to the city of Bayona in Galicia, and before which there is still the small island of Bayona.

⁵ Cape Finisterre.

⁶ Anas.

⁷ Limæa.

⁸ Or the river of Oblivion, apparently because they forgot to return to their own country.

⁹ A few of the MSS. read fifty, which number seems to be countenanced by the statement of Pliny, that forty-six nations inhabited Lusitania: but then the limits he set to the country were more extended than those allowed by Strabo.

numerous other similar productions, the majority of its inhabitants, neglecting to gain their subsistence from the ground, passed their lives in pillage and continual warfare, both between themselves and their neighbours, whom they used to cross the Tagus [to plunder]. To this the Romans at length put a stop by subduing them, and changing many of their cities into villages, besides colonizing some of them better. The mountaineers, as was natural, were the first to commence this lawless mode of life: for living but scantily, and possessing little, they coveted the goods of others, who being obliged to repulse them, of necessity relinquished their proper employments, and instead of pursuing agriculture took up arms. Thus it happened that their country, being neglected, became barren notwithstanding its natural advantages, and inhabited by bandits.

6. The Lusitanians are reported to be clever in laying ambushes, sharp, swift of foot, light,¹ and easily disciplined as soldiers. The small shield they make use of is two feet in diameter, its outer surface concave, and suspended by leather thongs; it neither has rings nor handles. They have in addition² a poignard or dagger. Their corselets are for the most part made of linen; a few have chain-coats and helmets with triple crests, but the others use helmets composed of sinews. The infantry wear greaves, each man is furnished with a number of javelins; some also use spears pointed with brass. They report that some of those who dwell near to the river Douro³ imitate the Lacedæmonians in anointing their bodies with oil, using hot air-baths made of heated stones, bathing in cold water, and taking but one tidy and frugal meal a day. The Lusitanians are frequent in the performance of sacrifice; they examine the entrails, but without cutting them out of the body; they also examine the veins of the side, and practise augury by the touch. They likewise divine by the entrails of captive enemies, whom they first cover with a military cloak, and when stricken under the entrails by the haruspex, they draw their first auguries from the fall [of the

¹ The *κούφος* of the text signifies also a volatile disposition.

² Some part of the sentence seems here to be wanting. It probably contained a description of the kind of sword made use of.

³ Durius.

victim]. They cut off the right hands of their prisoners, and consecrate them to the gods.

7. All the mountaineers are frugal, their beverage is water, they sleep on the ground, and wear a profuse quantity of long hair after the fashion of women, which they bind around the forehead when they go to battle.¹ They subsist principally on the flesh of the goat, which animal they sacrifice to Mars, as also prisoners taken in war, and horses. They likewise offer hecatombs of each kind after the manner of the Greeks, described by Pindar,

“To sacrifice a hundred of every [species].”²

They practise gymnastic exercises,³ both as heavy-armed soldiers, and cavalry, also boxing, running, skirmishing, and fighting in bands. For two-thirds of the year the mountaineers feed on the acorn, which they dry, bruise, and afterwards grind and make into a kind of bread, which may be stored up for a long period. They also use beer; wine is very scarce, and what is made they speedily consume in feasting with their relatives. In place of oil they use butter. Their meals they take sitting, on seats put up round the walls, and they take place on these according to their age and rank. The supper is carried round, and whilst drinking they dance to the sound of the flute and trumpet, springing up and sinking upon the knees.⁴

In Bastetania the women dance promiscuously with the men, each holding the other's hand. They all dress in black, the majority of them in cloaks called *saga*, in which they sleep on beds of straw. They make use of wooden vessels like the Kelts. The women wear dresses and embroidered garments. Instead of money, those who dwell far in the interior exchange merchandise, or give pieces of silver cut off

¹ This reminds one of the *glíbs* the Irish used to wear down to a recent period.

² This passage is not found in any of the odes of Pindar now remaining.

³ The French translators observe, that we should probably understand this passage as follows, They exercise themselves as light-armed infantry, heavy-armed infantry, cavalry, &c.

⁴ Xenophon describes this, or one very similar, as the Persian dance: Τέλος δὲ τὸ Περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο, κροτῶν τὰς πέλτας· καὶ ὠκλαζε, καὶ ἐξάνιστατο. “Last of all he danced the Persian dance, clashing his bucklers, and in dancing fell on his knees, then sprang up again.” Xen. Anab. b. vi. c. 1, 10.

from plates of that metal. Those condemned to death are executed by stoning; parricides are put to death without the frontiers or the cities. They marry according to the customs of the Greeks.¹ Their sick they expose upon the highways, in the same way as the Egyptians² did anciently, in the hope that some one who has experienced the malady may be able to give them advice. Up to the time of [the expedition of] Brutus they made use of vessels constructed of skins for crossing the lagoons formed by the tides; they now have them formed out of the single trunk of a tree, but these are scarce. Their salt is purple, but becomes white by pounding. The life of the mountaineers is such as I have described, I mean those bordering the northern side of Iberia, the Gallicians, the Asturians, and the Cantabrians,³ as far as the Vascons⁴ and the Pyrenees. The mode of life amongst all these is similar. But I am reluctant to fill my page with their names, and would fain escape the disagreeable task of writing them, unless perchance the Pleutauri, the Bardyetæ, the Allotriges,⁵ and other names still worse and more out of the way than these might be grateful to the ear of some one.

8. The rough and savage manners of these people is not alone owing to their wars, but likewise to their isolated position, it being a long distance to reach them, whether by sea or land. Thus the difficulty of communication has deprived

¹ This is said to distinguish them from their neighbours, the inhabitants of Majorca and Minorca, whose peculiar marriage ceremonies are thus described by Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. c. 18: Παράδοξον δὲ τι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς γάμους νόμιμον παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστίν· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς γάμους εὐωχίαις, οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ πρῶτος αἰεὶ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, μίσγονται ταῖς νύμφαις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἐσχάτου τοῦ νυμφίου τυγχάνοντος ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.

² The mention of Egyptians here seems surprising, inasmuch as no writer appears to have recorded this as one of their customs. Of the Assyrians it is stated, both by Herodotus, i. 197, and also by Strabo himself, xvi. cap. i. 746. It seems therefore most probable that Assyrians are intended, Egyptians being merely an error of the transcriber.

³ Inhabitants of Biscay.

⁴ People of Navarre.

⁵ Who the Pleutauri were, we do not know. The Bardyetæ appear to be the same people whom Strabo afterwards speaks of as Bardyiti, or Bardyali, who occupied a narrow slip of land between the east of Alava and the west of Navarre. The Allotriges Casaubon supposes to be the same as the Autrigones, who occupied the coast from Laredo to the Gulf of Bilbao.

them both of generosity of manners and of courtesy. At the present time, however, they suffer less from this both on account of their being at peace and the intermixture of Romans. Wherever these [influences] are not so much experienced people are harsher and more savage. It is probable that this ruggedness of character is increased by the barrenness of the mountains and some of the places which they inhabit. At the present day, as I have remarked, all warfare is put an end to, Augustus Cæsar having subdued the Cantabrians¹ and the neighbouring nations, amongst whom the system of pillage was mainly carried on in our day. So that at the present time, instead of plundering the allies of the Romans, the Coniaci and those who dwell by the sources of the Ebro,² with the exception of the Tuisi,³ bear arms for the Romans. Tiberius, who succeeded Augustus Cæsar, carried out his intention of placing a military force of three legions in these parts, by which means he has not only preserved peace, but introduced amongst some of them a civil polity.

CHAPTER IV.

1. WHAT remains [to be described] of Iberia, is the sea-coast of the Mediterranean from the Pillars to the Pyrenees, and the whole of the inland country which lies above. The breadth of this is irregular, its length a little above 4000 stadia. It has been remarked that the sea-coast⁴ is above 2000 stadia, and they say that from Mount Calpe,⁵ which is near the Pillars, to New Carthage,⁶ there are 2200 stadia. This coast is inhabited by the Bastetani, also called the Bastuli, and in part by the Oretani. Thence⁷ to the Ebro the distance is nearly as great. This [region] is inhabited by the Edetani. On this side the Ebro to the Pyrenees and the Trophies of Pompey there are 1600 stadia. It is peopled by

¹ Inhabitants of Biscay.

² Iberus.

³ *πλην Τουίσου*: these words are manifestly corrupt, but none of the various conjectural readings seem at all probable.

⁴ From the Pillars to the Sacred Promontory, or Cape St. Vincent.

⁵ The rock of Gibraltar. ⁶ Carthagena. ⁷ Viz. from Carthagena.

a small portion of the Edetani, and the rest by a people named the Indicetes, divided into four cantons.

2. Commencing our particular description from Calpe, there is [first] the mountain-chain of Bastetania and the Oretani. This is covered with thick woods and gigantic trees, and separates the sea-coast from the interior. In many places it also contains gold and other mines. The first city along the coast is Malaca,¹ which is about as far distant from Calpe as Calpe is from Gades.² It is a market for the nomade tribes from the opposite coast, and there are great stores of salt-fish there. Some suppose it to be the same as Mænaca, which tradition reports to be the farthest west of the cities of the Phocæi; but this is not the case, for Mænaca, which was situated at a greater distance from Calpe, is in ruins, and preserves traces of having been a Grecian city, whereas Malaca is nearer, and Phœnician in its configuration. Next in order is the city of the Exitani,³ from which the salted fish⁴ bearing that name takes its appellation.

3. After these comes Abdera,⁵ founded likewise by the Phœnicians. Above these places, in the mountains, the city of Ulyssea⁶ is shown, containing a temple to Minerva, according to the testimony of Posidonius, Artemidorus, and Asclepiades the Myrlean,⁷ a man who taught literature in Turdetania, and published a description of the nations dwelling there. He says that in the temple of Minerva were hung up spears and prows of vessels, monuments of the wanderings

¹ Malaga.

² Cadiz.

³ Pomponius Mela gives this city the name of Hexi, or Ex, according to another reading; Pliny names it Sexi, with the surname of Firmum Julium; and Ptolemy, Sex. This is merely a difference relative to the aspiration of the word, which was sometimes omitted, at other times expressed by the letters H or S indifferently.

⁴ Mentioned by Pliny, Athenæus, Galen, and also by Martial, lib. vii. Epigramm. 78,

Cum Saxetani ponatur cauda lacerti;

Et bene si cœnas, conchis inuncta tibi est;

Sumen, aprum, leporem, boletos, ostrea, mullos,

Mittis; habes nec cor, Papile, nec genium.

⁵ Adra.

⁶ Lisbon.

⁷ Asclepiades of Myrlea, a city of Bithynia, was a grammarian, and disciple of the celebrated grammarian, Apollonius. According to Suidas he taught literature at Rome, under Pompey the Great. And it is probable that it was with Pompey he afterwards passed into Spain.

of Ulysses. That some of those who followed Teucer in his expedition settled among the Gallicians;¹ and that two cities were there, the one called Hellenes,² the other Amphilochi; but Amphiloachus³ having died, his followers wandered into the interior. He adds, that it is said, that some of the followers of Hercules, and certain also of the inhabitants of Messene, settled in Iberia. Both he and others assert that a portion of Cantabria was occupied by Laconians. Here is the city named Opsicella,⁴ founded by Ocela,⁵ who passed into Italy with Antenor and his children. Some believe the account of the merchants of Gades, asserted by Artemidorus, that in Libya there are people living above Maurusia, near to the Western Ethiopians, named Lotophagi, because they feed on the leaves and root of the lotus⁶ without wanting to

¹ Teucer, the son of Telamon, king of the island of Salamis, being driven out of the country by his father, founded in Cyprus the city of Salamis. Justin adds, that after the death of his father he returned to the island of Salamis; but being prevented by the son of Ajax, his brother, from debarking, he went into Iberia, and took up his abode on the spot where Carthagera was afterwards built: that subsequently he removed into the country of the Gallicians, and settled amongst them.

² The Hellenes derived their name from Hellen the son of Deucalion and Pyrrha. This name, which at first designated only a small people of Thessaly, became afterwards the general appellation of the inhabitants of the whole of Greece.

³ Amphiloachus, on his return from Troy, founded with Mopsus the city of Mallos in Cilicia. He afterwards retired to Argos, but not being contented there he rejoined Mopsus, who however would no longer divide with him the government of their common colony. This dispute resulted in a remarkable combat, which cost the life of both. (Compare Strabo, l. xiv. c. 4.) Sophocles and other tragic poets have taken advantage of this tradition. Herodotus likewise speaks of the voyages of Amphiloachus into Cilicia, and of the city of Posideium which he founded there, but he tells us nothing of his death. Thucydides merely says that Amphiloachus on his return home after the Trojan war, being discontented with his compatriots, founded in the Gulf of Ambracia a city which he named after his fatherland, Argos. None of these traditions mention a voyage to Iberia.

⁴ Siebenkees suspects that this name should be read Ocella. The Ocellenses in Lusitania are commended by Pliny.

⁵ Some MSS. read Opsicella.

⁶ Strabo, or rather Artemidorus, seems to have confused the two kinds of lotus mentioned by the ancients. That whereof they ate the roots and the grain is the lotus of the Nile, and a plant of the species *nymphæa*. The lotus alluded to in this instance is a shrub, (the *rhamnus lotus* of Linnæus,) named *seedra* by the inhabitants of Barbary, with whom the fruit is an article of food. Herodotus mentions both kinds, (lib. ii. c. 92, and iv. c. 177,) and Polybius describes the second, as an eye-witness.

drink; for they possess [no drink], being without water. These people they say extend as far as the regions above Cyrene. There are others also called Lotophagi, who inhabit Meninx,¹ one of the islands situated opposite the Lesser Syrtes.²

4. No one should be surprised that the poet, in his fiction descriptive of the wanderings of Ulysses, should have located the majority of the scenes which he narrates without the Pillars, in the Atlantic. For historical events of a similar character did actually occur near to the places, so that the other circumstances which he feigned did not make his fiction incredible; nor [should any one be surprised] if certain persons, putting faith in the historical accuracy and extensive knowledge of the poet, should have attempted to explain the poem of Homer on scientific principles; a proceeding undertaken by Crates of Mallos,³ and some others. On the other hand, there have been those who have treated the undertaking of Homer so contemptuously, as not only to deny any such knowledge to the poet, as though he were a ditcher or reaper, but have stigmatized as fools those who commented on his writings. And not one either of the grammarians, or of those skilled in the mathematics, has dared to undertake their defence, or to set right any mistakes in what they have advanced, or any thing else; although it seems to me possible both to prove correct much that they have said, and also to set right other points, especially where they have been misled by putting faith in Pytheas, who was ignorant of the countries situated along the ocean, both to the west and north. But we must let these matters pass, as they require a particular and lengthened discussion.

5. The settlement of the Grecians amongst these barbarous nations may be regarded as the result of the division of these latter into small tribes and sovereignties, having on account of their moroseness no union amongst themselves, and therefore powerless against attacks from without. This moroseness is remarkably prevalent amongst the Iberians, who are

¹ The Island of Zerbi.

² The Gulf of Cabes.

³ A celebrated stoic philosopher and grammarian contemporary with Aristarchus. He was of Mallos, a city of Cilicia, and surnamed the Critic and the Homeric, on account of the corrections, explanations, and remarks which he composed in nine books on the poems of Homer.

besides crafty in their manner, devoid of sincerity, insidious, and predatory in their mode of life ; they are bold in little adventures, but never undertake any thing of magnitude, inasmuch as they have never formed any extended power or confederacy. If they had had but the will to assist each other, neither could the Carthaginians by making an incursion have so easily deprived them of the greater part of their country, nor before them the Tyrians, then the Kelts, now called the Keltiberians and Berones, nor after these the brigand Viriathus, and Sertorius,¹ nor any others who desired power. On this account the Romans, having carried the war into Iberia, lost much time by reason of the number of different sovereignties, having to conquer first one, then another ; in fact, it occupied nearly two centuries, or even longer, before they had subdued the whole.—I return to my description.

6. After Abdera² is New Carthage,³ founded by Asdrubal, who succeeded Barcas, the father of Hannibal. It is by far the most powerful city of this country, being impregnable, and furnished with a noble wall, harbours, and a lake, besides the silver mines already mentioned. The places in the vicinity have an abundance of salted fish, and it is besides the great emporium of the sea merchandise for the interior, and likewise for the merchandise from the interior for exportation. About midway along the coast between this city and the Ebro, we meet with the outlet of the river Xucar,⁴ and a city bearing the same name.⁵ It rises in a mountain belonging to the chain which overlooks Malaca,⁶ and the regions around Carthage, and may be forded on foot ; it is nearly parallel to the Ebro, but not quite so far distant from Carthage as from the Ebro. Between the Xucar and Carthage are three small towns of the people of Marseilles, not far from the river. Of these the best known is Hemeroscopium.⁷ On the promontory there is a temple to Diana of Ephesus, held in great veneration. Sertorius used it as an arsenal, convenient to the sea, both on account of its being fortified and fitted for piratical uses, and because it is visible from a great distance

¹ Sertorius, on the return of Sylla to Rome, took refuge in Spain, where he put himself at the head of the Romans who had revolted against the republic ; he was assassinated by one of his officers.

² Adra.

³ Carthagena.

⁴ Sucro.

⁵ That is, the ancient name, Sucro. ⁶ Malaga. ⁷ Denia or Artemus.

to vessels approaching. It is called Dianium,¹ from Diana. Near to it are some fine iron-works, and two small islands, Planesia² and Plumbaria,³ with a sea-water lake lying above, of 400 stadia in circumference. Next is the island of Hercules, near to Carthage, and called Scombraria,⁴ on account of the mackerel taken there, from which the finest garum⁵ is made. It is distant 24 stadia from Carthage. On the other side of the Xucar, going towards the outlet of the Ebro, is Saguntum, founded by the Zacynthians. The destruction of this city by Hannibal, contrary to his treaties with the Romans, kindled the second Punic war. Near to it are the cities of Cherronesus,⁶ Oleastrum, and Cartalia, and the colony of Dertossa,⁷ on the very passage of the Ebro. The Ebro takes its source amongst the Cantabrians; it flows through an extended plain towards the south, running parallel with the Pyrenees.

7. The first city between the windings of the Ebro and the extremities of the Pyrenees, near to where the Trophies of Pompey are erected, is Tarraco;⁸ it has no harbour, but is situated on a bay, and possessed of many other advantages. At the present day it is as well peopled as Carthage;⁹ for it is admirably suited for the stay of the prefects,¹⁰ and is as it were the metropolis, not only of [the country lying] on this side the Ebro, but also of a great part of what lies beyond. The near vicinity of the Gymnesian Islands,¹¹ and Ebusus,¹² which are all of considerable importance, are sufficient to inform one of the felicitous position of the city. Eratosthenes tells us that it has a roadstead, but Artemidorus contradicts this, and affirms that it scarcely possesses an anchorage.

8. The whole coast from the Pillars up to this place wants harbours, but all the way from here to Emporium,¹³ the countries of the Leëtani, the Lartolæetæ, and others, are both furnished with excellent harbours and fertile. Emporium was founded by the people of Marseilles, and is about 4000¹⁴ stadia

¹ Denia.² Isola Plana.³ S. Pola.⁴ Islote.

⁵ A sauce so named from the *garus*, a small fish, from which originally it was prepared. Afterwards it was made with mackerel and other fish. Vide Pliny l. xxxi. c. 7, 8.

⁶ Peniscola.⁷ Tortosa.⁸ Tarragona.⁹ New Carthage, or Carthagena, is intended.¹⁰ Sent from Rome.¹¹ Majorca and Minorca.¹² Iviça.¹³ Ampurias.

¹⁴ The text is here manifestly corrupt. Various other numbers, from

distant from the Pyrenees, and the confines of Iberia and Keltica. This is a very fine region, and possesses good ports. Here also is Rhodope,¹ a small town of the Emporitæ, but some say it was founded by the Rhodians. Both here and in Emporium they reverence the Ephesian Diana. The cause of this we will explain when we come to speak of Massalia.² In former times the Emporitæ dwelt on a small island opposite, now called the old city, but at the present day they inhabit the mainland. The city is double, being divided by a wall, for in past times some of the Indiceti dwelt close by, who, although they had a separate polity to themselves, desired, for the sake of safety, to be shut in by a common enclosure with the Grecians; but at the same time that this enclosure should be two-fold, being divided through its middle by a wall. In time, however, they came to have but one government, a mixture of Barbarian and Grecian laws; a result which has taken place in many other [states].

9. A river³ flows near to it, which has its sources in the Pyrenees; its outlet forms a port for the Emporitæ, who are skilful workers in flax. Of the interior of their country some parts are fertile, others covered with spartum, a rush which flourishes in marshes, and is entirely useless: they call this the Junc Plain. There are some who inhabit the Pyrenean mountains as far as the Trophies of Pompey, on the route which leads from Italy into Ulterior Iberia,⁴ and particularly into Bætica. This road runs sometimes close to the sea, sometimes at a distance therefrom, particularly in the western parts. From the Trophies of Pompey it leads to Tarraco,⁵ through the Junc Plain, the Betteres,⁶ and the plain called in the Latin tongue [the plain] of Marathon, on account

4 to 400, have been conjectured as the true reading. Gosselin and Groskurd are in favour of 200.

¹ Sic text. Siebenkees and Coray propose to read 'Ρόδος, and Casaubon also 'Ρόδη, now Rosas.

² Marseilles.

³ Probably the river Fluvia, the Alba of the ancients.

⁴ Iberia, or Spain, was anciently divided into two grand divisions, to which the Romans gave the names of *Citerior* and *Ulterior* Iberia. Augustus subdivided this latter into the two provinces of Bætica and Lusitania, giving the name of Tarraco to Citerior Iberia. Nevertheless the ancient names of Citerior and Ulterior continued in use long after this division.

⁵ Tarragona.

⁶ We are not exactly acquainted with this place, it is probably Vidre-ras; though others suppose it to be Colonia Sagerra.

of the quantity of fennel growing there. From Tarraco [the road runs] towards the passage of the Ebro at the city of Dertossa;¹ from thence having traversed the city of Saguntum,² and Setabis,³ it follows a course more and more distant from the sea, till it approaches the Plain of Spartarium, which signifies the Plain of Rushes. This is a vast arid plain, producing the species of rush from which cords are made, and which are exported to all parts, but particularly to Italy.⁴ Formerly the road passed on through the midst of the plain, and [the city of] Egelastæ,⁵ which was both difficult and long, but they have now constructed a new road close to the sea, which merely touches upon the Plain of Rushes, and leads to the same places as the former, [viz.] Castlon,⁶ and Obulco,⁷ through which runs the road to Corduba and Gades,⁸ the two greatest emporia [of Iberia]. Obulco is distant about 300 stadia from Corduba. Historians report that Cæsar came from Rome to Obulco, and to his army there, within the space of twenty-seven days, when about to fight the battle of Munda.⁹

10. Such is the whole sea-coast from the Pillars to the confines of the Iberians and Kelts. The interior of the country lying above, and included between the mountains of the Pyrenees and the northern side [of Iberia], as far as the Astures, is principally divided by two mountain chains; the one of these is parallel to the Pyrenees, and takes its commencement from the country of the Cantabri, terminating at the Mediterranean. This is called the Idubeda.¹⁰ The second, springing from the middle [of this first], runs towards the west, inclining however to the south and the sea-coast towards the Pillars. At the commencement it consists of bare hills, but after traversing the Plain of Spartarium, falls in with the forest lying above Carthage,¹¹ and the regions round Malaca.¹² It is named Orospeida.¹³ The river Ebro flows between the Pyrenees and Idubeda, and parallel to both these mountains. It is fed by the rivers and other waters carried down

¹ Tortosa.² Murviedro.³ Xativa.⁴ The cordage of the famous vessel built by Hiero of Syracuse was formed from the spartum of Iberia. Vid. Athenæus, lib. v. p. 206.⁵ Yniesta.⁶ Caslona.⁷ Porcuna.⁸ Cordova and Cadiz.⁹ Fought against Pompey.¹⁰ The mountains of Burgos and Cuença, the Sierras of Oca, Lorenzo and Moncayo.¹¹ Carthagena.¹² Malaga.¹³ The Sierra de Toledo.

from [the mountains]. Situated on the Ebro is the city of Cæsar Augusta,¹ and the colony of Celsa,² where there is a stone bridge across the river. This country is inhabited by many nations, the best known being that of the Jaccetani.³ Commencing at the foot of the Pyrenees, it widens out into the plains, and reaches to the districts around Ilerda⁴ and Osca,⁵ [cities] of the Ilergetes not far distant from the Ebro. It was in these cities, and in Calaguris,⁶ a city of the Gascons, as well as those of Tarraco⁷ and Hemeroscopium,⁸ situated on the coast, that Sertorius sustained the last efforts of the war, after being ejected from the country of the Keltiberians. He died at Osca, and it was near to Ilerda that Afranius and Petreius, Pompey's generals, were afterwards defeated by divus⁹ Cæsar. Ilerda is distant 160 stadia from the Ebro, which is on its west, about 460 from Tarraco, which is on the south, and 540 from Osca, which lies to the north.¹⁰ Passing through these places from Tarraco to the extremities of the Vascons who dwell by the ocean, near Pompelon¹¹ and the city of Cæso¹² situated on the ocean, the route extends 2400 stadia, to the very frontiers of Aquitaine and Iberia. It was in the country of the Jaccetani that Sertorius fought against Pompey, and here afterwards Sextus, Pompey's son, fought against the generals of Cæsar. The nation of the Vascons, in which is Pompelon, or Pompey's city, lies north of Jaccetania.

11. The side of the Pyrenees next Iberia is covered with forests containing numerous kinds of trees and evergreens, whilst the side next Keltica is bare: in the midst [the mountains] enclose valleys admirably fitted for the habitation of

¹ Saragossa.

² Xelsa.

³ They occupied the northern half of Catalonia.

⁴ Lerida.

⁵ Huesca.

⁶ Calahorra.

⁷ Tarragona.

⁸ Denia.

⁹ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ Θεοῦ, by the deified Cæsar. We have adopted the Latin divus as the most suitable epithet for the emperor in an English version.

¹⁰ Gosselin here labours to reconcile these distances with the actual topography of those parts, but it is useless to attempt to make all the loose statements furnished by Strabo tally with the exact distances of the places he mentions by supposing the stadia to be so continually varied.

¹¹ Pampeluna.

¹² Gosselin is of opinion that this Cæso, is not Ojarço near Fontarabia, but thinks it probable that Ea near Cape Machicaco is the site where it stood.

man. These are mainly possessed by the Kerretani, a people of the Iberians. The hams they cure are excellent, fully equal to those of the Cantabrians,¹ and they realize no inconsiderable profit to the inhabitants.

12. Immediately after passing Idubeda, you enter on Keltiberia, a large and irregular country. It is for the most part rugged, and watered by rivers, being traversed by the Guadiana,² the Tagus, and many other of the rivers which flow into the western sea, but have their sources in Keltiberia. Of their number is the Douro, which flows by Numantia³ and Serguntia. The Guadalquivir⁴ rises in Orospeđa, and after passing through Oretania, enters Bætica. The Berones inhabit the districts north of the Keltiberians, and are neighbours of the Conish Cantabrians. They likewise had their origin in the Keltic expedition. Their city is Varia,⁵ situated near to the passage of the Ebro. They are adjacent to the Bardytæ, now called the Bardyli.⁶ To the west [of the Keltiberians] are certain of the Astures, Gallicians, and Vaccæi, besides Vettones and Carpetani. On the south are the Oretani, and the other inhabitants of Orospeđa, both Bastetani and Edetani,⁷ and to the east is Idubeda.

13. Of the four divisions into which the Keltiberians are separated, the most powerful are the Aruaci, situated to the east and south, near to the Carpetani and the sources of the Tagus. Their most renowned city is Numantia. They showed their valour in the war of twenty years, waged by the Keltiberians against the Romans; for many armies of the Romans, together with their generals, were destroyed; and in the end the Numantians, besieged within their city, endured the famine with constancy, till, reduced to a very small number, they were compelled to surrender the place. The Lusones are also situated to the east, and likewise border on the sources of the Tagus. Segeda and Pallantia⁸ are cities of the Aru-

¹ People of Biscay.

² The ancient Anas.

³ The ruins of Numantia are seen a little to the north of Soria. ⁴ Bætis.

⁵ Probably the small village of Varea, about half a league from Logroño; D'Anville supposes it to be Logroño itself.

⁶ *Aliter* Bardyli.

⁷ Kramer has altered the text into *Ἐδρητανῶν*, all MSS. having *δερτα-
νῶν*. There is little doubt they are the same people mentioned in section
14 as Sidetani.

⁸ Palencia.

aci. Numantia is distant from Cæsar Augusta,¹ situated as we have said upon the Ebro, about 800 stadia. Near to Segobriga and Bilbilis,² likewise cities of the Keltiberians, was fought the battle between Metellus and Sertorius. Polybius, describing the people and countries of the Vaccæi and Keltiberians, enumerates Segesama³ and Intercatia amongst their other cities. Posidonius tells us that Marcus Marcellus exacted of Keltiberia a tribute of 600 talents, which proves that the Keltiberians were a numerous and wealthy people, notwithstanding the little fertility of their country. Polybius narrates that Tiberius Gracchus destroyed 300 cities of the Keltiberians. This Posidonius ridicules, and asserts that to flatter Gracchus, Polybius described as cities the towers such as are exhibited in the triumphal processions.⁴ This is not incredible; for both generals and historians easily fall into this species of deception, by exaggerating their doings. Those who assert that Iberia contained more than a thousand cities, seem to me to have been carried away in a similar manner, and to have denominated as cities what were merely large villages; since, from its very nature, this country is incapable of maintaining so many cities, on account of its sterility, wildness, and its out-of-the-way position. Nor, with the exception of those who dwell along the shores of the Mediterranean, is any such statement confirmed by the mode of life or actions of the inhabitants. The inhabitants of the villages, who constitute the majority of the Iberians, are quite uncivilized. Even the cities cannot very easily refine the manners [of their inhabitants], as the neighbouring woods are full of robbers, waiting only an opportunity to inflict injury on the citizens.

14. Beyond the Keltiberians to the south are the inhabit-

¹ Saragossa.

² Baubola.

³ Sasamo, west of Briviesca.

⁴ Allusion is here made to the custom of the Roman generals, who caused to be carried at their triumphs, representations in painting or sculpture, not only of the kings or generals of the enemy, who had been slain, but likewise of the forts, cities, mountains, lakes, rivers, and even seas, conquered from the enemy. This usage explains the words of Cicero, "portari in triumpho Massiliam vidimus." Appian, on occasion of the triumph of Scipio, says, Πύργοι τε παραφέρονται μμήματα τῶν εἰλημμένων πόλεων.

ants of Orospe~~da~~ and the country about the Xucar,¹ the Sidetani,² [who extend] as far as Carthage,³ and the Bastetani and Oretani, [who extend] almost as far as Malaca.⁴

15. All the Iberians, so to speak, were peltastæ, furnished with light arms for the purposes of robbery, and, as we described the Lusitanians, using the javelin, the sling, and the sword. They have some cavalry interspersed amongst the foot-soldiers, the horses are trained to traverse the mountains, and to sink down on their knees at the word of command, in case of necessity. Iberia produces abundance of antelopes and wild horses. In many places the lakes are stocked. They have fowl, swans, and birds of similar kind, and vast numbers of bustards. Beavers are found in the rivers, but the castor does not possess the same virtue as that from the Euxine,⁵ the drug from that place having peculiar properties of its own, as is the case in many other instances. Thus Posidonius tells us that the Cyprian copper alone produces the cadmian stone, copperas-water, and oxide of copper. He likewise informs us of the singular fact, that in Iberia the crows are not black; and that the horses of Keltiberia which are spotted, lose that colour when they pass into Ulterior Iberia. He compares them to the Parthian horses, for indeed they are superior to all other breeds, both in fleetness and their ease in speedy travelling.

16. Iberia produces a large quantity of roots used in dyeing. In olives, vines, figs, and every kind of similar fruit-trees, the Iberian coast next the Mediterranean abounds, they are likewise plentiful beyond. Of the coasts next the ocean, that towards the north is destitute of them, on account of the cold, and the remaining portion generally on account of the apathy of the men, and because they do not lead a civilized life, but pass their days in poverty, only acting on the animal

¹ Sucro, *now* Xucar.

² The same people as the Edetani, mentioned in section 12.

³ Carthagera.

⁴ Malaga.

⁵ At the present day the best castor comes from Russia, but the greater part of that found in shops is the produce of Canada. It is denominated a stimulant and antispasmodic. Formerly it was much used in spasmodic diseases, as hysteria and epilepsy. It is now considered almost inert, and is seldom employed. After this description, it is scarcely necessary to warn the reader against the vulgar error of confusing castor with castor oil, which is extracted from the seeds of the *Ricinus communis* or castor oil plant, a shrub growing in the West Indies.

impulse, and living most corruptly. They do not attend to ease or luxury, unless any one considers it can add to the happiness of their lives to wash themselves and their wives in stale urine kept in tanks, and to rinse their teeth with it, which they say is the custom both with the Cantabrians and their neighbours.¹ This practice, as well as that of sleeping on the ground, is common both among the Iberians and Kelts. Some say that the Gallicians are atheists, but that the Keltiberians, and their neighbours to the north, [sacrifice] to a nameless god, every full moon, at night, before their doors, the whole family passing the night in dancing and festival. The Vettones, the first time they came to a Roman camp, and saw certain of the officers walking up and down the roads for the mere pleasure of walking, supposed that they were mad, and offered to show them the way to their tents. For they thought, when not fighting, one should remain quietly seated at ease.²

17. What Artemidorus relates concerning the adornment of certain of their women, must likewise be attributed to their barbarous customs. He says that they wear iron collars having crows fixed to them which bend over the head, and fall forward considerably over the forehead. When they wish they draw their veil over these crows, so as to shade the whole face: this they consider an ornament. Others wear a tympanium³ surrounding the occiput, and fitting tight to the head as far as the ears, turning over [and increasing] little by little in height and breadth. Others again make bald the front of the head, in order to display the forehead to greater advantage. Some twist their flowing hair round a small style, a foot high, and afterwards cover it with a black veil. Of singularities like these many have been observed and recorded as to all the Iberian nations in common, but

¹ Apuleius, Catullus, and Diodorus Siculus all speak of this singular custom.

² A note in the French edition says, "This surprise of the Vettones is nothing extraordinary. Amongst all barbarous nations, savages especially, the promenade is an unknown exercise. When roused by necessity or passion, they will even kill themselves with fatigue; at other times they remain in the most perfect inaction. The first thing which strikes a Turk on coming to any of the polished nations of Europe, is to see men promenading without any other aim but that of pleasure or health."

³ Head-dress shaped like a drum.

particularly those towards the north, not only concerning their bravery, but likewise their cruelty and brutal madness. For in the war against the Cantabrians, mothers have slain their children sooner than suffer them to be captured; and a young boy, having obtained a sword, slew, at the command of his father, both his parents and brothers, who had been made prisoners and were bound, and a woman those who had been taken together with her. A man being invited by a party of drunken [soldiers] to their feast, threw himself into a fire. These feelings are common both to the Keltic, Thracian, and Scythian nations, as well as the valour not only of their men, but likewise of their women. These till the ground,¹ and after parturition, having put their husbands instead of themselves to bed, they wait upon them. Frequently in their employment they wash and swathe their infants, sitting down by some stream. Posidonius tells us that in Liguria, his host Charmoleon, a man who came from Marseilles, related to him, that having hired some men and women to dig his land, one of the women was seized with the pains of labour, and going to a little distance from where they were at work, she brought forth, and returned immediately to her work, for fear she might lose her pay. He observed that she was evidently working in considerable pain, but was not aware of the cause till towards evening, when he ascertained it, and sent her away, having given her her wages. She then carried her infant to a small spring, and having washed it, wrapped it up in as good swaddling clothes as she could get, and made the best of her way home.

18. Another practice, not restricted to the Iberians alone, is for two to mount on one horse, so that in the event of a conflict, one may be there to fight on foot. Neither are they the only sufferers in being tormented with vast swarms of mice, from which pestilential diseases have frequently ensued. This occurred to the Romans in Cantabria, so that they caused it to be proclaimed, that whoever would catch the mice should receive rewards according to the number taken, and [even with this] they were scarcely preserved, as they were suffering besides from want of corn and other necessaries, it being difficult to get supplies of corn from Aquitaine on account of

¹ At the present day in Bilboa, the capital of Biscay, the women work far more than the men; they load and unload vessels, and carry on their heads burdens which require two men to place there.

the rugged nature of the country. It is a proof of the ferocity of the Cantabrians, that a number of them having been taken prisoners and fixed to the cross, they chanted songs of triumph. Instances such as these are proofs of the ferocity of their manners. There are others which, although not showing them to be polished, are certainly not brutish. For example, amongst the Cantabrians, the men give dowries to their wives, and the daughters are left heirs, but they procure wives for their brothers. These things indicate a degree of power in the woman, although they are no proof of advanced civilization.¹ It is also a custom with the Iberians to furnish themselves with a poison, which kills without pain, and which they procure from a herb resembling parsley. This they hold in readiness in case of misfortune, and to devote themselves for those whose cause they have joined, thus dying for their sake.²

¹ We must remark that so far from the dowry given by men to their wives being an evidence of civilization, it is a custom common amongst barbarous people, and indicative of nothing so much as the despotic power of the man over the wife. These dowries were generally a sum of money from the husband to the father of his intended, on the payment of which he acquired the same power over her as over a slave. Aristotle, speaking of the ancient Greeks, tells us expressly that they bought their wives, (*Polit.* ii. c. 8,) and observing that amongst barbarous nations women were always regarded in the same light as slaves, he cites the example of the Cyclopes, who exercised, according to Homer, sovereign authority over their families (*Odys.* i. ix. 114). This custom was so well established amongst the Greeks at the time of the poet, that he does not hesitate to introduce it amongst the gods (*Odys.* viii. 318). It was not unknown among the Jews, and Strabo, in his fifteenth book, tells us that the Indians bought their wives.

² Cæsar and Athenæus attribute this custom to the Gauls, and Valerius Maximus to the Keltiberians. Those men who attached themselves to the interests of any prince or famous personage, and who espoused all his quarrels, even devoting themselves to death on his account, are named by Athenæus *σιλοδοῦροι*, and by Cæsar *soldurii*. Speaking of 600 soldiers devoted in this manner to a Gaulish prince, named Adcantuannus, Cæsar (*l. iii. c. 22*) says, "Sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoriâ repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto ejus se amicitia devovisset, mori recusaret." Plutarch tells us that Sertorius had in his suite many thousand Iberians devoted to him. The following epitaph of these men, who, after the death of Sertorius, sacrificed themselves, being unwilling to survive him, was extracted by Swinburne from the *Annals of Catalonia*.

Hic multæ quæ se manibus
Q. Sertorii turmæ, et terræ
Mortalium omnium parenti
Devovere, dum, eo sublato,

19. Some, as I have said, state that this country is separated into four divisions; others, into five. It is not easy to state any thing precisely on these points, both on account of the changes which the places have undergone, and by reason of their obscurity. In well-known and notable countries both the migrations are known, and the divisions of the land, and the changes of their names, and every thing else of the same kind. Such matters being the common topics with everybody, and especially with the Greeks, who are more talkative than any other people. But in barbarous and out-of-the-way countries, and such as are cut up into small divisions, and lie scattered, the remembrance of such occurrences is not nearly so certain, nor yet so full. If these countries are far removed from the Greeks [our] ignorance is increased. For although the Roman historians imitate the Greeks, they fall far short of them. What they relate is taken from the Greeks, very little being the result of their own ardour in acquiring information. So that whenever any thing has been omitted by the former there is not much supplied by the latter. Add to this, that the names most celebrated are generally Grecian. Formerly the name of Iberia was given to the whole country between the Rhone and the isthmus formed by the two Galatic gulfs; whereas now they make the Pyrenees its boundary, and call it indifferently Iberia or Hispania; others have restricted Iberia to the country on this side the Ebro.¹ Still earlier it bore the name of the Igletes,² who inhabited but a small district, according to Asclepiades the Myrlean. The Romans call the whole indifferently Iberia and Hispania,

Superesse tæderet, et fortiter
Pugnando invicem cadere,
Morte ad præsens optata jacent.
Valete posteri.

For the appalling means they adopted to hold out the city of Calaguris to the last, see Valerius Maximus, lib. vii. cap. vi.

¹ The country between the Ebro and the Pyrenees.

² These Igletes are the same which Stephen of Byzantium names Gletes, and by an error of the copyist Tletes. Herodotus places them between the Cynetæ, and the Tartessians, and Theopompus in the neighbourhood of the Tartessians. The position between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, which Asclepiades the Myrlean thus gives them, supports the opinion of those who reckon that Rosas was founded by the Rhodians, and that the people of Marseilles did not settle there till afterwards; it is more than probable that the Igletes were nothing more than Iagnetes or Gnetes of the Isle of Rhodes.

but designate one portion of it Ulterior, and the other Citerior. However, at different periods they have divided it differently, according to its political aspect at various times.

20. At the present time some of the provinces having been assigned to the people and senate of the Romans, and the others to the emperor, Bætica appertains to the people, and a prætor has been sent into the country, having under him a quæstor and a lieutenant. Its eastern boundary has been fixed near to Castlon.¹ The remainder belongs to the emperor, who deposes two lieutenants, a prætor, and a consul. The prætor with a lieutenant administers justice amongst the Lusitanians, who are situated next Bætica, and extend as far as the outlets of the river Douro, for at the present time this district is called Lusitania by the inhabitants. Here is [the city of] Augusta Emerita.² What remains, which is [indeed] the greater part of Iberia, is governed by the consul, who has under him a respectable force, consisting of about three legions, with three lieutenants, one of whom with two legions guards the whole country north of the Douro, the inhabitants of which formerly were styled Lusitanians, but are now called Gallicians. The northern mountains, together with the Asturian and Cantabrian, border on these. The river Melsus³ flows through the country of the Asturians, and at a little distance is the city of Noïga,⁴ close to an estuary formed by the ocean, which separates the Asturians from the Cantabrians. The second lieutenant with the remaining legion governs the adjoining district as far as the Pyrenees. The third oversees the midland district, and governs the cities inhabited by the togati, whom we have before alluded to as inclined to peace, and who have adopted the refined manners and mode of life of the Italians, together with the toga. These are the Keltiberians, and those who dwell on either side of the Ebro, as far as the sea-coast. The consul passes the winter in the maritime districts, mostly administering justice

¹ Caslona.

² Merida.

³ Casaubon supposes that this is the river Ptolemy names Merus. Lopez, Geograf. de Estrabon, lib. iii. p. 232, thinks it the Narcea.

⁴ Pomponius Mela and Pliny coincide with Strabo in making this city belong to the Asturians; Ptolemy however describes it under the name of Noega Ucesia as pertaining to the Cantabrians. Some say it corresponds to the present Navia, others to Pravia. Groskurd reckons it Gajon, or Navia, or Santander.

either in [the city of] Carthage,¹ or Tarraco.² During the summer he travels through the country, observing whatever may need reform. There are also the procurators of the emperor, men of the equestrian rank, who distribute the pay to the soldiers for their maintenance.

CHAPTER V.

1. OF the islands which are situated in front of Iberia, two named the Pityussæ, and two the Gymnasiæ, (also called the Baleares,) are situated on the sea-coast between Tarraco and [the river] Xucar, on which Saguntum³ is built. The Pityussæ are situated farther in the high seas and more to the west than the Gymnasiæ. One of the Pityussæ is called Ebusus,⁴ having a city of the same name. This island is 400 stadia in circumference, and nearly equal in its breadth and length. The other, [named] Ophiussa, is situated near to this, but is desert, and much smaller. The larger⁵ of the Gymnasiæ contains two cities, Palma,⁶ and Polentia;⁷ the latter lying towards the east, the former towards the west. The length of this island is scarcely less than 600 stadia, its breadth 200; although Artemidorus asserts it is twice this size both in breadth and length.⁸ The smaller island⁹ is about [2]70 stadia distant from Polentia; in size it is far surpassed by the larger island, but in excellence it is by no means inferior, for both of them are very fertile, and furnished with harbours. At the mouths of these however there are rocks rising but a little out of the water, which renders attention necessary in entering them. The fertility of these places inclines the inhabitants to peace, as also the people of Ebusus. But certain

¹ Carthagena.

² Tarragona.

³ Murviedro.

⁴ Iviça.

⁵ Majorca.

⁶ Palma.

⁷ Pollença.

⁸ Gosselin observes that the greatest length of Majorca is 14 leagues and a half; its breadth at the narrowest part 8 leagues; and adds, that by confounding stadia of unequal value, Strabo makes Majorca a long narrow island, whereas in fact its form approaches nearer to that of a square.

⁹ Minorca.

malefactors, though few in number, having associated with the pirates in those seas, they all got a bad name, and Metellus, surnamed Balearicus, marched against them. He it was who built the cities. But owing to the great fertility of the country, these people have always had enemies plotting against them. Although naturally disposed to peace, they bear the reputation of being most excellent slingers, which art they have been proficient in since the time that the Phœnicians possessed the islands. It is said that these¹ were the first who introduced amongst the men [of the Balears] the custom of wearing tunics with wide borders. They were accustomed to go into battle naked, having a shield covered with goat-skin in their hand, and a javelin hardened by fire at the point, very rarely with an iron tip, and wearing round the head three slings of black rush,² hair, or sinew. The long sling they use for hitting at far distances, the short one for near marks, and the middle one for those between. From childhood they were so thoroughly practised in the use of slings, that bread was never distributed to the children till they had won it by the sling.³ On this account Metellus, when he was approaching the islands, spread pelts over the decks, as a shelter from the slings. He introduced [into the country] 3000 Roman colonists from Spain.

2. In addition to the fruitfulness of the land, noxious animals are rarely to be met with. Even the rabbits, they say, were not indigenous, but that a male and female having been introduced by some one from the opposite continent, from thence the whole stock sprung, which formerly was so great a nuisance that even houses and trees were overturned, [being undermined] by their warrens, and the inhabitants

¹ Viz. the Phœnicians.

² Immediately after the word *μελαγκραίνας*, which we have translated black rush, the text of our geographer runs on as follows: "resembling the schœnus, a species of rush from which cords are made. Philetas in his Mercury [says] 'he was covered with a vile and filthy tunic, and about his wretched loins was bound a strip of black rush, as if he had been girt with a mere schœnus.'" It is evident that this passage is the scholium of some ancient grammarian, and we have followed the example of the French editors in inserting it in a note, as it is a great impediment in the middle of Strabo's description of the equipment of the island warriors.

³ "Cibum puer a matre non accipit, nisi quem, ipsa monstrante, percussit." Florus, lib. iii. c. 8. The same thing is stated by Lycophron, v. 637, and Diodorus Siculus, l. v. c. 18.

were compelled, as we have related, to resort for refuge to the Romans. However, at the present day the facility with which these animals are taken, prevents them from doing injury, consequently those who possess land cultivate it with advantage. These [islands] are on this side of what are called the Pillars of Hercules.

3. Near to them are two small islands, one of which is called the Island of Juno: some call these the Pillars. Beyond the Pillars is Gades,¹ concerning which all that we have hitherto remarked is, that it is distant from Calpe² about 750 stadia, and is situated near to the outlet of the Guadalquiver.³ Notwithstanding there is much can be said about it. For its inhabitants equip the greatest number of ships, and the largest in size, both for our sea,⁴ and the exterior [ocean], although the island they inhabit is by no means large, nor yet do they possess much of the mainland, nor are masters of other islands. They dwell for the most part on the sea, only a few staying at home or passing their time in Rome. Still, in amount of population, their city does not seem to be surpassed by any with the exception of Rome. I have heard that in a census taken within our own times, there were enumerated five hundred citizens of Gades of the equestrian order, a number equalled by none of the Italian cities excepting that of the Patavini.⁵ However, notwithstanding their vast number, its inhabitants possess an island, in length⁶ not much above 100 stadia, and in some places only one stadium in breadth. Originally the city in which they dwelt was extremely small, but Balbus⁷ the Gaditanian, who received the honours of a

¹ Cadiz.

² The rock of Gibraltar.

³ This mouth of the Guadalquiver, opposite Cadiz, no longer exists.

⁴ The Mediterranean.

⁵ Padua.

⁶ "The length of the island of Leon, at the extremity of which the city of Cadiz is situated, is about 9500 toises, which are equivalent to 100 Olympic stadia." *Gosselin*.

⁷ L. Cornelius Balbus was a native of Cadiz, and descended from an illustrious family in that town. His original name probably bore some resemblance in sound to the Latin Balbus. Cadiz being one of the federate cities, supported the Romans in their war against Sertorius in Spain, and Balbus thus had an opportunity for distinguishing himself. He served under the Roman generals Q. Metellus Pius, C. Memmius, and Pompey, and was present at the battles of Turia and Sucro. He distinguished himself so much throughout the war, that Pompey conferred the Roman citizenship upon him, his brother, and his brother's sons

triumph, added another to it which they call the New Town. These two form the city of Didyme,¹ which is not above twenty stadia in circumference. In it, however, they are not pressed for room, because few live at home, the majority passing their lives on the sea, some too dwelling on the opposite continent, and particularly on a little island adjacent on account of its excellence. They have such a liking for this place as almost to have made it a rival city to Didyme. However, few in comparison inhabit either this or the sea-port which Balbus constructed for them on the opposite continent. Their city is situated in the western parts of the island. Near to it is the temple of Saturn, which terminates [Gades to the west], and is opposite the smaller island. The temple of Hercules is on the other side, to the east, where the island approaches nearest to the mainland, being only separated therefrom by a strait of a stadium [in breadth].² They say that this temple is twelve miles from the city, thus making the number of miles and the number of [Hercules'] labours equal: but this is too great, being almost equal to the length of the island. Now the length of the island runs from west to east.

4. Pherecydes appears to have given to Gades the name of Erythia, the locality of the myths concerning Geryon: others suppose it to have been the island situated near to this city, and separated from it by a strait of merely one stadium. This they do on account of the excellence of its pasturage.

and this act of Pompey was ratified by the law of the consuls, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Gellius, B. C. 72. It was probably in honour of these consuls that Balbus took the Gentile name of the one, and the prænomen of the other. It was for this Balbus that Cicero made the defence which has come down to us. The reason which induced Strabo to notice, as something remarkable, that Balbus had received the honours of a triumph, we learn from Pliny, who, noticing the victories which he had gained over the Garamantes and other nations of Africa, tells us he was the only person of foreign extraction who had ever received the honour of a triumph. "Omnia armis Romanis superata et a Cornelio Balbo triumphata, uni huic omnium externo curru et Quiritium jure donato." Plin. lib. v. c. 5. Solinus likewise says of him, (cap. xxix. p. 54,) "Primus sane de externis, utpote Gadibus genitus accessit ad gloriam nominis triumphalis."

¹ This word signifies "The Twins."

² Gosselin says, the temple of Saturn appears to have stood on the site of the present church of S. Sebastian, and that of Hercules at the other extremity of the island on the site of St. Peter's.

For the milk of the cattle which feed there does not yield any whey, and they are obliged to mix it with large quantities of water when they make cheese on account of its richness. After fifty days the beasts [pasturing there] would be choked unless they were let blood. The pasturage of the country is dry, but it fattens wonderfully: and it is thought that from this the myth concerning the oxen of Geryon took its rise. The whole sea-shore however is possessed in common.¹

5. Concerning the foundation of Gades, the Gaditanians report that a certain oracle commanded the Tyrians to found a colony by the Pillars of Hercules. Those who were sent out for the purpose of exploring, when they had arrived at the strait by Calpe, imagined that the capes which form the strait were the boundaries of the habitable earth, as well as of the expedition of Hercules, and consequently they were what the oracle termed the Pillars. They landed on the inside of the straits, at a place where the city of the Exitani now stands. Here they offered sacrifices, which however not being favourable, they returned. After a time others were sent, who advanced about 1500² stadia beyond the strait, to an island consecrated to Hercules, and lying opposite to Onoba, a city of Iberia: considering that here were the Pillars, they sacrificed to the god, but the sacrifices being again unfavourable, they returned home. In the third voyage they reached Gades, and founded the temple in the eastern part of the island, and the city in the west. On this account some consider that the capes in the strait are the Pillars, others suppose Gades, while others again believe that they lie still farther, beyond Gades. There are also some who think that the Pillars are Calpe,³ and the mountain of Libya which is opposite, named Abilyx,⁴ and situated, according to Eratosthenes, amongst the Metagonians, a wandering race. Others fancy that they are two small islands near to the former, one of which is named the Island of Juno. Artemidorus speaks both of the Island of Juno and the temple there, but makes no mention either of mount Abilyx, or the nation of

¹ Groskurd supposes that we should here read, "[certain citizens of Cadiz have appropriated to themselves possessions in the interior of the island,] but the whole sea-shore is inhabited in common," that is, by shepherds who pastured the grounds in common.

² Gosselin shows that we ought to read 500 stadia in this place.

³ The rock of Gibraltar.

⁴ The Ape-mountain near Ceuta.

the Metagonians.¹ Some have transported hither the Planctæ and the Symplegades, supposing them to be the Pillars, which Pindar calls the Gates of Gades, when he says that they were the farthest limits at which Hercules arrived.² Dicæarchus, Eratosthenes, and Polybius, with most of the Grecians, represent the Pillars as being close to the strait, while the Iberians and Libyans place them at Gades, alleging that there is nothing at all resembling pillars close by the strait. Others pretend that they are the pillars of brass eight cubits high in the temple of Hercules at Gades, on which is inscribed the cost of erecting that edifice; and that the sailors coming there on the completion of their voyage and sacrificing to Hercules, rendered the place so famous that it came to be regarded as the termination of the land and sea. Posidonius thinks this view the most probable of all, and looks upon the oracle and the several expeditions as a Phœnician invention.³ As for the expeditions, what matters it whether any one should vehemently deny or credit the account, as neither the one nor the other would be inconsistent with reason: but the assertion that neither the little islands, nor yet the mountains, bear much resemblance to pillars, and that we should seek for pillars, strictly so called, [set up] either as the termination of the habitable earth, or of the expedition of Hercules, has at all events some reason in it; it being an ancient usage to set up such boundary marks. As for instance the small column which the inhabitants of Rhegium⁴ erected by the Strait of Sicily, which is indeed a little tower; and the tower called after Pelorus, which is situated opposite to this small column; also the structures called altars⁵ of the Philæni, about midway in the land between the Syrtes; likewise it is recorded, that a certain pillar was formerly erected on the Isthmus of Corinth, which the Ionians who took possession of Attica and Megaris when they were driven out of the Peloponnesus, and those who settled in the Peloponnesus, set up in common, and inscribed on the side next Megaris,

¹ The text is corrupt, but it is needless to go through all the emendations proposed.

² This passage of Pindar has not come down to us.

³ ψεύσμα Φοινικικόν, a proverbial mode of speaking, having its origin in the bad faith of the Phœnicians [*fides Punica*]

⁴ Regio.

⁵ Strabo, in his 17th book, gives a different locality to these altars.

“This is no longer Peloponnesus, but Ionia,”

and on the opposite,

“This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia.”

Alexander too erected altars as boundaries of his Indian campaign in those parts of the Indies he arrived at, which were situated farthest towards the east, in imitation of Hercules and Bacchus.¹ That this custom existed, then, cannot be doubted.

6. It is probable that the places themselves took the same name [as the monuments], especially after time had destroyed the boundary marks which had been placed there. For instance, at the present day the altars of the Philæni no longer exist, but the place itself bears that designation. Similarly they say that in India neither the pillars of Hercules or Bacchus are to be seen, nevertheless certain localities being described and pointed out to the Macedonians, they believed that those places were the pillars in which they discovered any trace either of the adventures of Bacchus or Hercules. In the instance before us, it is not improbable that they who first [visited these regions], set up boundary marks fashioned by the hand of man, such as altars, towers, and pillars, in the most remarkable situations, to indicate the farthest distance they had reached, (and straits, the surrounding mountains, and little islands, are indubitably the most remarkable situations for pointing out the termination or commencement of places,) and that after these human monuments had decayed, their names descended to the places [where they had stood]; whether that were the little islands or the capes forming the strait. This latter point it would not be easy now to determine; the name would suit either place, as they both bear some resemblance to pillars; I say bear some resemblance, because they are placed in such situations as might well indicate boundaries. Now this strait is styled a mouth, as well as many others, but the mouth is at the beginning to those sailing into the strait, and to those who are quitting it at the end. The little islands at the mouth having a contour easy to describe, and being remarkable, one might not improperly compare to pillars. In like manner the mountains overlooking the strait are promi-

¹ These were twelve altars, of fifty cubits each, erected to the twelve gods. *Vide* Diodorus Siculus, l. xvii. c. 95.

ment, resembling columns or pillars. So too Pindar might very justly have said, "The Gaditanian Gates," if he had in mind the pillars at the mouth; for these mouths are very similar to gates. On the other hand, Gades is not in a position to indicate an extremity, but is situated about the middle of a long coast forming a kind of gulf. The supposition that the pillars of the temple of Hercules in Gades are intended, appears to me still less probable. It seems most likely that the name was originally conferred not by merchants, but generals, its celebrity afterwards became universal, as was the case with the Indian pillars. Besides, the inscription recorded refutes this idea, since it contains no religious dedication, but a mere list of expenses; whereas the pillars of Hercules should have been a record of the hero's wonderful deeds, not of Phœnician expenditure.

7. Polybius relates that there is a spring within the temple of Hercules at Gades, having a descent of a few steps to fresh water, which is affected in a manner the reverse of the sea-tides, subsiding at the flow of the tide, and springing at the ebb. He assigns as the cause of this phenomenon, that air rises from the interior to the surface of the earth; when this surface is covered by the waves, at the rising of the sea, the air is deprived of its ordinary vents, and returns to the interior, stopping up the passages of the spring, and causing a want of water, but when the surface is again laid bare, the air having a direct exit liberates the channels which feed the spring, so that it gushes freely. Artemidorus rejects this explanation, and substitutes one of his own, recording at the same time the opinion of the historian Silanus; but neither one or other of their views seems to me worth relating, since both he and Silanus were ignorant in regard to these matters. Posidonius asserts that the entire account is false, and adds that there are two wells in the temple of Hercules, and a third in the city. That the smaller of the two in the temple of Hercules, if drawn from frequently, will become for a time exhausted, but that on ceasing to draw from it, it fills again: while in regard to the larger, it may be drawn from during the whole day; that it is true it becomes lower, like all other wells, but that it fills again during the night when drawing ceases. [He adds] that the ebb tide frequently happening to occur during the period of its re-filling, gave rise

to the groundless belief of the inhabitants as to its being affected in an opposite manner [to the tides of the ocean]. However it is not only related by him that it is a commonly believed fact, but we have received it from tradition as much referred to amongst paradoxes.¹ We have likewise heard that there are wells both within the city and also in the gardens without, but that on account of the inferiority of this water, tanks are generally constructed throughout the city for the supply of water: whether likewise any of these reservoirs give any signs of being affected in an opposite manner to the tides, we know not. If such be the case, the causes thereof should be received as amongst phenomena hard to be explained. It is likely that Polybius may have assigned the proper reason; but it is also likely that certain of the channels of the springs being damped outside become relaxed, and so let the water run out into the surrounding land, instead of forcing it along its ancient passage to the spring; and there will of course be moisture when the tide overflows.² But if, as Athenodorus asserts, the ebb and flow resemble the inspiration and expiration of the breath, it is possible that some of the currents of water which naturally have an efflux on to the surface of the earth, through various channels, the mouths of which we denominate springs and fountains, are by other channels drawn towards the depths of the sea, and raise it, so as to produce a flood-tide; when the expiration is sufficient, they leave off the course in which they are then flowing, and again revert to their former direction, when that again takes a change.³

8. I cannot tell how it is that Posidonius, who describes the Phœnicians as sagacious in other things, should here attribute

¹ The text is *ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις*, which Gosselin renders, "Les ouvrages qui traitent des choses merveilleuses."

² Strabo's argument is here so weak, that one can hardly believe it can have ever been seriously made use of.

³ This method of explaining the ebb and flow of the sea, by comparing it to the respiration of animals, is not so extraordinary, when we remember that it was the opinion of many philosophers that the universe was itself an animal. Pomponius Mela, (*De Situ Orbis*, lib. iii. c. 1,) speaking of the tides, says, "Neque adhuc satis cognitum est, anhelitune suo id mundus efficiat, retractamque cum spiritu regerat undam undique, si, ut doctioribus placet, unum (*lege* universum) animal est; an sint depressi aliqui specus, quo reciprocata maria residant, atque unde se rursus exuberantia attollant: an luna causas tantis meatibus præbeat."

to them folly rather than shrewdness. The sun completes his revolution in the space of a day and night, being a portion of the time beneath the earth, and a portion of the time shining upon it. Now he asserts that the motion of the sea corresponds with the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and experiences a diurnal, monthly, and annual change, in strict accordance with the changes of the moon. For [he continues] when the moon is elevated one sign of the zodiac¹ above the horizon, the sea begins sensibly to swell and cover the shores, until she has attained her meridian; but when that satellite begins to decline, the sea again retires by degrees, until the moon wants merely one sign of the zodiac from setting; it then remains stationary until the moon has set, and also descended one sign of the zodiac below the horizon, when it again rises until she has attained her meridian below the earth; it then retires again until the moon is within one sign of the zodiac of her rising above the horizon, when it remains stationary until the moon has risen one sign of the zodiac above the earth, and then begins to rise as before. Such he describes to be the diurnal revolution. In respect to the monthly revolution, [he says] that the spring-tides occur at the time of the new moon, when they decrease until the first quarter; they then increase until full moon, when they again decrease until the last quarter, after which they increase till the new moon; [he adds] that these increases ought to be understood both of their duration and speed. In regard to the annual revolution, he says that he learned from the statements of the Gaditanians, that both the ebb and flow tides were at their extremes at the summer solstice: and that hence he conjectured that they decreased until the [autumnal] equinox; then increased till the winter solstice; then decreased again until the vernal equinox; and [finally] increased until the summer solstice. But since these revolutions occur twice in the four-and-twenty hours, the sea rising twice and receding twice, and that regularly every day and night, how is it that the filling and failing of the well do not frequently occur during the ebb and flow of the tide? or if it be allowed that this does often occur, why does it not do so in the same proportion? and if it does so in the same proportion, how comes it that the Gaditanians are not

¹ Thirty degrees.

competent to observe what is of daily occurrence, while they are nevertheless competent to the observing of revolutions which occur but once in the year. That Posidonius himself credited these reports is evident from his own conjecture respecting the decrease and increase [of the sea] from solstice to solstice. However, it is not likely, being an observant people, that they should be ignorant of what actually occurred, whilst giving credit to imaginary phenomena.

9. Posidonius tells us that Seleucus, a native of the country next the Erythræan Sea,¹ states that the regularity and irregularity of the ebb and flow of the sea follow the different positions of the moon in the zodiac; that when she is in the equinoctial signs the tides are regular, but that when she is in the signs next the tropics, the tides are irregular both in their height and force; and that for the remaining signs the irregularity is greater or less, according as they are more or less removed from the signs before mentioned. Posidonius adds, that during the summer solstice and whilst the moon was full, he himself passed many days in the temple of Hercules at Gades, but could not observe any thing of these annual irregularities. However, about the new moon of the same month he observed at Ilipa² a great change in the reflux of the water of the Guadalquiver, as compared with previous flood-tides, in which the water did not rise half as high as the banks, and that then the water poured in so copiously, that the soldiers there dipped their supply without difficulty, although Ilipa is about 700 stadia from the sea. He says, that the plains next the sea were covered by the tides to a distance of 30³ stadia, and to such a depth as to form islands, while the basement of the temple in the enclosure dedicated to Hercules, and the top of the mole in front of the harbour of Gades, were not covered higher than 10 cubits, as observed by actual soundings; but if any one should add the double of that for the occasional risings of the tide which occur, [neither] thus would he be able to estimate the violence with which the full force of the high tide rushes over the plains. Posidonius informs us that this violence [of the tide] is common to all the coasts of Spain on the Atlantic,⁴ but what he

¹ The Persian Gulf.

² Alcolea.

³ Some MSS. read 50 stadia.

⁴ This is the sense of the text, *πᾶσαν τὴν κύκλῳ Ἰσπανικῆς*.

relates concerning the Ebro is unusual and peculiar to itself, for he says that it sometimes overflows after continued north winds, although there may have been neither rains nor snows. The cause of this [he supposes] to be the lake through which the Ebro flows, its waters being driven by the winds into the current of the river.¹

10. The same writer mentions a tree at Gades, which had boughs reaching to the ground; its sword-shaped leaves often measuring a cubit long, and four fingers broad. Also that about Carthagera there was a tree whose thorns produced a bark from which most beautiful stuffs were woven. As for the tree [he saw] at Gades, we ourselves have observed a similar in Egypt, so far as the inclination of the boughs is concerned, but with a differently shaped leaf, and producing no fruit, which according to him the other did. In Cappadocia there are stuffs made from thorns, but it is not a tree which produces the thorn from which the bark is taken, but a low plant; he also tells us of a tree at Gades, from which if a branch be broken off a milk will flow, and if the root be cut a red fluid runs. Thus much for Gades.

11. The Cassiterides are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean towards the north from the haven of the Artabri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast, and walking with staves, thus resembling the Furies we see in tragic representations.² They subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. Of the metals they have tin and lead; which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels. Formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gades, concealing the passage from every one; and when the Romans followed a certain

¹ We are not aware that the Ebro passes through any lake.

² This is probably a description of the appearance of the Druids. Tacitus, (Ann. lib. xiv. 30,) speaking of the consternation into which the Druids of Anglesey threw the Roman soldiers who had disembarked there, says, "Druidæque circum, preces diras, sublatis ad cœlum manibus, fundentes, novitate adspectus perculere milites, ut, quasi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent." Immediately before these words he thus describes the women, "Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, interkursantibus feminis in *modum furiarum*, quæ veste ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferebant.

ship-master, that they also might find the market, the ship-master of jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on those who followed him into the same destructive disaster ; he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the state the value of the cargo he had lost. The Romans nevertheless by frequent efforts discovered the passage, and as soon as Publius Crassus, passing over to them, perceived that the metals were dug out at a little depth, and that the men were peaceably disposed, he declared it to those who already wished to traffic in this sea for profit, although the passage was longer than that to Britain.¹ Thus far concerning Iberia and the adjacent islands.

¹ Viz. that the Cassiterides are farther removed from the coasts of Spain than the rest of the southern coasts of England.

BOOK IV.

GAUL.

SUMMARY.

The Fourth Book contains a description of the regions about Gaul, Spain, and the Alps on this side, towards Italy. Likewise of Britain, and of certain islands in the ocean which are habitable, together with the country of the barbarians, and the nations dwelling beyond the Danube.

CHAPTER I.

1. NEXT in order [after Iberia] comes Keltica beyond the Alps,¹ the configuration and size of which has been already mentioned in a general manner; we are now to describe it more particularly. Some divide it into the three nations of the Aquitani, Belgæ, and Keltæ.² Of these the Aquitani differ completely from the other nations, not only in their language but in their figure, which resembles more that of the Iberians than the Galatæ. The others are Galatæ in countenance, although they do not all speak the same language, but some make a slight difference in their speech; neither is their polity and mode of life exactly the same. These writers give the name of Aquitani and Keltæ to the dwellers near the Pyrenees, which are bounded by the Cevennes. For it has been stated that this Keltica is bounded on the west by the mountains of the Pyrenees, which extend to either sea, both the Mediterranean and the ocean; on the east by the Rhine, which is parallel to the Pyrenees; on the north by the ocean, from the northern extremities of the Pyrenees to the mouths

¹ Transalpine Gaul.

² Gaul is properly divided into the four grand divisions of the Narbonnaise, Aquitaine, Keltica, and Belgica. Strabo has principally copied Cæsar, who appears only to have divided Gaul into Aquitaine, Keltica, and Belgica. Cæsar however only speaks of the provinces he had conquered, and makes no mention of the Narbonnaise, which had submitted to the Romans before his time. Strabo seems to have thought that the Narbonnaise formed part of Keltica.

of the Rhine; on the south by the sea of Marseilles, and Narbonne, and by the Alps from Liguria to the sources of the Rhine. The Cevennes lie at right angles to the Pyrenees, and traverse the plains for about 2000 stadia, terminating in the middle near Lugdunum.¹ They call those people Aquitani who inhabit the northern portions of the Pyrenees, and the Cevennes extending as far as the ocean, and bounded by the river Garonne; and Keltæ, those who dwell on the other side of the Garonne, towards the sea of Marseilles and Narbonne, and touching a portion of the Alpine chain. This is the division adopted by divus Cæsar in his Commentaries.² But Augustus Cæsar, when dividing the country into four parts, united the Keltæ to the Narbonnaise; the Aquitani he preserved the same as Julius Cæsar, but added thereto fourteen other nations of those who dwelt between the Garonne and the river Loire,³ and dividing the rest into two parts, the one extending to the upper districts of the Rhine he made dependent upon Lugdunum, the other [he assigned]

¹ Lyons.

² The whole of this passage, says Gosselin, is full of mistakes, and it would seem that Strabo quoted from an inexact copy of Cæsar. To understand his meaning, we must remember that he supposed the Pyrenees extended from north to south, instead of from east to west; and since he adds that these mountains divide the Cevennes at right angles, he must have supposed that this second chain extended from east to west, instead of from north to south. He likewise fancied that the Garonne, the Loire, and the Seine ran from north to south like the Rhine. Starting from such premises, it was impossible he could avoid confusion; thus we find him describing the Aquitani as north of the Cevennes, when in fact they dwelt north of the Pyrenees, between those mountains and the Garonne, and west of the southern portions of the Cevennes. Where he says that the Kelts dwelt on the other side or east of the Garonne, and towards the sea of Narbonne and Marseilles, it is clear that he prolonged Keltica into the Narbonnaise, since this last province extended along the Mediterranean from the frontiers of Spain to the Alps. Cæsar had stated that the Gauls (the Kelts of Strabo) *ipsorum lingua Keltæ, nostri Galli*, dwelt between the Garonne, the Seine, the Marne, and the Rhine. Finally, Strabo appears to have assigned the greater part of Gaul to the Belgæ in making them extend from the ocean, and the mouth of the Rhine, to the Alps. This considerably embarrassed Xylander, but as we have seen that Strabo transported a portion of the Kelts into the Narbonnaise, it is easy to imagine that, in order to make these people border on the Belgæ, he was forced to extend them as far as the Alps, near the sources of the Rhine. Cæsar located the Belgæ between the Seine, the ocean, and the Rhine.

³ Liger.

to the Belgæ. However, it is the duty of the Geographer to describe the physical divisions of each country, and those which result from diversity of nations, when they seem worthy of notice; as to the limits which princes, induced by a policy which circumstances dictate, have variously imposed, it will be sufficient for him to notice them summarily, leaving others to furnish particular details.

2. The whole of this country is irrigated by rivers descending from the Alps, the Cevennes, and the Pyrenees, some of which discharge themselves into the ocean, others into the Mediterranean. The districts through which they flow are mostly plains interspersed with hills, and having navigable streams. The course of these rivers is so happily disposed in relation to each other, that you may traffic from one sea to the other,¹ carrying the merchandise only a small distance, and that easily, across the plains; but for the most part by the rivers, ascending some, and descending others. The Rhone is pre-eminent in this respect, both because it communicates with many other rivers, and also because it flows into the Mediterranean, which, as we have said, is superior to the ocean,² and likewise passes through the richest provinces of Gaul. The whole of the Narbonnaise produces the same fruits as Italy. As we advance towards the north, and the mountains of the Cevennes, the plantations of the olive and fig disappear, but the others remain. Likewise the vine, as you proceed northward, does not easily mature its fruit. The entire of the remaining country produces in abundance corn, millet, acorns, and mast of all kinds. No part of it lies waste except that which is taken up in marshes and woods, and even this is inhabited. The cause of this, however, is rather a dense population than the industry of the inhabitants. For the women there are both very prolific and excellent nurses, while the men devote themselves rather to war than husbandry. However, their arms being now laid aside, they are compelled to engage in agriculture. These remarks apply generally to the whole of Transalpine Keltica. We must now describe particularly each of the four divisions,

¹ From the ocean to the Mediterranean, and vice versa.

² Alluding to the superiority of the climate on the shores of the Mediterranean.

which hitherto we have only mentioned in a summary manner. And, first, of the Narbonnaise.

3. The configuration of this country resembles a parallelogram, the western side of which is traced by the Pyrenees, the north by the Cevennes; as for the other two sides, the south is bounded by the sea between the Pyrenees and Marseilles, and the east partly by the Alps,¹ and partly by a line drawn perpendicularly from these mountains to the foot of the Cevennes, which extend towards the Rhone, and form a right angle with the aforesaid perpendicular drawn from the Alps. To the southern side of this parallelogram we must add the sea-coast inhabited by the Massilienses² and Salyes,³ as far as the country of the Ligurians, the confines of Italy, and the river Var. This river, as we have said before,⁴ is the boundary of the Narbonnaise and Italy. It is but small in summer, but in winter swells to a breadth of seven stadia. From thence the coast extends to the temple of the Pyrenæan Venus,⁵ which is the boundary between this province and Iberia. Some, however, assert that the spot where the Trophies of Pompey stand is the boundary between Iberia and Keltica. From thence to Narbonne is 63 miles; from Narbonne to Nemausus,⁶ 88; from Nemausus through Ugernum⁷ and Tarusco, to the hot waters called Sextiæ⁸ near Marseilles, 53;⁹ from thence to Antipolis and the river Var, 73; making in the total 277 miles. Some set down the distance from the temple of Venus to the Var at 2600 stadia; while others increase this number by 200 stadia; for there are different opinions as to these distances. As for the other road, which traverses the [coun-

¹ We shall see in the course of this book, that under the name of Alps Strabo includes the different mountain-chains separated from the range of Alps properly so called. This accounts for his extending those mountains on the west as far as Marseilles, and on the east beyond Istria.

² The Marseillèse.

³ The Salyes inhabited Provence.

⁴ As Strabo has made no previous mention of this river, the words "as we have said before" are evidently interpolated.

⁵ This temple was built on Cape Creus, which on that account received the name of Aphrodisium. Many geographers confound this temple with the *portus Veneris*, the modern Vendres, which is at a short distance from Cape Creus.

⁶ Nîmes.

⁷ Beaucaire.

⁸ Aix.

⁹ Gosselin, who considers that the former numbers were correct, enters at some length on an argument to prove that these 53 miles were 62, and differs also in computing the succeeding numbers.

tries of the] Vocontii¹ and Cottius,² from Nemausus³ to Ugernum and Tarusco, the route is common; from thence [it branches off in two directions], one through Druentia and Caballio,⁴ to the frontiers of the Vocontii and the commencement of the ascent of the Alps, which is 63 miles; the other is reckoned at 99 miles from the same point to the other extremity of the Vocontii, bordering on the state of Cottius, as far as the village of Ebrodunum.⁵ The distance is said to be the same by the route through the village of Brigantium,⁶ Scingomagus,⁷ and the passage of the Alps to Ocelum,⁸ which is the limit of the country of Cottius. However, it is considered to be Italy from Scingomagus. And Ocelum is 28 miles beyond this.

4. Marseilles, founded by the Phocæans,⁹ is built in a stony region. Its harbour lies beneath a rock, which is shaped like a theatre, and looks towards the south. It is well surrounded with walls, as well as the whole city, which is of considerable size. Within the citadel are placed the Ephesium and the temple of the Delphian Apollo. This latter temple is common to all the Ionians; the Ephesium is the temple consecrated to Diana of Ephesus. They say that when the Phocæans were about to quit their country, an oracle commanded them to take from Diana of Ephesus a conductor for their voyage. On arriving at Ephesus they therefore inquired how they might be able to obtain from the goddess what was enjoined them. The goddess appeared in a dream to Aristarcha, one of the most honourable women of the city, and commanded her to accompany the Phocæans, and to take with her a plan of the temple and statues.¹⁰ These things being performed, and the colony being settled, the Phocæans

¹ The cantons of Vaison and Die.

² Cottius possessed the present Briançonnais. That portion of the Alps next this canton took from this sovereign the name of the Cottian Alps. Cottius bore the title of king; and Augustus recognised his independence; he lived till the time of Nero, when his possessions became a Roman province.

³ Nîmes.

⁴ Durance and Cavaillon.

⁵ Embrun.

⁶ Briançon.

⁷ Sezanne, or perhaps Chamlat de Seguin.

⁸ Uxeau.

⁹ About 600 years before the Christian era.

¹⁰ Ἀφίδρουμά τι τῶν ἱερῶν. Gosselin gives a note on these words, and translates them in his text as follows, "one of the statues consecrated in her temple."

built a temple, and evinced their great respect for Aristarcha by making her priestess. All the colonies [sent out from Marseilles] hold this goddess in peculiar reverence, preserving both the shape of the image [of the goddess], and also every rite observed in the metropolis.

5. The Massilians live under a well-regulated aristocracy. They have a council composed of 600 persons called timuchi,¹ who enjoy this dignity for life. Fifteen of these preside over the council, and have the management of current affairs; these fifteen are in their turn presided over by three of their number, in whom rests the principal authority; and these again by one. No one can become a timuchus who has not children, and who has not been a citizen for three generations.² Their laws, which are the same as those of the Ionians, they expound in public. Their country abounds in olives and vines, but on account of its ruggedness the wheat is poor. Consequently they trust more to the resources of the sea than of the land, and avail themselves in preference of their excellent position for commerce. Nevertheless they have been enabled by the power of perseverance to take in some of the surrounding plains, and also to found cities: of this number are the cities they founded in Iberia as a rampart against the Iberians, in which they introduced the worship of Diana of Ephesus, as practised in their father-land, with the Grecian mode of sacrifice. In this number too are Rhoa³ [and] Agatha,⁴ [built for defence] against the barbarians dwelling around the river Rhone; also Tauroentium,⁵ Olbia,⁶ Antipolis⁷ and Nicæa,⁸ [built as a rampart] against the nation of the Salyes and the Ligurians who inhabit the Alps. They⁹ possess likewise dry docks and armouries. Formerly they had an abundance of vessels, arms, and machines, both for the purposes of navigation and for besieging towns; by means of which they defended themselves against the bar-

¹ *τιμῶχος*, literally, one having honour and esteem.

² We have seen no reason to depart from a literal rendering of the Greek in this passage, its meaning, "whose ancestors have not been citizens," &c., being self-evident.

³ This name has evidently been corrupted, but it seems difficult to determine what stood originally in the text; most probably it was Rhodanusia.

⁴ Agde.

⁵ Taurenti.

⁶ Eoube.

⁷ Antibes.

⁸ Nice.

⁹ The people of Marseilles.

barians, and likewise obtained the alliance of the Romans, to whom they rendered many important services; the Romans in their turn assisting in their aggrandizement. Sextius, who defeated the Salyes, founded, not far from Marseilles, a city¹ which was named after him and the hot waters, some of which they say have lost their heat.² Here he established a Roman garrison, and drove from the sea-coast which leads from Marseilles to Italy the barbarians, whom the Massilians were not able to keep back entirely. However, all he accomplished by this was to compel the barbarians to keep at a distance of twelve stadia from those parts of the coast which possessed good harbours, and at a distance of eight stadia where it was rugged. The land which they thus abandoned, he presented to the Massilians. In their city are laid up heaps of booty taken in naval engagements against those who disputed the sea unjustly. Formerly they enjoyed singular good fortune, as well in other matters as also in their amity with the Romans. Of this [amity] we find numerous signs, amongst others the statue of Diana which the Romans dedicated on the Aventine mount, of the same figure as that of the Massilians. Their prosperity has in a great measure decayed since the war of Pompey against Cæsar, in which they sided with the vanquished party. Nevertheless some traces of their ancient industry may still be seen amongst the inhabitants, especially the making of engines of war and ship-building. Still as the surrounding barbarians, now that they are under the dominion of the Romans, become daily more civilized, and leave the occupation of war for the business of towns and agriculture, there is no longer the same attention paid by the inhabitants of Marseilles to these objects. The aspect of the city at the present day is a proof of this. For all those who profess to be men of taste, turn to the study of elocution and philosophy. Thus this city for some little time back has become a school for the barbarians, and has communicated to the Galatæ such a taste for

¹ Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix.

² Solinus tells us that in his day the waters had lost their virtue, and that their fame had declined. "Quarum calor, olim acrior, exhalatus per tempora evaporavit; nec jam par est famæ priori." *Solin.* cap. 8. The victory of Sextius, mentioned by Strabo, is said to have been gained in the year of Rome 629.

Greek literature, that they even draw contracts on the Grecian model. While at the present day it so entices the noblest of the Romans, that those desirous of studying resort thither in preference to Athens. These the Galatæ observing, and being at leisure on account of the peace, readily devote themselves to similar pursuits, and that not merely individuals, but the public generally; professors of the arts and sciences, and likewise of medicine, being employed not only by private persons, but by towns for common instruction. Of the wisdom of the Massilians and the simplicity of their life, the following will not be thought an insignificant proof. The largest dowry amongst them consists of one hundred gold pieces, with five for dress, and five more for golden ornaments. More than this is not lawful. Cæsar and his successors treated with moderation the offences of which they were guilty during the war, in consideration of their former friendship; and have preserved to the state the right of governing according to its ancient laws. So that neither Marseilles nor the cities dependent on it are under submission to the governors sent [into the Narbonnaise]. So much for Marseilles.

6. The mountains of the Salyes incline gently from west to north in proportion as they retire from the sea. The coast runs west, and extending a short distance, about 100 stadia, from Marseilles, it begins to assume the character of a gulf at a considerable promontory near to certain stone quarries, and extending to the Aphrodisium, the headland which terminates the Pyrenees,¹ forms the Galatic Gulf,² which is also called the Gulf of Marseilles: it is double, for in its circuit Mount Setium³ stands out together with the island of Blascon,⁴ which is situated close to it, and separates the two gulfs. The larger of these is properly designated the Galatic Gulf, into which the Rhone discharges itself; the smaller is on the coast of Narbonne, and extends as far as the Pyrenees. Narbonne is situated above the

¹ The Cape de Creus, a promontory on which was the temple of the Pyrenæan Venus.

² The Gulf of Lyons.

³ The Cape de Cette.

⁴ Gosselin says, "The Island of Blascon is a rock opposite Agde, on which remains a fortified castle, which preserves the name of Brescon. This rock has been connected with the mainland, to form the port of Agde."

outlets of the Aude¹ and the lake of Narbonne.² It is the principal commercial city on this coast. On the Rhone is Arelate,³ a city and emporium of considerable traffic. The distance between these two cities is nearly equal to that which separates them from the aforesaid promontories, namely, Narbonne from the Aphrodisium, and Arelate from the cape of Marseilles. There are other rivers besides which flow on either side of Narbonne, some from the Cevennes, others from the Pyrenees. Along these rivers are situated cities having but little commerce, and that in small vessels. The rivers which proceed from the Pyrenees, are the Tet⁴ and the Tech;⁵ two cities⁶ are built on them, which bear respectively the same name as the rivers. There is a lake near to Rusci-
no,⁷ and a little above the sea a marshy district full of salt-springs, which supplies "dug mullets," for whoever digs two or three feet and plunges a trident into the muddy water, will be sure to take the fish, which are worthy of consideration on account of their size; they are nourished in the mud like eels. Such are the rivers which flow from the Pyrenees between Narbonne and the promontory on which is built the temple of Venus. On the other side of Narbonne the following rivers descend from the Cevennes into the sea. The Aude,⁸ the Orbe,⁹ and the Rauraris.¹⁰ On one of these¹¹ is situated the strong city of Bætera,¹² near to Narbonne; on the other Agatha,¹³ founded by the people of Marseilles.

7. Of one marvel of this sea-coast, namely the "dug mullets," we have already spoken; we will now mention another, even more surprising. Between Marseilles and the outlets of the Rhone there is a circular plain, about 100 stadia distant

¹ *Αταξ.

² At the present day Narbonne is not situated on the Aude, the course of that river being changed. The lake of Narbonne, mentioned by Strabo, is not the present lake of Narbonne, but the lake of Rubine.

³ Arles. ⁴ 'Ρουσκίνων. ⁵ ὁ Ἰλίξιρρις.

⁶ Viz. Ruscino, now superseded by Perpignan on the Tet; and Ilibirris, now Elne on the Tech.

⁷ "This ancient city," says Gosselin, "no longer exists, with the exception of an old tower, scarcely a league from Perpignan, which still bears the name of the Tower of Roussillon.

⁸ This river does not rise in the Cevennes, but in the Pyrenees.

⁹ *Ορβις. ¹⁰ This name is evidently corrupt; the *Arauris* of Mela and Ptolemy (the modern Herault) is probably intended.

¹¹ The Orbe.

¹² Beziers.

¹³ Agde.

from the sea, and about 100 stadia in diameter. It has received the name of the Stony Plain, from the circumstance of its being covered with stones the size of the fist, from beneath which an abundant herbage springs up for the pasturage of cattle. In the midst of it are water, salt-springs, and salt. The whole both of this district and that above it is exposed to the wind, but in this plain the black north,¹ a violent and horrible wind, rages especially: for they say that sometimes the stones are swept and rolled along, and men hurled from their carriages and stripped both of their arms and garments by the force of the tempest. Aristotle tells us that these stones being cast up by the earthquakes designated *brastai*,² and falling on the surface of the earth, roll into the hollow places of the districts; but Posidonius, that the place was formerly a lake, which being congealed during a violent agitation, became divided into numerous stones, like river pebbles or the stones by the sea-shore, which they resemble both as to smoothness, size, and appearance. Such are the causes assigned by these two [writers]; however, neither of their opinions is credible,³ for these stones could neither have thus accumulated of themselves, nor yet have been formed by congealed moisture, but necessarily from the fragments of large stones shattered by frequent convulsions. Æschylus having, however, learnt of the difficulty of accounting for it, or having been so informed by another, has explained it away as a myth. He makes Prometheus utter the following, whilst directing Hercules the road from the Caucasus to the Hesperides:

“There you will come to the undaunted army of the Ligurians, where, resistless though you be, sure am I you will not worst them in battle; for it is fated that there your darts shall fail you; nor will you be able to take up a stone from the ground, since the country consists of soft mould; but Jupiter, beholding your distress, will compassionate you, and overshadowing the earth with a cloud, he will cause it to hail round stones, which you hurling against the Ligurian army, will soon put them to flight!”⁴

Posidonius asks, would it not have been better to have

¹ The French *bise*.

² *βράσται σεισμοί*, earthquakes attended with a violent fermentation.

³ The text has, “both of their opinions are credible,” (*πιθανός μὲν οὖν ὁ παρ’ ἀμφοῖν λόγος*), but this is discountenanced by the whole sentence.

⁴ From the “Prometheus Loosed,” which is now lost.

rained down these stones upon the Ligurians themselves, and thus have destroyed them all, than to make Hercules in need of so many stones? As for the number, they were necessary against so vast a multitude; so that in this respect the writer of the myth seems to me deserving of more credit than he who would refute it. Further, the poet, in describing it as fated, secures himself against such fault-finding. For if you dispute Providence and Destiny, you can find many similar things both in human affairs and nature, that you would suppose might be much better performed in this or that way; as for instance, that Egypt should have plenty of rain of its own, without being irrigated from the land of Ethiopia. That it would have been much better if Paris had suffered shipwreck on his voyage to Sparta, instead of expiating his offences after having carried off Helen, and having been the cause of so great destruction both amongst the Greeks and Barbarians. Euripides attributes this to Jupiter:

“Father Jupiter, willing evil to the Trojans and suffering to the Greeks, decreed such things.”

8. As to the mouths of the Rhone, Polybius asserts that there are but two, and blames Timæus¹ for saying five. Artemidorus says that there are three. Afterwards Marius, observing that the mouth was becoming stopped up and difficult of entrance on account of the deposits of mud, caused a new channel to be dug, which received the greater part of the river into it.² This he gave to the people of Marseilles in recompense for their services in the war against the Ambrones and Toygeni.³ This canal became to them a source of much revenue, as they levied a toll from all those who sailed up or down it: notwithstanding, the entrance [to the river] still continues difficult to navigate, on account of its great impetuosity, its deposits, and the [general] flatness of the country, so that in foul weather you cannot clearly discern the land

¹ The historian, son of Andromachus.

² The mouths of the Rhone, like those of other impetuous rivers, are subject to considerable changes, and vary from one age to another. Ptolemy agrees with Polybius in stating that there are but two mouths to the Rhone, and those which he indicates are at the present day almost entirely filled up; the one being at Aigues-Mortes, the other the canal now called the Rhône-Mort.

³ Two Helvetian tribes who united themselves to the Cimbri to pass into Italy, and were defeated near Aix by Marius.

even when quite close. On this account the people of Marseilles, who wished by all means to inhabit the country, set up towers as beacons; they have even erected a temple to Diana of Ephesus on a piece of the land, which the mouths of the rivers have formed into an island. Above the outlets of the Rhone is a salt-lake which they call Stomalimnè.¹ It abounds in shell and other fish. There are some who enumerate this amongst the mouths of the Rhone, especially those who say that it has seven² mouths. But in this they are quite mistaken; for there is a mountain between, which separates the lake from the river. Such then is the disposition and extent of the coast from the Pyrenees to Marseilles.

9. The [coast] which extends from this [last city] to the river Var, and the Ligurians who dwell near it, contains the Massilian cities of Tauroentium,³ Olbia,⁴ Antipolis,⁵ Nicæa,⁶ and the sea-port of Augustus Cæsar, called Forum Julium,⁷ which is situated between Olbia and Antipolis, and distant from Marseilles about 600 stadia. The Var is between Antipolis and Nicæa; distant from the one about 20 stadia, from the other about 60; so that according to the boundary now marked Nicæa belongs to Italy, although it is a city of the people of Marseilles, for they built these cities [as a defence] against the barbarians who dwelt higher up the country, in order to maintain the sea free, as the barbarians possessed the land. For this [region] is mountainous and fortified by nature, leaving however a considerable extent of plain country near Marseilles; but as you proceed towards the east the country is so hemmed in by the mountains, as scarcely to leave a sufficient road for passage by the sea-shore. The former districts are inhabited by the Salyes,⁸ the latter by the Ligurians, who border on Italy, of whom we shall speak afterwards. It should here be mentioned, that although Antipolis is situated in the Narbonnaise, and Nicæa in Italy, this latter is dependent on Marseilles, and forms part of that province; while

¹ Now l'étang de Berre or de Martigues.

² The French editors propose to read here five mouths, thus referring to the opinion of Timæus. This, Kramer observes, Strabo probably intended to do. Still, as there were some who were of opinion the Rhone has seven mouths, as appears from Apoll. Rhod. Argonaut. iv. 634, he did not venture to touch the text.

³ Taurenti. ⁴ Eoube. ⁵ Antibes. ⁶ Nice. ⁷ Fréjus.

⁸ Inhabitants of Provence.

Antipolis is ranked amongst the Italian cities, and freed from the government of the Marseillse by a judgment given against them.

10. Lying off this narrow pass along the coast, as you commence your journey from Marseilles, are the Stœchades islands.¹ Three of these are considerable, and two small. They are cultivated by the people of Marseilles. Anciently they contained a garrison, placed here to defend them from the attacks of pirates, for they have good ports. After the Stœchades come [the islands of] Planasia² and Lero,³ both of them inhabited. In Lero, which lies opposite to Antipolis, is a temple erected to the hero Lero. There are other small islands not worth mentioning, some of them before Marseilles, others before the rest of the coast which I have been describing. As to the harbours, those of the seaport [of Forum-Julium]⁴ and Marseilles are considerable, the others are but middling. Of this latter class is the port Oxybius,⁵ so named from the Oxybian Ligurians.—This concludes what we have to say of this coast.

11. The country above this is bounded principally by the surrounding mountains and rivers. Of these the Rhone is the most remarkable, being both the largest, and capable of being navigated farther than any of the others, and also receiving into it a greater number of tributaries; of these we must speak in order. Commencing at Marseilles, and proceeding to the country between the Alps and the Rhone, to the river Durance, dwell the Salyes for a space of 500 stadia. From thence you proceed in a ferry-boat to the city of Caballio;⁶ beyond this the whole country belongs to the Cavari as far as the junction of the Isère with the Rhone; it is here too that the Cevennes approach the Rhone. From the Durance to this point is a distance of 700 stadia.⁷ The Salyes occupy the plains and mountains above these. The Vocontii, Tricorii, Iconii, and Medylli, lie above the Cavari.⁸ Between the Durance and the Isère there are other rivers which flow

¹ Les Isles d' Hières, a row of islands off Marseilles.

² Isle St. Honorat.

³ Isle Ste. Marguerite.

⁴ Fréjus.

⁵ Between the river d' Argents and Antibes.

⁶ Cavaillon.

⁷ From the mouth of the Durance to the mouth of the Isère, following the course of the Rhone, the distance is 24 leagues, or 720 Olympic stadia.

⁸ The Vocontii occupied the territories of Vaison and Die. The Tricorii appear to have inhabited a small district east of Die, on the

from the Alps into the Rhone; two of these, after having flowed round the city of the Cavari, discharge themselves by a common outlet into the Rhone. The Sulgas,¹ which is the third, mixes with the Rhone near the city of Vindalum,² where Cnæus Ænobarbus in a decisive engagement routed many myriads of the Kelts. Between these are the cities of Avenio,³ Arausio,⁴ and Aëria,⁵ which latter, remarks Artemidorus, is rightly named aërial, being situated in a very lofty position. The whole of this country consists of plains abounding in pasturage, excepting on the route from Aëria to Avenio, where there are narrow defiles and woods to traverse. It was at the point where the river Isère and the Rhone unite near the Cevennes, that Quintus Fabius Maximus Æmilianus,⁶ with scarcely 30,000 men, cut to pieces 200,000 Kelts.⁷ Here he erected a white stone as a trophy, and two temples, one to Mars, and the other to Hercules. From the Isère to Vienne, the metropolis of the Allobroges, situated on the Rhone, the distance is 320 stadia. Lugdunum⁸ is a little above Vienne at the confluence of the Saone⁹ and the Rhone. The distance by land [from this latter city] to Lugdunum, passing through the country of the Allobroges, is about 200 stadia, and rather more by water. Formerly the Allobroges engaged in war, their armies consisting of many myriads; they now occupy themselves in cultivating the plains and valleys of the Alps. They dwell generally in villages, the most notable of them inhabiting Vienne, which was merely a village, although called the metropolis of their nation; they have now improved and embellished it as a city; it is situated on the Rhone. So full and rapid is the descent of this river from the Alps, that the flow of its waters through Lake Lemman may be distinguished for many stadia. Having descended into the plains of the countries of the Allobroges, and Segusii, it falls into the Saone, near to Lugdunum, a city of the Segusii.¹⁰ The banks of the Drac. The Iconii were to the east of Gap; and the Medylli in La Maurienne, along the Aar.

¹ The Sorgue.² Vedene.³ Avignon.⁴ Orange.⁵ Le mont Ventoux.⁶ Casaubon remarks that Æmilianus is a name more than this Roman general actually possessed.⁷ Livy states that 120,000 Kelts were slain, and Pliny, 130,000.⁸ Lyons. ⁹ *Arap.¹⁰ The Allobroges and Segusii were separated by the Rhone; the former inhabiting the left bank of the river.

Saone rises in the Alps,¹ and separates the Sequani, the Ædui, and the Lincasii.² It afterwards receives the Doubs, a navigable river which rises in the same mountains,³ still however preserving its own name, and consisting of the two, mingles with the Rhone. The Rhone in like manner preserves its name, and flows on to Vienne. At their rise these three rivers flow towards the north, then in a westerly direction, afterwards uniting into one they take another turn and flow towards the south, and having received other rivers, they flow in this direction to the sea. Such is the country situated between the Alps and the Rhone.

12. The main part of the country on the other side of the Rhone is inhabited by the Volcæ, surnamed Arecomisci. Their naval station is Narbonne, which may justly be called the emporium of all Gaul, as it far surpasses every other in the multitude of those who resort⁴ to it. The Volcæ border on the Rhone, the Salyes and Cavari being opposite to them on the other side of the river. However, the name of the Cavari has so obtained, that all the barbarians inhabiting near now go by that designation; nay, even those who are no longer barbarians, but follow the Roman customs, both in their speech and mode of life, and some of those even who have adopted the Roman polity. Between the Arecomisci and the Pyrenees there are some other small and insignificant nations. Nemausus⁵ is the metropolis of the Arecomisci; though far inferior to Narbonne both as to its commerce, and the number of foreigners attracted thither, it surpasses that city in the number of its citizens; for it has under its dominion four and twenty different villages all well inhabited, and by the same people, who pay tribute; it likewise enjoys the rights of the Latin towns, so that in Nemausus you meet with Roman citizens who have obtained the honours of the ædile and quæstorship, wherefore this nation is not subject to the orders issued by the prætors from Rome. The city is situated on

¹ The Saone rises in the Vosges.

² These people are elsewhere called by Strabo Lingones, the name by which they are designated by other writers.

³ The Doubs rises in the Jura, not in the Alps. Ptolemy falls into the same mistake as Strabo.

⁴ We have here followed the proposed correction of Ziegler.

⁵ Nîmes.

the road from Iberia to Italy; this road is very good in the summer, but muddy and overflowed by the rivers during winter and spring. Some of these streams are crossed in ferry-boats, and others by means of bridges constructed either of wood or stone. The inundations which destroy the roads are caused by the winter torrents, which sometimes pour down from the Alps even in summer-time after the melting of the snows. To perform the route before mentioned, the shortest way is, as we have said, across the territory of the Vocontii direct to the Alps; the other, along the coast of Marseilles and Liguria, is longer, although it offers an easier passage into Italy, as the mountains are lower. Nemausus is about 100 stadia distant from the Rhone, situated opposite to the small town of Tarascon, and about 720 stadia from Narbonne. The Tectosages,¹ and certain others whom we shall mention afterwards, border on the range of the Cevennes, and inhabit its southern side as far as the promontory of the Volcæ. Respecting all the others we will speak hereafter.

13. But the Tectosages dwell near to the Pyrenees, bordering for a small space the northern side of the Cevennes;² the land they inhabit is rich in gold. It appears that formerly they were so powerful and numerous, that dissensions having arisen amongst them, they drove a vast multitude of their number from their homes; and that these men associating with others of different nations took possession of Phrygia, next to Cappadocia, and the Paphlagonians. Of this those who are now called the Tectosages afford us proof, for [Phrygia contains] three nations, one of them dwelling near to the city of Ancyra,³ being called the Tectosages; the remaining two, the Trocmi and Tolistobogii.⁴ The resemblance these nations bear to the Tectosages is evidence of their having immigrated from Keltica, though we are unable to say from which district they came, as there does not appear to be any people at the present time bearing the name of Trocmi or Tolistobogii, who in-

¹ This name is written diversely, Tectosages, Tectosagæ, and Tectosagi. It appears to be composed of the two Latin words, "tectus," covered, and "sagum," a species of cassock.

² Viz. between Lodève and Toulouse; we must remember that Strabo supposed the chain of the Cevennes to run west and east.

³ Angora.

⁴ These three nations inhabited Galatia, of which Ancyra was the capital.

habit either beyond the Alps, the Alps themselves, or on this side the Alps. It would seem that continual emigration has drained them completely from their native country, a circumstance which has occurred to many other nations, as some say that the Brennus, who led an expedition to Delphi,¹ was a leader of the Prausi; but we are unable to say where the Prausi formerly inhabited. It is said that the Tectosages took part in the expedition to Delphi, and that the treasures found in the city of Toulouse by the Roman general Cæpio formed a portion of the booty gained there, which was afterwards increased by offerings which the citizens made from their own property, and consecrated in order to conciliate the god.² And that it was for daring to touch these that Cæpio terminated so miserably his existence, being driven from his country as a plunderer of the temples of the gods, and leaving behind him his daughters, who, as Timagenes informs us, having been wickedly violated, perished miserably. However, the account given by Posidonius is the more credible. He tells us that the wealth found in Toulouse amounted to somewhere about 15,000 talents, a part of which was hidden in the chapels, and the remainder in the sacred lakes, and that it was not coined [money], but gold and silver in bullion. But at this time the temple of Delphi was emptied of these treasures, having been pillaged by the Phocæans at the period of the Sacred war; and supposing any to have been left, it would have been distributed amongst many. Nor is it probable that the Tectosages returned home, since they came off miserably after leaving Delphi, and owing to their dissensions were scattered here and there throughout the country; there is much more likelihood in the statement made by Posidonius and many others, that the country abounding in gold, and the inhabitants being superstitious, and not living expensively, they hid their treasures in many different places, the lakes in particular affording them a hiding-place for depositing their gold and silver bullion. When the Romans obtained possession of the country they put up these lakes to public sale, and many of the purchasers found therein

¹ 279 years before the Christian era.

² Justin tells us that the Tectosages on returning to Toulouse from the expedition, were attacked with a pestilential malady, from which they could find no relief until they complied with the advice of their augurs, and cast the ill-gotten wealth into a lake. Justin, lib. xxxii. c. 3.

solid masses of silver. In Toulouse there was a sacred temple, held in great reverence by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and on this account loaded with riches, inasmuch as there were many who offered gifts, and no one dared to touch them.

14. Toulouse is situated upon the narrowest part of the isthmus which separates the ocean from the sea of Narbonne; the breadth of the [isthmus], according to Posidonius, being less than 3000 stadia. The perfect similarity maintained throughout this country both in respect to its rivers, and to the exterior and interior sea,¹ appears to us worthy of especial notice, as we have said before. This, on reflection, will prove to be one main cause of the excellence of this country, since the inhabitants are enabled mutually to communicate, and to procure from each other the necessaries of life; this is peculiarly the case at the present time, when on account of their leisure from war they are devoting themselves to agriculture and the pursuits of social life. In this we are persuaded that we behold the work of Providence; such a disposition of these regions not resulting from chance, but from the thought of some [intelligence]. The Rhone, for instance, is navigable to a considerable distance for vessels of heavy burden, which it is capable of transmitting through various districts of the country by means of other rivers which fall into it, and are likewise fitted for the navigation of large vessels. To the Rhone succeeds the Saone,² and into this latter river falls the Doubs; thence the merchandise is carried by land to the river Seine; whence it is transported to the ocean and the [countries of the] Lexovii and Caleti,³ the distance thence to Britain being less than a day's journey. The navigation of the Rhone being difficult on account of the rapidity of its current, the merchants prefer to transport in waggons certain of their wares, which are destined for the Arverni,⁴ and the river Loire,⁵ notwithstanding the vicinity of the Rhone in some places, but the road being level and the distance not far, (about 800 stadia,) they do not make use of water carriage on account of the

¹ The Atlantic and Mediterranean.

² "Αραρ.

³ The Lexovii inhabited the southern banks of the Seine, Lizieux was anciently their capital. The Caleti occupied the opposite side of the Seine, and the sea-coast as far as Tréport.

⁴ The inhabitants of Auvergne.

⁵ The ancient Liger.

facility of the transport by land, from thence the merchandise is easily conveyed by the Loire. This river flows from the Cevennes into the ocean. From Narbonne the voyage to the Aude¹ is short, but the journey by land to the river Garonne longer, being as much as 700 or 800 stadia. The Garonne likewise flows into the ocean. Such is what we have to say concerning the inhabitants of the Narbonnaise, who were formerly named Kelts. In my opinion the celebrity of the Kelts induced the Grecians to confer that name on the whole of the Galatæ; the vicinity of the Massilians may also have had something to do with it.²

CHAPTER II.

1. WE must now speak of the Aquitani and the fourteen Galatic nations pertaining to them, situated between the Garonne and the Loire, some of which extend to the river Rhone and the plains of the Narbonnaise. Generally speaking, the Aquitani may be said to differ from the Galatic race, both as to form of body and language, resembling more nearly the Iberians. They are bounded by the Garonne, and dwell between this river and the Pyrenees. There are above twenty nations which bear the name of Aquitani, small and obscure, the major part of them dwelling by the ocean, and the remainder in the interior and by the extremities of the Cevennes, as far as the Tectosages. This district, however, being too small, they added to it the territory between the Garonne and the Loire. These rivers are nearly parallel with the Pyrenees, and form with them two parallelograms, bounded on the remaining sides by the ocean and the mountains of the Cevennes.³ Both of these rivers are navigable for a distance

¹ *Araξ.

² The whole of Gaul bore the name of Keltica long before the Romans had penetrated into that country. After their conquest of the southern provinces, they distinguished them from the rest of Keltica by conferring on them the name of Gallia Narbonensis. Aristotle gave the name of Kelts to the inhabitants of the country near Narbonne. Polybius tells us that the Pyrenees separated the Iberians from the Kelts; while Diodorus Siculus fixed the position of the Kelts between the Alps and the Pyrenees.

³ "Strabo," says Gosselin, "always argues on the hypothesis that the

of about 2000 stadia.¹ The Garonne, after being augmented by three other rivers,² discharges itself into the [ocean] between the [country] of the Bituriges, surnamed the Vivisci,³ and that of the Santoni;⁴ both of them Gallic nations.

The Bituriges are the only foreign people who dwell among the Aquitani without forming a part of them. Their emporium is Burdegala,⁵ situated on a creek formed by the outlets of the river. The Loire discharges itself between the Pictones and the Namnetæ.⁶ Formerly there was an emporium on this river named Corbilon, mentioned by Polybius when speaking of the fictions of Pytheas. "The Marseillse, [says he,] when interrogated by Scipio⁷ at their meeting, had nothing to tell about Britain worth mentioning, nor yet had the people of the Narbonnaise, nor those of Corbilon; notwithstanding these were the two principal cities of the district, Pytheas alone dared to forge so many lies [concerning that island]." Mediolanium⁸ is the capital of the Santoni. The part of Aquitaine next the ocean is for the most part sandy and meagre, producing millet, but barren of all other fruits. Here is the gulf which, with that on the coast of Narbonne, forms the isthmus. Both these gulfs⁹ go by the name of the Galatic gulf. The former gulf belongs to the Tarbelli.¹⁰ These people possess the richest gold mines; masses of gold as big as the fist can contain, and requiring hardly any purifying,

Pyrenees run from south to north; that the Garonne and the Loire flowed in the same direction; that the Cevennes stretched from west to east; and that the coasts of Gaul, from the Pyrenees, rose gently towards the north, bending considerably east."

¹ The Garonne becomes navigable at Cazères near to Rieux, in the ancient Comté de Comminges. From this point to its mouth, following the sinuosities of the river, there are about 68 leagues of 20 to a degree, or 2030 Olympic stadia. The Loire is navigable as far as St. Rambert, about three leagues from St. Etienne-en-Foréz, that is to say, double the distance assigned by Strabo. 2000 stadia measured from the mouth of the Loire would extend merely as far as Orleans.

² Probably the Arriége, the Tarn, and the Dordogne.

³ Ἴοσκῶν MSS.

⁴ The present Saintes was the capital of this nation. ⁵ Bordeaux.

⁶ Poitiers was the capital of the Pictones or Pictavi, and Nantes of the Namnetæ.

⁷ Scipio Æmilianus. ⁸ Saintes.

⁹ The Gulfs of Gascony and Lyons.

¹⁰ The Tarbelli occupied the sea-coast from the Pyrenees to the Lake of Arcachon.

being found in diggings scarcely beneath the surface of the earth, the remainder consisting of dust and lumps, which likewise require but little working. In the interior and mountainous parts [of Aquitaine] the soil is superior; for instance, in the district near the Pyrenees belonging to the *Convenæ*,¹ which name signifies people assembled from different countries to dwell in one place. Here is the city of *Lugdunum*,² and the hot springs of the *Onesii*,³ which are most excellent for drinking. The country of the *Auscii*⁴ likewise is fine.

2. The nations between the Garonne and the Loire annexed to the Aquitani, are the *Elui*,⁵ who commence at the Rhone. After these the *Vellæi*,⁶ who were formerly comprehended amongst the *Arverni*,⁷ but now form a people to themselves. After these *Arverni* come the *Lemovices*,⁸ and *Petrocorii*,⁹ and after them the *Nitiobriges*,⁹ the *Cadurci*,⁹ and the *Bituriges*,⁹ surnamed *Cubi*. Along the ocean we meet with the *Santoni*, and *Pictones*,¹⁰ the former dwelling by the Garonne, as we have stated, and the latter by the Loire. The *Ruteni* and the *Gabales*¹¹ are in the vicinity of the *Narbonnaise*. The *Petrocorii* and *Bituriges-Cubi* possess excellent iron-works, the *Cadurci* linen-factories, and the *Ruteni* silver-mines: the *Gabales* likewise possess silver-mines. On certain amongst the Aquitani the Romans have conferred the rights of Latin cities; such for instance as the *Auscii*, and the *Convenæ*.

3. The *Arverni* are situated along the Loire. *Nemossus*, their metropolis, is built on the same river.¹² This river having flowed past *Genabum*,¹³ an emporium of the *Carnutes*,¹⁴ situated about the middle of its course, discharges itself into the ocean. A great proof of the former power of the *Arverni*, is the fact of the frequent wars which they sustained against the Romans,

¹ The Canton of Comminges.

² St. Bertrand.

³ Xylander thinks that these *Onesii* may be identical with the *Monesi* of Pliny. Gosselin says that the hot springs are probably the baths of *Bagnières-sur-l'Adour*.

⁴ The territory of the city of Auch.

⁵ The inhabitants of Vivarais.

⁶ The inhabitants of Vélai.

⁷ The inhabitants of Auvergne.

⁸ The Limousins.

⁹ The inhabitants of Périgord, Agénois, Querci, and Berri.

¹⁰ The inhabitants of Saintonge and Poitou.

¹¹ The inhabitants of Rouergue and Gévaudan.

¹² Gosselin supposes that this city is Clermont in Auvergne at some distance from the Allier.

¹³ Orleans.

¹⁴ The people of the Chartrain.

sometimes with armies of 200,000 men, and sometimes with double that number, which was the amount of their force when they fought against *divus Cæsar* under the command of *Vercingetorix*.¹ Before this they had brought 200,000 men against *Maximus Æmilianus*, and the same number against *Domitius Ænobarbus*. Their battles with *Cæsar* took place, one in *Gergovia*,² a city of the *Arverni* situated on a lofty mountain, the birth-place of *Vercingetorix*; the other, near to *Alesia*,³ a city of the *Mandubii*, who border on the *Arverni*; this city is likewise situated on a high hill, surrounded by mountains, and between two rivers. Here the war was terminated by the capture of their leader. The battle with *Maximus Æmilianus* was fought near the confluence of the *Isère* and the *Rhone*, at the point where the mountains of the *Cevcnes* approach the latter river. That with *Domitius* was fought lower down at the confluence of the *Sulgas*⁴ and the *Rhone*. The *Arverni* extended their dominion as far as *Narbonne* and the borders of *Marseilles*, and exercised authority over the nations as far as the *Pyrenees*, the ocean, and the *Rhine*. *Luerius*,⁵ the father of *Bituitus* who fought against *Maximus* and *Domitius*, is said to have been so distinguished by his riches and luxury, that to give a proof of his opulence to his friends, he caused himself to be dragged across a plain in a car, whilst he scattered gold and silver coin in every direction for those who followed him to gather up.

CHAPTER III.

1. NEXT in order after *Aquitaine* and the *Narbonnaise*, is that portion [of *Gaul*] extending as far as the *Rhine* from

¹ *Cæsar* himself (lib. vii. c. 76) states the number at 248,000 men.

² A city near *Clermont*.

³ *Alise*. The ruins of *Alesia*, says *Gosselin*, still exist near to *Flavigni* in *Burgundy*, on *Mount Auxois*, between two small rivers, the *Oze* and the *Ozerain*, which flow into the *Brenne*. ⁴ The *Sorgue*.

⁵ In *Athenæus*, (lib. iv. p. 152,) this name is written *Luernius*.

the river Loire, and the Rhone, where it passes by Lugdunum :¹ in its descent from its source. The upper regions of this district from the sources of the Rhine and Rhone, nearly to the middle of the plains, pertain to Lugdunum ; the remainder, with the regions next the ocean, is comprised in another division which belongs to the Belgæ. We will describe the two together.

2. Lugdunum itself, situated on² a hill, at the confluence of the Saone³ and the Rhone, belongs to the Romans. It is the most populous city after Narbonne. It carries on a great commerce, and the Roman prefects here coin both gold and silver money. Before this city, at the confluence of the rivers, is situated the temple dedicated by all the Galatæ in common to Cæsar Augustus. The altar is splendid, and has inscribed on it the names of sixty people, and images of them, one for each, and also another great altar.⁴

This is the principal city of the nation of the Segusiani who lie between the Rhone and the Doubs.⁵ The other nations who extend to the Rhine, are bounded in part by the Doubs, and in part by the Saone. These two rivers, as said before, descend from the Alps, and, falling into one stream, flow into the Rhone. There is likewise another river which has its sources in the Alps, and is named the Seine.⁶ It flows parallel with the Rhine, through a nation bearing the same name as itself,⁷ and so into the ocean. The Sequani are bounded on the east by the Rhine, and on the opposite side by the Saone. It is from them that the Romans procure the finest salted-pork. Between the Doubs and Saone dwells the nation of the Ædui, who possess the city of Cabyllinum,⁸ situated on the Saone and the fortress of Bibracte.⁹ The

¹ Lyons.

² MSS. read ὑπὸ, "under," we have not hesitated to translate it ἐπὶ, like the Italian, French, and German versions; although Kramer remarks "paulo audacius," of Coray's reading ἐπὶ in the Greek. ³ Ἄραρ.

⁴ Kramer says that ἄλλος is manifestly corrupt.—I have ventured to translate it *another altar*.

⁵ Kramer concurs with Falconer and Gosselin in understanding this passage to have been originally between the Rhone and the Loire.

⁶ Σηκοάνας.

⁷ The Sequani.

⁸ Châlons-sur-Saone.

⁹ Autun, according to Gosselin. Beurect, according to Ferrarius

Ædúi¹ are said to be related to the Romans, and they were the first to enter into friendship and alliance with them. On the other side of the Saone dwell the Sequani, who have for long been at enmity with the Romans and Ædúi, having frequently allied themselves with the Germans in their incursions into Italy. It was then that they proved their strength, for united to them the Germans were powerful, but when separated, weak. As for the Ædúi, their alliance with the Romans naturally rendered them the enemies of the Sequani,² but the enmity was increased by their contests concerning the river which divides them, each nation claiming the Saone exclusively for themselves, and likewise the tolls on vessels passing. However, at the present time, the whole of it is under the dominion of the Romans.

3. The first of all the nations dwelling on the Rhine are the Helvetii, amongst whom are the sources of that river in Mount Adula,³ which forms part of the Alps. From this mountain, but in an opposite direction, likewise proceeds the Adda, which flows towards Cisalpine Gaul, and fills lake Larius,⁴ near to which stands [the city of] Como; thence it discharges itself into the Po, of which we shall speak afterwards. The Rhine also flows into vast marshes and a great lake,⁵ which borders on the Rhæti and Vindelici,⁶ who dwell partly in the Alps, and partly beyond the Alps. Asinius says that the length of this river is 6000 stadia, but such is not the case, for taken in a straight line it does not much exceed half that length, and 1000 stadia is quite sufficient to allow for its sinuosities. In fact this river is so rapid that it is difficult to throw bridges across it, although after its descent from the mountains it is borne the remainder of the way through level plains; now how could it maintain its rapidity and vehemence, if in addition to this level channel, we suppose it also to have long and frequent tortuosities? Asinius like-

¹ Cæsar, Tacitus, and other writers, also speak of this relationship of the Ædúi with the Romans.

² *Lit.* "As for the Ædúi on these accounts indeed."

³ The sources of the Rhine take their rise in Mount St. Gothard and Mount Bernardin, while the Adda rises in the glaciers of the Valteline. Adula, however, may have been the name of the Rhætian Alps.

⁴ The Lake of Como.

⁵ The Lake of Constance.

⁶ The Rhæti occupied the Tirol; the Vindelici that portion of Bavaria south of the Danube.

wise asserts that this river has two mouths, and blames those who say that it has more.¹ This river and the Seine embrace within their tortuosities a certain extent of country, which however is not considerable. They both flow from south to north. Britain lies opposite to them; but nearest to the Rhine, from which you may see Kent, which is the most easterly part of the island. The Seine is a little further. It was here that divus Cæsar established a dock-yard when he sailed to Britain. The navigable portion of the Seine, commencing from the point where they receive the merchandise from the Saone, is of greater extent than the [navigable portions] of the Loire and Garonne. From Lugdunum² to the Seine is [a distance of] 1000 stadia, and not twice this distance from the outlets of the Rhone to Lugdunum. They say that the Helvetii,³ though rich in gold, nevertheless devoted themselves to pillage on beholding the wealth of the Cimbri,⁴ [accumulated by that means;] and that two out of their three tribes perished entirely in their military expeditions. However, the multitude of descendants who sprang from this remainder was proved in their war with divus Cæsar, in which about 400,000 of their number were destroyed; the 8000 who survived the war, being spared by the conqueror, that their country might not be left desert, a prey to the neighbouring Germans.⁵

4. After the Helvetii, the Sequani⁶ and Mediomatrici⁷ dwell along the Rhine, amongst whom are the Tribocchi,⁸ a German nation who emigrated from their country hither. Mount Jura, which is in the country of the Sequani, separates that people from the Helvetii. To the west, above the Helvetii and Sequani, dwell the Ædui and Lingones; the Leuci and a part of the Lingones dwelling above the Mediomatrici. The nations between the Loire and the Seine, and beyond the Rhone and the Saone, are situated to the north near to the

¹ Ptolemy says it has three. It appears that the ancient mouths of this river were not the same as the present. ² Lyons. ³ The Swiss.

⁴ Gosselin identifies the Cimbri as the inhabitants of Jutland or Denmark.

⁵ Casaubon remarks that the text must be corrupt, since Strabo's account of the Helvetii must have been taken from Cæsar, who (lib. i. c. 29) states the number of slain at 258,000, and the survivors at 110,000.

⁶ The Sequani occupied La Franche-Comté.

⁷ Metz was the capital of the Mediomatrici.

⁸ These people dwell between the Rhine and the Vosges, nearly from Colmar to Hagenau.

Allobroges,¹ and the parts about Lyons. The most celebrated amongst them are the Arverni and Carnutes,² through both of whose territories the Loire flows before discharging itself into the ocean. The distance from the rivers of Keltica to Britain is 320 stadia; for departing in the evening with the ebb tide, you will arrive on the morrow at the island about the eighth hour.³ After the Mediomatrici and Tribocchi, the Treviri⁴ inhabit along the Rhine; in their country the Roman generals now engaged in the German war have constructed a bridge. Opposite this place on the other bank of the river dwelt the Ubii, whom Agrippa with their own consent brought over to this side the Rhine.⁵ The Nervii,⁶ another German nation, are contiguous to the Treviri; and last the Menapii, who inhabit either bank of the river near to its outlets; they dwell amongst marshes and forests, not lofty, but consisting of dense and thorny wood. Near to these dwell the Sicambri,⁷ who are likewise Germans. The country next the whole [eastern] bank is inhabited by the Suevi, who are also named Germans, but are superior both in power and number to the others, whom they drove out, and who have now taken refuge on this side the Rhine. Other tribes have sway in different places; they are successively a prey to the flames of war, the former inhabitants for the most part being destroyed.

5. The Senones, the Remi, the Atrebates, and the Eburones dwell west of the Treviri and Nervii.⁸ Close to the Menapii and near the sea are the Morini, the Bellovaci, the Ambiani, the Suessiones, and the Caleti, as far as the outlet

¹ The Allobroges dwelt to the left of the Rhone, between that river and the Isère.

² The Arverni have given their name to Auvergne, and the Carnutes to Chartrain.

³ Strabo here copies Cæsar exactly, who, speaking of his second passage into Britain, (lib. v. c. 8,) says: "Ad solis occasum naves solvit . . . accessum est ad Britanniam omnibus navibus meridiano fere tempore."

⁴ The capital of these people is Trèves.

⁵ Viz. to the western bank of the river.

⁶ The Nervii occupied Hainault, and the Comté de Namur.

⁷ The Sicambri occupied the countries of Berg, Mark, and Arensburg. They afterwards formed part of the people included under the name of Franci or Franks.

⁸ Bavai, to the south of Valenciennes, was the capital of the Nervii; Duricortora, now Rheims, of the Remi; Arras of the Atrebates, and Tongres of the Eburones.

of the river Seine.¹ The countries of the Morini, the Atrebates, and the Eburones are similar to that of the Menapii. It consists of a forest filled with low trees; of great extent, but not near so large as writers have described it, viz. 4000 stadia.² It is named Arduenna.³ In the event of warlike incursions the inhabitants would interweave the flexible brambly shrubs, thus stopping up the passages [into their country]. They also fixed stakes in various places, and then retreated with their whole families into the recesses of the forest, to small islands surrounded by marshes. During the rainy season these proved secure hiding-places, but in times of drought they were easily taken. However, at the present time all the nations on this side the Rhine⁴ dwell in peace under the dominion of the Romans. The Parisii dwell along the river Seine, and inhabit an island formed by the river; their city is Lucotocia.⁵ The Meldi and Lexovii border on the ocean. The most considerable, however, of all these nations are the Remi. Duricortora, their metropolis, is well populated, and is the residence of the Roman prefects.

CHAPTER IV.

GAUL. THE BELGÆ.

1. AFTER the nations mentioned come those of the Belgæ, who dwell next the ocean. Of their number are the Veneti,⁶ who fought a naval battle with Cæsar. They had prepared to resist his passage into Britain, being possessed of the commerce [of that island] themselves. But Cæsar easily gained the victory, not however by means of his beaks, (for their

¹ Têrouane was the principal city of the Morini, Beauvais of the Bellovaci, Amiens of the Ambiani, Soissons of the Suessiones, and Lillebonne of the Caleti.

² Cæsar (lib. vi. c. 29) describes the forest of Ardennes as 500 miles in extent.

³ Ardennes.

⁴ West of the Rhine.

⁵ Ptolemy names it Lucotecia; Cæsar, Lutetia. Julian, who was proclaimed emperor by his army in this city, names it Leucetia.

⁶ The inhabitants of Vannes and the surrounding country.

ships were constructed of solid wood,)¹ but whenever their ships were borne near to his by the wind, the Romans rent the sails by means of scythes fixed on long handles:² for the sails [of their ships] are made of leather to resist the violence of the winds, and managed by chains instead of cables. They construct their vessels with broad bottoms and high poops and prows, on account of the tides. They are built of the wood of the oak, of which there is abundance. On this account, instead of fitting the planks close together, they leave interstices between them; these they fill with sea-weed to prevent the wood from drying up in dock for want of moisture; for the sea-weed is damp by nature, but the oak dry and arid. In my opinion these Veneti were the founders of the Veneti in the Adriatic, for almost all the other Keltic nations in Italy have passed over from the country beyond the Alps, as for instance, the Boii³ and Senones.⁴ They are said to be Paphlagonians merely on account of a similarity of name. However, I do not maintain my opinion positively; for in these matters probability is quite sufficient. The Osismii are the people whom Pytheas calls Ostimii; they dwell on a promontory which projects considerably into the ocean, but not so far as Pytheas and those who follow him assert.⁵ As for the nations between the Seine and the Loire, some are contiguous to the Sequani, others to the Arverni.

2. The entire race which now goes by the name of Gallic, or Galatic,⁶ is warlike, passionate, and always ready for fighting, but otherwise simple and not malicious. If irritated, they rush in crowds to the conflict, openly and without any circumspection; and thus are easily vanquished by those who employ stratagem. For any one may exasperate them when, where, and under whatever pretext he pleases; he will al-

¹ Neque enim his nostræ rostro nocere poterant; tanta erat in his firmitudo. Cæsar, lib. iii. c. 13.

² Vide Cæsar, lib. iii. c. 14.

³ The Boii, who passed into Italy, established themselves near to Bologna.

⁴ The Senones, or inhabitants of Sens, are thought to have founded Sienna in Italy.

⁵ The promontory of Calbium, the present Cape Saint-Mahé, is here alluded to.

⁶ Gosselin observes, "These people called themselves by the name of Kelts; the Greeks styled them Galatæ, and the Latins Galli or Gauls."

ways find them ready for danger, with nothing to support them except their violence and daring. Nevertheless they may be easily persuaded to devote themselves to any thing useful, and have thus engaged both in science and letters. Their power consists both in the size of their bodies and also in their numbers. Their frankness and simplicity lead them easily to assemble in masses, each one feeling indignant at what appears injustice to his neighbour. At the present time indeed they are all at peace, being in subjection and living under the command of the Romans, who have subdued them; but we have described their customs as we understand they existed in former times, and as they still exist amongst the Germans. These two nations, both by nature and in their form of government, are similar and related to each other. Their countries border on each other, being separated by the river Rhine, and are for the most part similar. Germany, however, is more to the north, if we compare together the southern and northern parts of the two countries respectively. Thus it is that they can so easily change their abode. They march in crowds in one collected army, or rather remove with all their families, whenever they are ejected by a more powerful force. They were subdued by the Romans much more easily than the Iberians; for they began to wage war with these latter first, and ceased last, having in the mean time conquered the whole of the nations situated between the Rhine and the mountains of the Pyrenees. For these fighting in crowds and vast numbers, were overthrown in crowds, whereas the Iberians kept themselves in reserve, and broke up the war into a series of petty engagements, showing themselves in different bands, sometimes here, sometimes there, like banditti. All the Gauls are warriors by nature, but they fight better on horseback than on foot, and the flower of the Roman cavalry is drawn from their number. The most valiant of them dwell towards the north and next the ocean.

3. Of these they say that the Belgæ are the bravest. They are divided into fifteen nations, and dwell near the ocean between the Rhine and the Loire, and have therefore sustained themselves single-handed against the incursions of the Germans, the Cimbri,¹ and the Teutons. The bravest of the

¹ The Cimbri inhabited Denmark and the adjacent regions

Belgæ are the Bellovaci,¹ and after them the Suessiones. The amount of their population may be estimated by the fact that formerly there were said to be 300,000 Belgæ capable of bearing arms.² The numbers of the Helvetii, the Arverni, and their allies, have already been mentioned. All this is a proof both of the amount of the population [of Gaul], and, as before remarked, of the fecundity of their women, and the ease with which they rear their children. The Gauls wear the sagum, let their hair grow, and wear short breeches. Instead of tunics they wear a slashed garment with sleeves descending a little below the hips.³ The wool [of their sheep] is coarse, but long; from it they weave the thick saga called laines. However, in the northern parts the Romans rear flocks of sheep which they cover with skins, and which produce very fine wool. The equipment [of the Gauls] is in keeping with the size of their bodies; they have a long sword hanging at their right side, a long shield, and lances in proportion, together with a madaris somewhat resembling a javelin; some of them also use bows and slings; they have also a piece of wood resembling a pilum, which they hurl not out of a thong, but from their hand, and to a farther distance than an arrow. They principally make use of it in shooting birds. To the present day most of them lie on the ground, and take their meals seated on straw. They subsist principally on milk and all kinds of flesh, especially that of swine, which they eat both fresh and salted. Their swine live in the fields, and surpass in height, strength, and swiftness. To persons unaccustomed to approach them they are almost as dangerous as wolves. The people dwell in great houses arched, constructed of planks and wicker, and covered with a heavy thatched roof. They have sheep and swine in such abundance, that they supply saga and salted pork in plenty, not only to Rome but to most parts of Italy. Their governments were for the most part aristocratic; formerly they chose a governor every year, and a military leader was likewise elected by the multitude.⁴ At the present day they are mostly under sub-

¹ The inhabitants of the Beauvoisis.

² Vide Cæsar, lib. ii. c. 4.

³ This slashed garment is the smock frock of the English peasant and the blouse of the continent.

⁴ Conf. Cæsar, lib. vi. c. 13. Plebs pene servorum habetur loco, quæ per se nihil audet, et nulli adhibetur consilio.

jection to the Romans. They have a peculiar custom in their assemblies. If any one makes an uproar or interrupts the person speaking, an attendant advances with a drawn sword, and commands him with menace to be silent; if he persists, the attendant does the same thing a second and third time; and finally, [if he will not obey,] cuts off from his sagum so large a piece as to render the remainder useless. The labours of the two sexes are distributed in a manner the reverse of what they are with us, but this is a common thing with numerous other barbarians.

4. Amongst [the Gauls] there are generally three divisions of men especially revered, the Bards, the Vates, and the Druids. The Bards composed and chanted hymns; the Vates occupied themselves with the sacrifices and the study of nature; while the Druids joined to the study of nature that of moral philosophy. The belief in the justice [of the Druids] is so great that the decision both of public and private disputes is referred to them; and they have before now, by their decision, prevented armies from engaging when drawn up in battle-array against each other. All cases of murder are particularly referred to them. When there is plenty of these they imagine there will likewise be a plentiful harvest. Both these and the others¹ assert that the soul is indestructible, and likewise the world, but that sometimes fire and sometimes water have prevailed in making great changes.²

5. To their simplicity and vehemence, the Gauls join much folly, arrogance, and love of ornament. They wear golden collars round their necks, and bracelets on their arms and wrists, and those who are of any dignity have garments dyed and worked with gold. This lightness of character makes them intolerable when they conquer, and throws them into consternation when worsted. In addition to their folly, they have a barbarous and absurd custom, common however with many nations of the north, of suspending the heads of their enemies from their horses' necks on their return from battle, and when they have arrived nailing them as a spectacle to their gates. Posidonius says he witnessed this in many different places, and was at first shocked, but became familiar with it in time on account of its frequency. The

¹ By the others are probably meant the Bards and Vates.

² These opinions are also to be found in the Pythagorean philosophy.

heads of any illustrious persons they embalm with cedar, exhibit them to strangers, and would not sell them for their weight in gold.¹ However, the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to their modes of sacrifice and divination, which were quite opposite to those sanctioned by our laws. They would strike a man devoted as an offering in his back with a sword, and divine from his convulsive throes. Without the Druids they never sacrifice. It is said they have other modes of sacrificing their human victims; that they pierce some of them with arrows, and crucify others in their temples; and that they prepare a colossus of hay and wood, into which they put cattle, beasts of all kinds, and men, and then set fire to it.

6. They say that in the ocean, not far from the coast, there is a small island lying opposite to the outlet of the river Loire, inhabited by Samnite women who are Bacchantes, and conciliate and appease that god by mysteries and sacrifices. No man is permitted to land on the island; and when the women desire to have intercourse with the other sex, they cross the sea, and afterwards return again. They have a custom of once a year unroofing the whole of the temple, and roofing it again the same day before sun-set, each one bringing some of the materials. If any one lets her burden fall, she is torn in pieces by the others, and her limbs carried round the temple with wild shouts, which they never cease until their rage is exhausted. [They say] it always happens that some one drops her burden, and is thus sacrificed.

But what Artemidorus tells us concerning the crows, partakes still more of fiction. He narrates that on the coast, washed by the ocean, there is a harbour named the Port of Two Crows, and that here two crows may be seen with their right wings white. Those who have any dispute come here, and each one having placed a plank for himself on a lofty eminence, sprinkles crumbs thereupon; the birds fly to these, eat up the one and scatter the other, and he whose crumbs are scattered gains the cause. This narration has decidedly too much the air of fiction. What he narrates concerning Ceres and Proserpine is more credible. He says that there is an island near Britain in which they perform sacrifices to

¹ These particulars are taken from Posidonius. See also Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. c. 29.

these goddesses after the same fashion that they do in Samothrace. The following is also credible, that a tree grows in Keltica similar to a fig, which produces a fruit resembling a Corinthian capital, and which, being cut, exudes a poisonous juice which they use for poisoning their arrows. It is well known that all the Kelts are fond of disputes; and that amongst them pæderasty is not considered shameful. Ephorus extends the size of Keltica too far, including within it most of what we now designate as Iberia, as far as Gades. He states that the people are great admirers of the Greeks, and relates many particulars concerning them not applicable to their present state. This is one:—That they take great care not to become fat or big-bellied, and that if any young man exceeds the measure of a certain girdle, he is punished.¹

Such is our account of Keltica beyond the Alps.²

CHAPTER V.

BRITAIN.

1. BRITAIN is triangular in form; its longest side lies parallel to Keltica, in length neither exceeding nor falling short of it; for each of them extends as much as 4300 or 4400 stadia: the side of Keltica extending from the mouths of the Rhine to the northern extremities of the Pyrenees towards Aquitaine; and that of Britain, which commences at Kent, its most eastern point, opposite the mouths of the Rhine, extending to the western extremity of the island, which lies over against Aquitaine and the Pyrenees. This is the shortest line from the Pyrenees to the Rhine; the longest is said to be 5000 stadia; but it is likely that there is some

¹ A similar custom existed amongst the Spartans; the young people were obliged to present themselves from time to time before the Ephori, and if of the bulk thought proper for a Spartan, they were praised, if on the contrary they appeared too fat, they were punished. Athen. l. xii. p. 550. Ælian, V. H. l. xiv. c. 7. At Rome likewise it was the duty of the censor to see that the equites did not become too fat; if they did, they were punished with the loss of their horse. Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. l. vii. c. 22.

² Transalpine Gaul.

convergency of the river towards the mountain from a strictly parallel position, there being an inclination of either toward the other at the extremities next the ocean.

2. There are four passages commonly used from the continent to the island, namely, from the mouths of the rivers Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne; but to such as set sail from the parts about the Rhine, the passage is not exactly from its mouths, but from the Morini,¹ who border on the Menapii,² among whom also is situated Itium,³ which divus Cæsar used as his naval station when about to pass over to the island: he set sail by night, and arrived the next day about the fourth hour,⁴ having completed a passage of 320 stadia, and he found the corn in the fields. The greatest portion of the island is level and woody, although many tracts are hilly. It produces corn, cattle, gold, silver, and iron, which things are brought thence, and also skins, and slaves, and dogs sagacious in hunting; the Kelts use these, as well as their native dogs, for the purposes of war. The men are taller than the Kelts, with hair less yellow; they are slighter in their persons. As an instance of their height, we ourselves saw at Rome some youths who were taller than the tallest there by as much as half a foot, but their legs were bowed, and in other respects they were not symmetrical in conformation. Their manners are in part like those of the Kelts, though in part more simple and barbarous; insomuch that some of them, though possessing plenty of milk, have not skill enough to make cheese, and are totally unacquainted with horticulture and other matters of husbandry. There are several states amongst them. In their wars they make use of chariots for the most part, as do some of the Kelts. Forests are their cities; for having enclosed an ample space

¹ The coasts occupied by the Morini extended from la Canche to the Yser.

² The Menapii occupied Brabant.

³ General opinion places the port Itius at Wissant, near Cape Grisnez; Professor Airy, however, is of opinion that the portus Itius of Cæsar is the estuary of the Somme. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1852, vol. ii. No. 30, p. 198.

⁴ Cæsar passed twice into Britain: the first time he started about midnight, and arrived at the fourth hour of the day; the second time he started at the commencement of the night, and did not arrive until the following day at noon, the wind having failed about midnight.

with felled trees, they make themselves huts therein, and lodge their cattle, though not for any long continuance. Their atmosphere is more subject to rain than to snow; even in their clear days the mist continues for a considerable time, inso-much that throughout the whole day the sun is only visible for three or four hours about noon; and this must be the case also amongst the Morini, and the Menapii, and among all the neighbouring people.

3. Divus Cæsar twice passed over to the island, but quickly returned, having effected nothing of consequence, nor proceeded far into the country, as well on account of some commotions in Keltica, both among his own soldiers and among the barbarians, as because of the loss of many of his ships at the time of the full moon, when both the ebb and flow of the tides were greatly increased.¹ Nevertheless he gained two or three victories over the Britons, although he had transported thither only two legions of his army, and brought away hostages and slaves and much other booty. At the present time, however, some of the princes there have, by their embassies and solicitations, obtained the friendship of Augustus Cæsar, dedicated their offerings in the Capitol, and brought the whole island into intimate union with the Romans. They pay but moderate duties both on the imports and exports from Keltica; which are ivory bracelets and necklaces, amber, vessels of glass, and small wares; so that the island scarcely needs a garrison, for at the least it would require one legion and some cavalry to enforce tribute from them; and the total expenditure for the army would be equal to the revenue collected; for if a tribute were levied, of necessity the imposts must be diminished, and at the same time some danger would be incurred if force were to be employed.

4. There are also other small islands around Britain; but one, of great extent, Ierna,² lying parallel to it towards the

¹ The fleet consisted of 1000 vessels, according to Cotta. (Athen. l. vi. c. 21.) The great loss spoken of by Strabo occurred before the first return of Cæsar into Gaul. (Cæsar, l. iv. c. 28.) As to his second return, it was occasioned, to use his own words, "propter repentinos Galliæ motus." L. v. c. 22.

² Called by Cæsar, Hibernia; by Mela, Juverna; and by Diodorus Siculus, Iris.

north, long, or rather, wide; concerning which we have nothing certain to relate, further than that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, feeding on human flesh, and enormous eaters, and deeming it commendable to devour their deceased fathers,¹ as well as openly² to have commerce not only with other women, but also with their own mothers and sisters.³ But this we relate perhaps without very competent authority; although to eat human flesh is said to be a Scythian custom; and during the severities of a siege, even the Kelts, the Iberians, and many others, are reported to have done the like.⁴

5. The account of Thulé is still more uncertain, on account of its secluded situation; for they consider it to be the northernmost of all lands of which the names are known. The falsity of what Pytheas has related concerning this and neighbouring places, is proved by what he has asserted of well-known countries. For if, as we have shown, his description of these is in the main incorrect, what he says of far distant countries is still more likely to be false.⁵ Nevertheless, as far as astronomy and the mathematics are concerned, he appears to have reasoned correctly, that people bordering on the frozen

¹ This custom resembles that related by Herodotus (lib. i. c. 216, and iv. 26) of the Massagetæ and Issedoni. Amongst these latter, when the father of a family died, all the relatives assembled at the house of the deceased, and having slain certain animals, cut them and the body of the deceased into small pieces, and having mixed the morsels together, regaled themselves on the inhuman feast.

² Strabo intends by *φανερῶς* what Herodotus expresses by *μίξιν ἐμφανέα, καθάπερ τοῖσι προβάτοις* (*concupitum, sicuti pecoribus, in propatulo esse*).

³ Herodotus, (i. iv. c. 180,) mentioning a similar practice amongst the inhabitants of Lake Tritonis in Libya, tells us that the men owned the children as they resembled them respectively. Mela asserts the same of the Garamantes. As to the commerce between relations, Strabo in his 16th Book, speaks of it as being usual amongst the Arabs. It was a custom amongst the early Greeks. Homer makes the six sons of Æolus marry their six sisters, and Juno addresses herself to Jupiter as "Et soror et conjux." Compare also Cæsar, lib. v.

⁴ An extremity to which the Gauls were driven during the war they sustained against the Cimbri and Teutones, (Cæsar, lib. vii. c. 77,) and the inhabitants of Numantia in Iberia, when besieged by Scipio. (Valerius Maximus, lib. vii. c. 6.) The city of Potidæa in Greece experienced a similar calamity. (Thucyd. lib. ii. c. 70.)

⁵ Pytheas placed Thulé under the 66th degree of north latitude, which is the latitude of the north of Iceland.

zone would be destitute of cultivated fruits, and almost deprived of the domestic animals; that their food would consist of millet, herbs, fruits, and roots; and that where there was corn and honey they would make drink of these. That having no bright sun, they would thresh their corn, and store it in vast granaries, threshing-floors being useless on account of the rain and want of sun.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ALPS.

1. HAVING described Keltica beyond the Alps,¹ and the nations who inhabit the country, we must now speak of the Alps themselves and their inhabitants, and afterwards of the whole of Italy; observing in our description such arrangement as the nature of the country shall point out.

The Alps do not commence at Monœci Portus,² as some have asserted, but from the region whence the Apennines take their rise about Genoa, a mercantile city of the Ligurians, and at the marshes named Sabatorum Vada;³ for the Apennines take their rise near Genoa, and the Alps near Sabatorum Vada. The distance between Genoa and the Sabatorum Vada is about 260 stadia. About 370 stadia farther on is the little city of Albingaunum,⁴ inhabited by Ligurians who are called Ingauni. From thence to the Monœci Portus is 480 stadia. In the interval between is the very considerable city of Albium Intemelium,⁵ inhabited by the Intemelii. These names are sufficient to prove that the Alps commence at the Sabatorum Vada. For the Alps were formerly called Albia and Alpionia,⁶ and at the present day the high mountain in the country of the Iapodes,⁷ next to Oera and the Alps, is named Albius, showing that the Alps extend so far.

¹ Transalpine Gaul. ² Port Monaco. ³ Vadi. ⁴ Albinga.

⁵ Vintimille.

⁶ Kramer conjectures that instead of 'Αλπίονια, we should read 'Αλπεινά.

⁷ These people occupied the borders of the province of Murlaka, near to Istria, on the Gulf of Venice. Mount Albius is still called Alben.

2. Now since the Ligurians were divided into Ingauzi and Intemeli, it was natural that their maritime colonies should be distinguished, one by the name of Albium Intemelum, Alpine as it were, and the other by the more concise form Albingaunum.¹ To these two tribes of Ligurians already mentioned, Polybius adds those of the Oxybii and Deciates.² The whole coast from Monœci Portus to Tyrrenia is continuous, and without harbours excepting some small roads and anchorages. Above it rise the rugged precipices of the Alpine range, leaving but a narrow passage along the sea. This district, but particularly the mountains, is inhabited by Ligurians, principally subsisting on the produce of their herds, and milk, and a drink made of barley. There is plenty of wood here for the construction of ships; the trees grow to a vast size, some of them having been found eight feet in diameter. Much of the wood is veined, and not inferior to cedar-wood for cabinet work. This wood, together with the produce of their cattle, hides, and honey, they transport to the mart of Genoa, receiving in exchange for them the oil and wine of Italy; for the little [wine] which their country produces is harsh and tastes of pitch. Here are bred the horses and mules known as ginni, and here too are wrought the Ligurian tunics and saga. In their country likewise there is plenty of lingurium, called by some electrum.³ They use but few cavalry in war; their infantry are good, and excellent slingers. Some have thought that their brazen shields prove these people to be of Grecian origin.

3. The Monœci Portus is merely a roadstead, not capable of containing either many or large vessels. Here is a temple dedicated to Hercules Monœcus.⁴ The name seems to show it probable that the Massilian voyages along the coast extended as far as here. Monœci Portus is distant from Antipolis rather more than 200 stadia. The Salyes occupy the region from thence to Marseilles, or a little farther; they

¹ Casaubon observes that the Roman writers separated the name Albium Ingaunum, in the same manner as Albium Intemelum.

² These two tribes inhabited the country round Fréjus and Antibes as far as the Var.

³ Or amber.

⁴ Μόνουκος, an epithet of Hercules signifying "sole inhabitant." According to Servius, either because after he had driven out the Ligurians he remained the sole inhabitant of the country; or because it was not usual to associate any other divinities in the temples consecrated to him.

inhabit the Alps which lie above that city, and a portion of the sea-coast, where they intermingle with the Greeks. The ancient Greeks gave to the Salyes the name of Ligyes,¹ and to the country which was in the possession of the Marseillse, that of Ligystica.² The later Greeks named them Kelto-Ligyes,³ and assigned to them the whole of the plains extending as far as Luerion⁴ and the Rhone. They are divided into ten cantons, and are capable of raising troops not only of infantry, but of cavalry also. These people were the first of the Transalpine Kelts whom the Romans subdued after maintaining a lengthened war against them and the Ligurians. They closed [against the Romans] all the roads into Iberia along the sea-coast, and carried on a system of pillage both by sea and land. Their strength so increased that large armies were scarcely able to force a passage. And after a war of eighty years, the Romans were hardly able to obtain a breadth of twelve stadia for the purpose of making a public road. After this, however, the Romans subdued the whole of them, and established among them a regular form of government, and imposed a tribute.⁵

4. After the Salyes, the Albienses, the Albiœci,⁶ and the Vocontii inhabit the northern portion of the mountains. The Vocontii extend as far as the Allobriges, and occupy vast valleys in the depths of the mountains, not inferior to those inhabited by the Allobriges. Both the Allobriges and Ligurians are subject to the pretors sent into the Narbonnaise, but the Vocontii are governed by their own laws, as we have said of the Volcæ of Nemausus.⁷ Of the Ligurians between the Var and Genoa, those along the sea are considered Italians; while the mountaineers are governed by a prefect of the equestrian order, as is the case in regard to other nations wholly barbarous.

¹ Λίγυες, or Ligurians.

² Λιγυστική, or Liguria.

³ Κελτολίγυες, or Kelto-Ligurians.

* Kramer is of opinion that we should adopt the suggestion of Man- nert, to read here Avignon.

⁵ We have adopted the reading of the older editions, which is also that of the French translation. Kramer however reads φόβον, and adds φόρον in a note.

⁶ The Albiœci are named Albici in Cæsar; the capital city is called by Pliny Alebece Reiorum; it is now Riez in Provence.

⁷ Nîmes.

5. After the Vocontii, are the Iconii, the Tricorii, and the Medulli; who inhabit the loftiest ridges of the mountains, for they say that some of them have an almost perpendicular ascent of 100 stadia, and a similar descent to the frontiers of Italy. In these high-lands there is a great lake; there are also two springs not far distant from each other; one of these gives rise to the Durance, which flows like a torrent into the Rhone, and to the Durias,¹ which flows in an opposite direction; for it mingles with the Po after having pursued its course through the country of the Salassi² into Cisalpine Keltica. From the other source, but much lower down, rises the Po itself, large and rapid, which as it advances becomes still vaster, and at the same time more gentle. As it reaches the plains it increases in breadth, being augmented by numerous [other rivers], and thus it becomes less impetuous in its course, and its current is weakened. Having become the largest river in Europe, with the exception of the Danube,³ it discharges itself into the Adriatic Sea. The Medulli are situated considerably above the confluence of the Isère and the Rhone.

6. On the opposite side of the mountains, sloping towards Italy, dwell the Taurini,⁴ a Ligurian nation, together with certain other Ligurians. What is called the land of Ideonunus⁵ and Cottius belongs to these Ligurians. Beyond them and the Po are the Salassi; above whom in the summits [of the Alps] are the Kentrones, the Catoriges, the Veragri, the Nantuatae,⁶ Lake Lemana,⁷ traversed by the Rhone, and the

¹ There are two rivers of this name which descend from the Alps and discharge themselves into the Po. The Durias which rises near the Durance is the *Durias minor* of the ancients, and the Doria Riparia of the moderns; this river falls into the Po at Turin.

² Gosselin observes:—The Salassi occupied the country about Aouste, or Aoste. The name of this city is a corruption of Augusta Prætoria Salassorum, which it received in the time of Augustus. The Durias which passes by Aouste is the *Duricus major*, the modern Doria Baltea. Its sources are between the Great Saint Bernard and Mont Blanc.

³ The Ister of the classics.

⁴ *Augusta Taurinorum*, hodie Turin, was the capital of these people.

⁵ Various conjectures have been hazarded concerning this name, of which there appears to be no other mention.

⁶ The Kentrones occupied la Tarentaise; the Catoriges, the territories of Chorges and Embrun; the Veragri, a part of the Valais south of the Rhone; and the Nantuatae, Le Chablais.

⁷ The Lake of Geneva.

sources of that river. Not far from these are the sources of the Rhine, and Mount Adulas,¹ from whence the Rhine flows towards the north; likewise the Adda,² which flows in an opposite direction, and discharges itself into Lake Larius,³ near to Como. Lying above Como, which is situated at the roots of the Alps, on one side are the Rhæti and Vennonnes towards the east,⁴ and on the other the Lepontii, the Tridentini, the Stoni,⁵ and numerous other small nations, poor and addicted to robbery, who in former times possessed Italy. At the present time some of them have been destroyed, and the others at length civilized, so that the passes over the mountains through their territories, which were formerly few and difficult, now run in every direction, secure from any danger of these people, and as accessible as art can make them. For Augustus Cæsar not only destroyed the robbers, but improved the character of the roads as far as practicable, although he could not every where overcome nature, on account of the rocks and immense precipices; some of which tower above the road, while others yawn beneath; so that departing ever so little [from the path], the traveller is in inevitable danger of falling down bottomless chasms. In some places the road is so narrow as to make both the foot traveller and his beasts of burden, who are unaccustomed to it, dizzy; but the animals of the district will carry their burdens quite securely. These things however are beyond remedy, as well as the violent descent of vast masses of congealed snow from above, capable of overwhelming a whole company at a time, and sweeping them into the chasms beneath. Numerous masses lie one upon the other, one hill of congealed snow being formed upon another, so that the uppermost mass is easily detached at any time from that below it, before being perfectly melted by the sun.

7. A great part of the country of the Salassi lies in a deep valley, formed by a chain of mountains which encloses the district on either side; a part of them however inhabit the

¹ Saint Gothard.

² The Adda does not flow from the same mountain as the Rhine.

³ The Lake of Como.

⁴ The Rhæti are the Grisons; the Vennonnes, the people of the Va Telline.

⁵ The Lepontii inhabited the Haut Valais, and the valley of Leventina; the Tridentini occupied Trente; the Stoni, Sténéco.

⁶ The valley of Aouste.

overhanging ridges. The route of those who are desirous of passing from Italy over these mountains, lies through the aforesaid valley. Beyond this the road separates into two. The one which passes through the mountain peaks, known as the Pennine Alps, cannot be traversed by carriages; the other, which runs through the country of the Centrones, lies more to the west.¹ The country of the Salassi contains gold mines, of which formerly, in the days of their power, they were masters, as well as of the passes. The river Doria Baltea² afforded them great facility in obtaining the metal by [supplying them with water] for washing the gold, and they have emptied the main bed by the numerous trenches cut for drawing the water to different places. This operation, though advantageous in gold hunting, was injurious to the agriculturists below, as it deprived them of the irrigation of a river, which, by the height of its position, was capable of watering their plains. This gave rise to frequent wars between the two nations; when the Romans gained the dominion, the Salassi lost both their gold works and their country, but as they still possessed the mountains, they continued to sell water to the public contractors of the gold mines; with whom there were continual disputes on account of the avarice of the contractors, and thus the Roman generals sent into the country were ever able to find a pretext for commencing war. And, until very recently, the Salassi at one time waging war against the Romans, and at another making peace, took occasion to inflict numerous damages upon those who crossed over their mountains, by their system of plundering; and even exacted from Decimus Brutus, on his flight from Mutina,³ a drachm per man. Messala, likewise, having taken up his winter quarters in their vicinity, was obliged to pay them, both for his fire-wood, and for the elm-wood for making javelins for the exercise of his troops. In one instance they plundered the treasures of Cæsar,⁴ and rolled down huge

¹ These two routes still exist. The former passes by the Great Saint Bernard, or the Pennine Alps; the latter traverses the Little Saint Bernard, and descends into La Tarentaise, formerly occupied by the Centrones.

² Anciently Durias.

³ Modena.

⁴ It does not appear that Julius Cæsar is here intended, for he mentions nothing of it in his Commentaries. It seems more probable that Strabo used

masses of rock upon the soldiers under pretence of making roads, or building bridges over the rivers. Afterwards Augustus completely overthrew them, and carried them to Eporedia,¹ a Roman colony which had been planted as a bulwark against the Salassi, although the inhabitants were able to do but little against them until the nation was destroyed; their numbers amounted to 36,000 persons, besides 8000 men capable of bearing arms. Terentius Varro, the general who defeated them, sold them all by public auction, as enemies taken in war. Three thousand Romans sent out by Augustus founded the city of Augusta,² on the spot where Varro had encamped, and now the whole surrounding country, even to the summits of the mountains, is at peace.

8. Beyond, both the eastern parts of the mountains, and those likewise inclining to the south, are possessed by the Rhæti and Vindelici, who adjoin the Helvetii and Boii, and press upon their plains. The Rhæti extend as far as Italy above Verona and Como. The Rhætian wine, which is esteemed not inferior to the finest wines of Italy, is produced [from vines which grow] at the foot of the mountains. These people extend also as far as the districts through which the Rhine flows. The Lepontii and Camuni are of their nation. The Vindelici and Norici possess, for the most part, the opposite side of the mountains together with the Breuni and Genauni, who form part of the Illyrians.³ All these people were continually making incursions both into the neighbouring parts of Italy, and into [the countries] of the Helvetii,

the expression of Cæsar in its wider sense of Emperor, and alludes to Augustus, of whom he speaks immediately after.

¹ Ivrea.

² Aouste.

³ The limits of these barbarous nations were continually varying according to their success in war, in general, however, the Rhæti possessed the country of the Grisons, the Tyrol, and the district about Trent. The Lepontii possessed the Val Leventina. The Camuni the Val Camonica. The Vindelici occupied a portion of Bavaria and Suabia; on their west were the Helvetii or Swiss, and on the north the Boii, from whom they were separated by the Danube; these last people have left their name to Bohemia. The Norici possessed Styria, Carinthia, a part of Austria and Bavaria to the south of the Danube. The Breuni have given their name to the Val Braunia north of the Lago Maggiore; and the Genauni appear to have inhabited the Val Agno, between Lake Maggiore and the Lake of Como, although Strabo seems to place these people on the northern side of the Alps, towards the confines of Illyria.

the Sequani,¹ the Boii, and the Germans.² But the Licattii, the Clautinatii, and the Vennonnes³ proved the boldest amongst the Vindelici; and the Rucantii and Cotuantii amongst the Rhæti. Both the Estiones and Brigantii belong to the Vindelici; their cities are Brigantium, Campodunum, and Damasia, which may be looked upon as the Acropolis of the Licattii. It is narrated, as an instance of the extreme brutality of these robbers towards the people of Italy, that when they have taken any village or city, they not only put to death all the men capable of bearing arms, but likewise all the male children, and do not even stop here, but murder every pregnant woman who, their diviners say, will bring forth a male infant.⁴

9. After these come certain of the Norici, and the Carni, who inhabit the country about the Adriatic Gulf and Aquileia. The Taurisci belong to the Norici. Tiberius and his brother Drusus in one summer put a stop to their lawless incursions, so that now for three and thirty years⁵ they have lived quietly and paid their tribute regularly. Throughout the whole region of the Alps there are hilly districts capable of excellent cultivation, and well situated valleys; but the greater part, especially the summits of the mountains inhabited by the robbers, are barren and unfruitful, both on account of the frost and the ruggedness of the land. On account of the want of food and other necessaries the mountaineers have sometimes been obliged to spare the inhabitants of the plains, that they might have some people to supply them; for these they have given them in exchange, resin, pitch, torches,

¹ The people of Franche Comté.

² The Germans of Wirtemberg and Suabia.

³ The Licattii appear to have inhabited the country about the Lech, and the Clautinatii that about the Inn; the Vennonnes the Val Telline.

⁴ This disgusting brutality however is no more barbarous than the intention put by Homer into the mouth of Agamemnon, "the king of men," which Scholiasts have in vain endeavoured to soften or excuse—

*τῶν μήτις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον,
χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας μηδ' ὄντινα γαστέρι μήτηρ
κοῦρον ἰόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὄς φύγοι· ἀλλ' ἅμα πάντες
'Ἰλίου ἕξαπολοῖατ', ἀκήδεστοι καὶ ἄφαντοι.*

Iliad vi. 57—60.

⁵ This expedition of Tiberius took place in the eleventh year of the Christian era; Strabo therefore must have written his fourth book in the 44th year.

wax, cheese, and honey, of which they have plenty. In the Mount Apennine¹ which lies above the Carni there is a lake which runs out into the Isar, which river, after receiving another river, the Aude,² discharges itself into the Adriatic. From this lake there is also another river, the Atesinus, which flows into the Danube.³ The Danube itself rises in the mountains which are split into many branches and numerous summits. For from Liguria to here the summits of the Alps stretch along continuously, presenting the appearance of one mountain; but after this they rise and fall in turns, forming numerous ridges and peaks. The first of these is beyond the Rhine and the lake⁴ inclining towards the east, its ridge moderately elevated; here are the sources of the Danube near to the Suevi and the forest of Hercynia.⁵ The other branches extend towards Illyria and the Adriatic, such are the Mount Apennine, already mentioned, Tullum and Phli-gadia,⁶ the mountains lying above the Vindelici from whence proceed the Duras,⁷ the Clanis,⁸ and many other rivers which discharge themselves like torrents into the current of the Danube.

10. Near to these regions dwell the Iapodes, (a nation now mixed with the Illyrians, and Kelts,) close to them is [the Mount] Oera.⁹ Formerly the Iapodes were numerous, inhabiting either side of the mountain, and were notorious for their predatory habits, but they have been entirely reduced and brought to subjection by Augustus Cæsar. Their cities are

¹ The Carnic, or Julian Alps, is intended.

² "Αραξ.

³ There is, remarks Gosselin, a palpable mistake in this passage. We neither know of a river named the Isar nor yet the Atax discharging themselves into the Adriatic. Atesinus or Athesis are the ancient names of the Adige, but this river flows into the Adriatic, and not, as Strabo seems to say, into the Danube. The error of the text appears to result from a transposition of the two names made by the copyists, and to render it intelligible we should read thus:—"There is a lake from which proceeds the Atesinus, (or the Adige,) and which, after having received the Atax, (perhaps the Eisach, or Aicha, which flows by Bolzano,) discharges itself into the Adriatic. The Isar proceeds from the same lake, and [passing by Munich] discharges itself into the Danube."

⁴ Apparently the lake of Constance.

⁵ The Black Forest.

⁶ These two chains are in Murlaka, they are now named Telez and Flicz.

⁷ The Traun or Würm.

⁸ The Glan in Bavaria.

⁹ The Julian Alps, and Birnbaumerswald.

Metulum,¹ Arupenum,² Monetium,³ and Vendon.⁴ After these is the city of Segesta,⁵ [situated] in a plain. Near to it flows the river Save,⁶ which discharges itself into the Danube. This city lies in an advantageous position for carrying on war against the Dacians.⁷ Oera forms the lowest portion of the Alps, where they approach the territory of the Carni, and through which they convey the merchandise of Aquileia in waggons to Pamportus.⁸ This route is not more than 400 stadia. From thence they convey it by the rivers as far as the Danube and surrounding districts, for a navigable river⁹ which flows out of Illyria, passes by Pamportus, and discharges itself into the Save, so that the merchandise may easily be carried down both to Segesta, and to the Pannonians, and Taurisci.¹⁰ It is near this city,¹¹ that the Kulp¹² falls into the Save. Both of these rivers are navigable, and flow down from the Alps. The Alps contain wild horses and cattle, and Polybius asserts that an animal of a singular form is found there; it resembles a stag except in the neck and hair, which are similar to those of a wild boar; under its chin it has a tuft of hair about a span long, and the thickness of the tail of a young horse.¹³

11. One of the passages over the mountains from Italy into Transalpine and northern Keltica is that which passes through the country of the Salassi, and leads to Lugdunum.¹⁴ This [route] is divided into two ways, one practicable for carriages, but longer, which crosses the country of the Centrones, the other steep and narrow, but shorter; this crosses the Pennine [Alps]. Lugdunum is situated in the midst of the country, serving as an Acropolis, both on account of the confluence of

¹ Probably Mödling.

² Auersperg, or the Flecken Mungava.

³ Möttinig or Mansburg.

⁴ Windisch Grätz, or Brindjel.

⁵ Now Sisseck.

⁶ The text reads Rhine, but we have, in common with Gosselin, followed the correction of Cluvier, Xylander, and Tyrwhitt.

⁷ The Dacians occupied a part of Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and a portion of Moldavia.

⁸ Coray suggests Nauportus, now Ober-Laibach in Krain. This suggestion is extremely probable, however Pamportus occurs twice in the text.

⁹ The river Laibach.

¹⁰ The Pannonians occupied a portion of Austria and Hungary. The Taurisci, who formed part of the former people, inhabited Styria.

¹¹ Segesta.

¹² The ancient Colapis.

¹³ This is a description of the elk (*cervus alces* of Linn.). This animal no longer exists either in France or in the Alps.

¹⁴ Lycus.

the rivers, and of its being equally near to all parts. It was on this account that Agrippa cut all the roads from this [as a centre] one running through the mountains of the Cevennes to the Santones¹ and Aquitaine,² another towards the Rhine; a third towards the ocean by the country of the Bellovaci³ and Ambiani,⁴ and a fourth towards the Narbonnaise and the coast of Marseilles.⁵ The traveller, also, leaving Lugdunum and the country above on his left, may pass over the Pennine Alps themselves, the Rhone, or Lake Lemman, into the plains of the Helvetii, whence there is a passage through Mount Jura into the country of the Sequani, and Lingones; here the road separates into two routes, one running to the Rhine, and the other⁶ to the ocean.

12. Polybius tells us that in his time the gold mines were so rich about Aquileia, but particularly in the countries of the Taurisci Norici, that if you dug but two feet below the surface you found gold, and that the diggings [generally] were not deeper than fifteen feet. In some instances the gold was found pure in lumps about the size of a bean or lupin, and which diminished in the fire only about one eighth; and in others, though requiring more fusion, was still very profitable. Certain Italians⁷ aiding the barbarians in working [the mines], in the space of two months the value of gold was diminished throughout the whole of Italy by one third. The Taurisci on discovering this drove out their fellow-labourers, and only sold the gold themselves. Now, however, the Romans possess all the gold mines. Here, too, as well as in Iberia, the rivers yield gold-dust as well as the diggings,

¹ La Saintonge.

² Gascony.

³ Beauvoisis.

⁴ Picardie.

⁵ From Lyons this route passed by Vienne, Valence, Orange, and Avignon; here it separated, leading on one side to Tarascon, Nîmes, Beziers, and Narbonne, and on the other to Arles, Aix, Marseilles, Fréjus, Antibes, &c.

⁶ This other route, says Gosselin, starting from Aouste, traversed the Great Saint Bernard, Valais, the Rhone, a portion of the Vaud, Mount Jura, and so to Besançon and Langres, where it separated, the road to the right passing by Toul, Metz, and Trèves, approached the Rhine at Mayence; while that to the left passed by Troies, Châlons, Rheims, and Bavai, where it again separated and conducted by various points to the sea-coast.

⁷ The Italians also went into Spain, and there engaged in working the mines. Vide Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. c. 36, 38.

though not in such large quantities. The same writer, speaking of the extent and height of the Alps, compares with them the largest mountains of Greece, such as Taygetum,¹ Lycæum,² Parnassus,³ Olympus,⁴ Pelion,⁵ Ossa,⁶ and of Thrace, as the Hæmus, Rhodope, and Dunax, saying that an active person might almost ascend any of these in a single day, and go round them in the same time, whereas five days would not be sufficient to ascend the Alps, while their length along the plains extends 2200 stadia.⁷ He only names four passes over the mountains, one through Liguria close to the Tyrrhenian Sea,⁸ a second through the country of the Taurini,⁹ by which Hannibal passed, a third through the country of the Salassi,¹⁰ and a fourth through that of the Rhæti,¹¹ all of them precipitous. In these mountains, he says, there are numerous lakes; three large ones, the first of which is Benacus,¹² 500 stadia in length and 130 in breadth, the river Mincio flows from it. The second is the Verbanus,¹³ 400 stadia [in length], and in breadth smaller than the preceding;

¹ A mountain of Laconia.

² In Arcadia, some suppose it to be the modern Tetragi, others Diaphorti, and others Mintha. ³ In Phocis, Iapara, or Liokura.

⁴ Olympus is a mountain range of Thessaly, bordering on Macedonia, its summit is thirty miles north of Larissa, in lat. 40° 4' 32" N., long. 22° 25' E. Its estimated height is 9745 feet.

⁵ Petras or Zagora.

⁶ Now Kissovo; it is situated to the east of the river Peneus, immediately north of Mount Pelion, and bounds the celebrated vale of Tempe on one side.

⁷ Gosselin observes, both Polybius and Strabo extended the Alps from the neighbourhood of Marseilles to beyond the Adriatic Gulf, a distance twice 2200 stadia. It appears probable from the words of Polybius himself, (lib. ii. c. 14,) that he merely intended to state the length of the plains situated at the foot of the mountains, which bound Italy on the north; and in fact the distance in a right line from the foot of the Alps about Rivoli or Pignerol to Rovigo, and the marshes formed at the mouths of the Adige and Po, is 63 leagues, or 2200 stadia of 700 to a degree.

⁸ This route passes from Tortona, by Vadi, Albinga, Vintimille, and Monaco, where it crosses the maritime Alps, and thence to Nice, Antibes, &c. *Gosselin*.

⁹ This route passes by Briançon, Mont Genève, the Col de Sestrière, and the Val Progelas. ¹⁰ The passage by the Val Aouste.

¹¹ This route, starting from Milan, passed east of the lake of Como by Coire, and then by Bregentz to the Lake of Constance.

¹² The Lago di Garda.

¹³ Lago Maggiore.

the great river Ticino¹ flows from this [lake]. The third is the Larius,² its length is nearly 300 stadia, and its breadth 30, the river Adda flows from it. All these rivers flow into the Po. This is what we have to say concerning the Alpine mountains.

¹ Ticinus. We have followed the example of the French translators in making the Ticino to flow from the Lago Maggiore, and the Adda from the Lake of Como; by some inexplicable process the text of Strabo has been corrupted and these rivers transposed. Kramer notices the inconsistency of the text.

² The Lake of Como.

BOOK V.

ITALY.

SUMMARY.

The Fifth Book contains a description of Italy from the roots of the Alps to the Strait of Sicily, the Gulf of Taranto, and the region about Posidonium; likewise of Venetia, Liguria, Agro Piceno, Tuscany, Rome, Campania, Lucania, Apulia, and the islands lying in the sea between Genoa and Sicily.

CHAPTER I.

1. AT the foot of the Alps commences the region now known as Italy. The ancients by Italy merely understood *Cenotria*, which reached from the Strait of Sicily to the Gulf of Taranto, and the region about Posidonium,¹ but the name has extended even to the foot of the Alps; comprehending on one side that portion of Liguria situated by the sea, from the confines of Tyrrhenia to the Var; and on the other, that portion of Istria which extends as far as Pola. It seems probable that the first inhabitants were named Italians, and, being successful, they communicated their name to the neighbouring tribes, and this propagation [of name] continued until the Romans obtained dominion. Afterwards, when the Romans conferred on the Italians the privileges of equal citizenship, and thought fit to extend the same honour to the Cisalpine Galatæ and Heneti,² they comprised the whole under the general denomination of Italians and Romans; they likewise founded amongst them numerous colonies, some earlier, some later, of which it would be difficult to say which are the most considerable.

2. It is not easy to describe the whole of Italy under any one geometrical figure; although some say that it is a promontory of triangular form, extending towards the south and winter rising, with its apex towards the Strait of Sicily, and

¹ The Gulf of Salerno.

² Venetians.

its base formed by the Alps. [No one can allow this definition either for the base or one of the sides,] although it is correct for the other side which terminates at the Strait, and is washed by the Tyrrhenian Sea. But a triangle, properly so called, is a rectilinear figure, whereas in this instance both the base and the sides are curved. So that, if I agree, I must add that the base and the sides are of a curved figure, and it must be conceded to me that the eastern side deviates, as well ; otherwise they have not been sufficiently exact in describing as one side that which extends from the head of the Adriatic to the Strait [of Sicily]. For we designate as a side a line without any angle ; now a line without any angle is one which does not incline to either side, or but very little ; whereas the line from Ariminum¹ to the Iapygian promontory,² and that from the Strait [of Sicily] to the same promontory, incline very considerably. The same I consider to be the case with regard to the lines drawn from the head of the Adriatic and Iapygia, for meeting about the neighbourhood of Ariminum and Ravenna, they form an angle, or if not an angle, at least a strongly defined curve. Consequently, if the coast from the head [of the Adriatic] to Iapygia be considered as one side, it cannot be described as a right line ; neither can the remainder of the line from hence to the Strait [of Sicily], though it may be considered another side, be said to form a right line. Thus the figure [of Italy] may be said to be rather quadrilateral than trilateral, and can never without impropriety be called a triangle. It is better to confess that you cannot define exactly ungeometrical figures.

3. [Italy], however, may be described in the following manner. The roots of the Alps are curved, and in the form of a gulf, the head turned towards Italy ; the middle of the gulf in the country of the Salassi, and its extremities turned, the one towards Ocra and the head of the Adriatic, the other towards the coast of Liguria as far as Genoa, a mercantile city of the Ligurians, where the Apennines fall in with the Alps. Immediately under [the Alps] there is a considerable plain, of about an equal extent of 2100 stadia both in breadth and length ; its southern side is closed by the coast of the Heneti³ and the Apennines, which extend to Ariminum and

¹ Rimini.² Capo di Leuca.³ Venetians.

Ancona ; for these mountains, commencing at Liguria, enter Tyrrhenia, leaving but a narrow sea-coast ; they afterwards retire by degrees into the interior, and having reached the territory of Pisa, turn towards the east in the direction of the Adriatic as far as the country about Ariminum and Ancona, where they approach the sea-coast of the Heneti at right angles. Cisalpine Keltica is enclosed within these limits, and the length of the coast joined to that of the mountains is 6300 stadia ; its breadth rather less than 2000. The remainder of Italy is long and narrow, and terminates in two promontories, one¹ extending to the Strait of Sicily, the other² to Iapygia. It is embraced on one side by the Adriatic,³ on the other by the Tyrrhenian Sea.⁴ The form and size of the Adriatic resembles that portion of Italy bounded by the Apennines and the two seas, and extending as far as Iapygia and the isthmus which separates the Gulf of Taranto from that of Posidonium.⁵ The greatest breadth of both is about 1300 stadia, and the length not much less than 6000. The remainder of the country is possessed by the Bruttii, and certain of the Leucani. Polybius tells us, that traversing the sea-coast on foot from Iapygia⁶ to the Strait [of Sicily] there are 3000 stadia, the coast being washed by the Sea of Sicily ; but that going by water it is 500 stadia less. The Apennines, after approaching the country about Ariminum and Ancona, and determining the breadth of Italy at this point from sea to sea, change their direction and divide the whole country throughout its length. As far as the Peucetii and Leucani they do not recede much from the Adriatic, but on arriving at the Leucani they decline considerably towards the other sea,⁷ and traversing the remainder of the distance through the Leucani and Bruttii, terminate at Leucopetra,⁸ in Reggio. Such is a general description of the whole of present Italy. We will now endeavour to undertake a description of its various parts. And, first, of those situated below the Alps.

¹ The peninsula occupied by the people named Brettii, or Bruttii.

² The peninsula now designated Terra di Lecco, and called by the ancients sometimes Iapygia, at others Messapia, Calabria, and Salentina. The isthmus of this peninsula was supposed to be formed by a line drawn from Brindisi to Taranto.

³ The Gulf of Venice.

⁴ The Sea of Tuscany.

⁵ The Gulf of Salerno.

⁶ Capo di Leuca.

⁷ The Mediterranean.

⁸ Capo dell' Armi.

4. This is a superb plain variegated with fruitful hills. The Po divides it almost through its midst, one side being denominated Cispadana, and the other Transpadana. Cispadana comprehends that part next the Apennines and Liguria, and Transpadana the remainder. The former [division] is inhabited by Ligurian and Keltic nations, the former inhabiting the mountains and the latter the plains; and the latter [division] by Kelts and Heneti. These Kelts are of the same race as the Transalpine Kelts. Concerning the Heneti there are two traditions, some saying that they are a colony of those Kelts of the same name who dwell by the ocean.¹ Others say that they are descended from the Veneti of Paphlagonia, who took refuge here with Antenor after the Trojan war; and they give as a proof of this the attention these people bestow on rearing horses; which, though now entirely abandoned, was formerly in great esteem among them, resulting from the ancient rage for breeding mules, which Homer thus mentions:

“From the Eneti for forest mules renowned.”²

It was here that Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, kept his stud of race-horses. And, in consequence, the Henetian horses were much esteemed in Greece, and their breed in great repute for a long period.

5. The whole of this country³ is full of rivers and marshes, especially the district of the Heneti, which likewise experiences the tides of the sea. This is almost the only part of our sea⁴ which is influenced in the same manner as the ocean, and, like it, has ebb and flood tides. In consequence most of the plain is covered with lagoons.⁵ The inhabitants have dug canals and dikes, after the manner of Lower Egypt, so that part of the country is drained and cultivated, and the rest is navigable. Some of their cities stand in the midst of water like islands, others are only partially surrounded. Such as lie above the marshes in the interior are situated on rivers navigable for a surprising distance, the Po in particular,

¹ Of Vannes.

² From the Heneti, whence is the race of wild mules. Iliad ii. 857.

³ Transpadana. ⁴ The Mediterranean.

⁵ The whole of the coast from Ravenna to Aquileia at the bottom of the Gulf of Venice is still covered with marshes and lagoons, as it was in the time of Strabo. The largest of these lagoons are at the mouths of the Po, the others at the mouths of the torrents which descend from the Alps

which is both a large river, and also continually swelled by the rains and snows. As it expands into numerous outlets, its mouth is not easily perceptible and is difficult to enter. But experience surmounts even the greatest difficulties.

6. Formerly, as we have said, the district next this river was chiefly inhabited by Kelts. The principal nations of these Kelts were the Boii, the Insubri, and the Senones and Gæsataæ, who in one of their incursions took possession of Rome. The Romans afterwards entirely extirpated these latter, and expelled the Boii from their country, who then migrated to the land about the Danube, where they dwelt with the Taurisci, and warred against the Dacians until the whole nation was destroyed; and they left to the surrounding tribes this sheep-pasturing district of Illyria. The Insubri still exist; their metropolis is Mediolanum,¹ which formerly was a village, (for they all dwelt in villages,) but is now a considerable city, beyond the Po, and almost touching the Alps. Near to it is Verona, a large city, and the smaller towns Brescia, Mantua, Reggio, and Como. This latter was but a very indifferent colony, having been seriously impaired by the Rhæti who dwelt higher up, but it was re-peopled by Pompey Strabo, father of Pompey the Great. Afterwards Caius Scipio² transferred thither 3000 men, and finally divus Cæsar peopled it with 5000 men, the most distinguished of whom were 500 Greeks. He conferred on these the privileges of citizens, and enrolled them amongst the inhabitants. They not only took up their abode here, but left their name to the colony itself; for all the inhabitants taking the name of *Νεοκωμίται*, this was translated [into Latin], and the place called Novum-Comum. Near to this place is Lake Larius,³ which is filled by the river Adda, and afterwards flows out into the Po. The sources of this river, as well as those of the Rhine, rise in Mount Adulas.⁴

7. These cities are situated high above the marshes; near to them is Patavium,⁵ the finest of all the cities in this

¹ Milan.

² Apparently a mistake for Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus; we are unacquainted with any Caius Scipio. ³ The Lake of Como.

⁴ The source of the Adda is at the foot of Mount Braulio; the three sources of the Rhine issue from Mounts St. Bernardin, St. Barnabé, and Crispalt, at a considerable distance from the source of the Adda.

⁵ Padua.

district, and which at the time of the late census¹ was said to contain 500 equites. Anciently it could muster an army of 120,000 men. The population and skill of this city is evinced by the vast amount of manufactured goods it sends to the Roman market, especially clothing of all kinds. It communicates with the sea by a river navigable from a large harbour [at its mouth], the river runs across the marshes for a distance of 250 stadia. This harbour,² as well as the river,³ is named Medoacus. Situated in the marshes is the great [city of] Ravenna, built entirely on piles,⁴ and traversed by canals, which you cross by bridges or ferry-boats. At the full tides it is washed by a considerable quantity of sea-water, as well as by the river, and thus the sewage is carried off, and the air purified; in fact, the district is considered so salubrious that the [Roman] governors have selected it as a spot to bring up and exercise the gladiators in. It is a remarkable peculiarity of this place, that, though situated in the midst of a marsh, the air is perfectly innocuous; the same is the case with respect to Alexandria in Egypt, where the malignity of the lake during summer is entirely removed by the rising of the river which covers over the mud. Another remarkable peculiarity is that of its vines, which, though growing in the marshes, make very quickly and yield a large amount of fruit, but perish in four or five years. Altinum⁵ stands likewise in the marshes, its situation being very similar to that of Ravenna. Between them is Butrium,⁶ a small city of Ravenna, and Spina,⁷ which is now a village, but was anciently a celebrated Grecian city. In fact, the treasures of the Spinitæ are shown at Delphi, and it is, besides, reported in history that

¹ This appears to have been the last census of the three taken under the reign of Augustus. The first occurred in the year of Rome 726, twenty-eight years before the Christian era; the number of citizens then amounted to 4,064,000, or, according to Eusebius, 4,011,017. The second was in the year of Rome 746, eight years before the Christian era; the number of citizens was then found to be 4,163,000. The third census was in the year of Rome 767, in the fourteenth year of the Christian era; the number of citizens at this time was 4,037,000, according to the monument of Ancyra, but according to Eusebius, 9,070,000.

² Chioggia.

³ The Bacchiglione.

⁴ *Ξυλοπαγής ὄλη*. We have followed the rendering of the French translators; however, Guarini, Buonaccivoli, Xylander, Siebenkees, and Bréquigny, all understand Strabo to mean that the city was built entirely of wood.

⁵ Altino.

⁶ Butrio.

⁷ Spinazino.

they had dominion over the sea. They say that it formerly stood on the sea; now, however, the district is inland about 90 stadia from the sea. Ravenna is reported to have been founded by Thessalians, who not being able to sustain the violence of the Tyrrheni, welcomed into their city some of the Ombrici, who still possess it, while they themselves returned home. These cities for the most part are surrounded, and, as it were, washed by the marshes.

8. Opitergium,¹ Concordia, Atria,² Vicetia,³ as well as some smaller cities, are less annoyed by the marshes: they communicate by small navigable canals with the sea. They say that Atria was formerly a famous city, from which the Adriatic Gulf, with a slight variation, received its name. Aquileia, which is the nearest to the head [of the gulf], was founded by the Romans,⁴ to keep in check the barbarians dwelling higher up. You may navigate transport ships to it up the river Natisone for more than sixty stadia. This is the trading city with the nations of Illyrians who dwell round the Danube. Some deal in marine merchandise, and carry in waggons wine in wooden casks and oil, and others exchange slaves, cattle, and hides. Aquileia is without the limits of the Heneti, their country being bounded by a river which flows from the mountains of the Alps, and is navigable for a distance of 1200 stadia, as far as the city of Noreia,⁵ near to where Cnæus Carbo was defeated in his attack upon the Kimbrians.⁶ This place contains fine stations for gold washing and iron-works. At the very head of the Adriatic is the Timavum,⁷ a temple consecrated to Diomedes, worthy of notice. For it contains a harbour and a fine grove, with seven springs of fresh water, which fall into the sea in a broad, deep river.⁸ Polybius, however, says that, with the exception of one, they are all salt springs, and that it is on this account the place is called by the inhabitants—*the source and mother of the sea*. Posidonius, on the other hand, tells us that the river Timavo, after flowing from the mountains, precipitates itself into a chasm,

¹ Oderzo.² Adria.³ Vicenza.⁴ About the year 156 before the Christian era.⁵ Friesach in Steiermark.⁶ 113 years before the Christian era.⁷ S. Giovanni del Carso.⁸ The present Timavo.

and after flowing under ground about 130 stadia, discharges itself into the sea.

9. That Diomedes did hold sovereignty over the country around this sea,¹ is proved both by the Diomedean islands,² and the traditions concerning the Daunii and Argos-Hippium.³ Of these we shall narrate as much as may be serviceable to history, and shall leave alone the numerous falsehoods and myths; such, for instance, as those concerning Phaethon and the Heliades⁴ changed into alders near the [river] Eridanus, which exists no where, although said to be near the Po;⁵ of the islands Electrides, opposite the mouths of the Po, and the Meleagrides,⁶ found in them; none of which things exist in these localities.⁷ However, some have narrated that honours are paid to Diomedes amongst the Heneti, and that they sacrifice to him a white horse; two groves are likewise pointed out, one [sacred] to the Argian Juno, and the other to the Ætolian Diana. They have too, as we might expect, fictions concerning these groves; for instance, that the wild beasts in them grow tame, that the deer herd with wolves, and they suffer men to approach and stroke them; and that when pursued by dogs, as soon as they have reached these groves,

¹ The Adriatic.

² The three islands of Tremiti, namely Domenico, Nicola, and Caprara, opposite Monte Gargano. ³ Arpino.

⁴ Phaethusa, Lampetie, and Lampethusa. See Virg. Ecl. vi. 62; Æn. x. 190; Ovid Met. ii.

⁵ Either this passage has undergone alteration, or else Strabo is the only writer who informs us that certain mythological traditions distinguished the Eridanus from the Po, placing the former of these rivers in the vicinity of the latter. The père Bardetti thinks the Greeks originally confounded the Eretenus, a tributary of the Po, with the name Eridanus.

⁶ Probably Guinea-hens.

⁷ Strabo seems here to doubt that the Electrides islands ever existed, but the French translators, in a very judicious note, have explained that the geographical features of the country about the mouths of the Po had undergone very considerable changes on account of the immense alluvial deposit brought down from the mountains by that river, and suggest that these islands had been united to the main-land long before Strabo's time, for which reason he would not be able to verify the ancient traditions. Even at the present day the Cavalier Negrelli is employing his celebrated engineering science in making the communication between the Po and the Adriatic navigable, and so rendering the countries bordering on the Ticino, Adda, Mincio, Trebbia, Panono, and the adjacent lakes accessible to steam-boats from the Adriatic.

the dogs no longer pursue them. They say, too, that a certain person, well known for the facility with which he offered himself as a pledge for others, being bantered on this subject by some hunters who came up with him having a wolf in leash, they said in jest, that if he would become pledge for the wolf and pay for the damage he might do, they would loose the bonds. To this the man consented, and they let loose the wolf, who gave chase to a herd of horses unbranded, and drove them into the stable of the person who had become pledge for him. The man accepted the gift, branded the horses with [the representation of] a wolf, and named them *Lucophori*. They were distinguished rather for their swiftness than gracefulness. His heirs kept the same brand and the same name for this race of horses, and made it a rule never to part with a single mare, in order that they might remain sole possessors of the race, which became famous. At the present day, however, as we have before remarked, this [rage for] horse-breeding has entirely ceased.

After the Timavum¹ comes the sea-coast of Istria as far as Pola, which appertains to Italy. Between [the two] is the fortress of Tergeste, distant from Aquileia 180 stadia. Pola is situated in a gulf forming a kind of port, and containing some small islands,² fruitful, and with good harbours. This city was anciently founded by the Colchians sent after Medea, who not being able to fulfil their mission, condemned themselves to exile. As Callimachus says,

“It a Greek would call
The town of Fugitives, but in their tongue
'Tis Pola named.”

The different parts of Transpadana are inhabited by the Heneti and the Istrii as far as Pola; above the Heneti, by the Carni, the Cenomani, the Medoaci, and the Symbri.³ These nations were formerly at enmity with the Romans, but the Cenomani and Heneti allied themselves with that nation, both prior to the expedition of Hannibal, when they waged war with the Boii and Symbrii,³ and also after that time.

10. Cispadana comprehends all that country enclosed be-

¹ The Timavum, or temple consecrated to Diomede.

² The Isola di Brioni, Conversara, and S. Nicolo. Pliny calls them *Insulæ Pullariæ*.

³ This name is probably corrupt; Coray proposes to read *Insubri*.

tween the Apennines and the Alps as far as Genoa and the Vada-Sabbatorum.¹ The greater part was inhabited by the Boii, the Ligurians, the Senones, and Gæsataë; but after the depopulation of the Boii, and the destruction of the Gæsataë and Senones, the Ligurian tribes and the Roman colonies alone remained. The nation of the Ombrici² and certain of the Tyrrheni are also mixed amongst the Romans. These two nations, before the aggrandizement of the Romans, had some disputes with each other concerning precedence. Having only the river Tiber between, it was easy to commence war upon each other; and if the one sent out an expedition against any nation, it was the ambition of the other to enter the same country with an equal force. Thus, the Tyrrheni, having organized a successful expedition against the barbarians [dwelling in the countries] about the Po, but having speedily lost again through their luxury [all they had acquired], the Ombrici made war upon those who had driven them out. Disputes arose between the Tyrrheni and Ombrici concerning the right of possessing these places, and both nations founded many colonies; those, however, of the Ombrici were most numerous, as they were nearest to the spot. When the Romans gained the dominion, they sent out colonies to different parts, but preserved those which had been formerly planted by their predecessors. And although now they are all Romans, they are not the less distinguished, some by the names of Ombri and Tyrrheni, others by those of Heneti, Ligurians, and Insubri.

11. Both in Cispadana and around the Po there are some fine cities. Placentia³ and Cremona, situated about the middle of the country, are close to each other. Between these and Ariminum,⁴ are Parma, Mutina,⁵ and Bononia,⁶ which is near to Ravenna; amongst these are smaller cities on the route to Rome, as Acara,⁷ Rhegium-Lepidum,⁸ Macri-Campi,⁹ where a public festival is held every year, Claterna,¹⁰ Forum-Cornelium;¹¹ while Faventia¹² and Cæsena, situated near to the river Savio¹³ and the Rubicon,¹⁴ are adjacent to Ariminum.

¹ Vadi. ² The Umbrians, or Umbri, of Roman History.

³ Piacenza.

⁴ Rimini.

⁵ Modena.

⁶ Bologna.

⁷ Probably corrupt.

⁸ Reggio in Modena.

⁹ Between Parma and Modena, the Val di Montirone and Orte Magrada.

¹⁰ Quaderna.

¹¹ Imola.

¹² Faenza.

¹³ Ancient Sapis.

¹⁴ Probably Pisatello.

Ariminum, like Ravenna, is an ancient colony of the Ombri, but both of them have received also Roman colonies. Ariminum has a port and a river¹ of the same name as itself. From Placentia to Ariminum there are 1300 stadia. About 36 miles above Placentia, towards the boundaries of the kingdom of Cottius, is the city of Ticinum,² by which flows a river³ bearing the same name, which falls into the Po, while a little out of the route are Clastidium,⁴ Derthon,⁵ and Aquæ-Statuellæ.⁶ But the direct route as far as Ocelum,⁷ along the Po and the Doria Riparia,⁸ is full of precipices, intersected by numerous other rivers, one of which is the Durance,⁹ and is about 160 miles long. Here commence the Alpine mountains and Keltica.¹⁰ Near to the mountains above Luna is the city of Lucca. Some [of the people of this part of Italy] dwell in villages, nevertheless it is well populated, and furnishes the greater part of the military force, and of equites, of whom the senate is partly composed. Derthon is a considerable city, situated about half way on the road from Genoa to Placentia, which are distant 400 stadia from each other. Aquæ-Statuellæ is on the same route. That from Placentia to Ariminum we have already described, but the sail to Ravenna down the Po requires two days and nights. A¹¹ great part of Cispadana likewise was covered by marshes, through which Hannibal passed with difficulty on his march into Tyrrenia.¹² But Scaurus drained the plains by navigable canals from the Po¹³ to the country of the Parmesans. For the Trebia meeting the Po near Placentia, and having previously received many other rivers, is over-swollen near this place. I allude to the Scaurus¹⁴ who also made the Æmilian road through Pisa and Luna as far as Sabbatorum, and thence through Derthon. There is another Æmilian road, which continues the Flaminian. For Marcus Lepidus and Caius Flaminius being colleagues in the consulship, and having vanquished the Ligurians, the one made the Via Flaminia from Rome across

¹ The Marecchia. ² Pavia. ³ The Ticino.

⁴ Castezzio. ⁵ Tortona. ⁶ Acqui, on the left bank of the Bormia.

⁷ Ucello. ⁸ Δουρία. ⁹ The ancient Druentia.

¹⁰ Transalpine Gaul. ¹¹ From here to the word Derthon the text appears to be corrupt. ¹² Tuscany.

¹³ Cluvier proposes to read "from Placentia to Parma;" he has been followed throughout the passage by the French translators.

¹⁴ M. Ænilius Scaurus.

Tyrrhenia and Ombrica as far as the territory of Ariminum,¹ the other, the road as far as Bononia,² and thence to Aquileia³ by the roots of the Alps, and encircling the marshes. The boundaries which separate from the rest of Italy this country, which we designate Citerior Keltica,⁴ were marked by the Apennine mountains above Tyrrhenia and the river Esino,⁵ and afterwards by the Rubicon.⁶ Both these rivers fall into the Adriatic.

12. The fertility of this country is proved by its population, the size of its cities, and its wealth, in all of which the Romans of this country surpass the rest of Italy. The cultivated land produces fruits in abundance and of every kind, and the woods contain such abundance of mast, that Rome is principally supplied from the swine fed there. Being well supplied with water, millet grows there in perfection. This affords the greatest security against famine, inasmuch as millet resists any inclemency of the atmosphere, and never fails, even when there is scarcity of other kinds of grain. Their pitch-works are amazing, and their casks give evidence of the abundance of wine: these are made of wood, and are larger than houses, and the great supply of pitch allows them to be sold cheap. The soft wool and by far the best is produced in the country round Mutina⁷ and the river Panaro;⁸ while the coarse wool, which forms the main article of clothing amongst the slaves in Italy, is produced in Liguria and the country of the Symbri. There is a middling kind grown about Patavium,⁹ of which the finer carpets, gausapi,¹⁰ and every thing else of the same sort, whether with the wool on

¹ Strabo here falls into a mistake in attributing to C. Flaminius Nepos, who was consul in the year of Rome 567, 187 years before the Christian era, the construction of the Via Flaminia which led from the Portus Flumentana to the city of Ariminum. According to most Latin authors, this grand route was formed by C. Flaminius Nepos, censor in the year of Rome 534, and 220 years before the Christian era (the same who three years afterwards was slain at the battle of Thrasymenus). Livy, whose authority is certainly of great weight, speaking of the grand road made by C. Flaminius Nepos, consul in the year of Rome 567, states expressly that it led from Bologna to Arezzo. Hist. lib. xxxix. § 2.

² Bologna. ³ Maffei proposes to substitute Placentia for Aquileia.

⁴ Cisalpine Gaul.

⁵ The ancient *Æsis*, now Esino, named also Fiumesino.

⁶ Probably the Pisatello. ⁷ Modena. ⁸ The Scultanna of antiquity

⁹ Padua. ¹⁰ A kind of cassock with long hair.

one or on both sides, are made. The mines are not worked now so diligently, because not equally profitable with those of Transalpine Keltica and Iberia ; but formerly they must have been, since there were gold-diggings even in Vercelli, near to Ictimuli,¹ both which villages are near to Placentia.² Here we finish our description of the first part of Italy, and pass on to the second.

CHAPTER II.

1. IN the second place, we shall treat of that portion of Liguria situated in the Apennines, between the Keltica³ already described and Tyrrhenia. There is nothing worth mentioning about it, except that the people dwell in villages, ploughing and digging the intractable land, or rather, as Posidonius expresses it, hewing the rocks.

The third division contains the Tyrrhenians, who dwell next the former, and inhabit the plains extending to the Tiber, which river, as far as its outlet, washes the side towards the east, the opposite side being washed by the Tyrrhenian and Sardinian sea. The Tiber flows from the Apennines, and is swelled by many rivers ; it flows partly through Tyrrhenia, dividing it in the first instance from Ombrica,⁴ afterwards from the Sabini and the Latini, who are situated next Rome as far as the sea-coast ; so that these countries are bounded in their breadth by the river [Tiber] and the Tyrrhenians, and in their length by each other. They extend upwards towards the Apennines which approach the Adriatic. The first⁵ are the Ombrici, after these the Sabini, and finally the inhabitants of Latium. They all commence from the river. The country of the Latini extends on one side along the sea-coast from Ostia to the city of Sinuessa, on the other it is bounded by the land of the Sabini, (Ostia is the port of Rome, through which the Tiber passes in its course,) it

¹ Probably Victimolo.

² Piacenza.

³ Gallia Cispadana.

⁴ 'Ομβρικῆ, now Umbria

⁵ Or nearest to the Adriatic.

extends in length as far as Campania and the Samnitic mountains. The country of the Sabini lies between the Latini and the Ombrici, it likewise extends to the Samnitic mountains, but approaches nearer to the Apennines inhabited by the Vestini, the Peligni, and the Marsi. The Ombrici lie between the country of the Sabini and Tyrrhenia, but extend beyond the mountains as far as Ariminum,¹ and Ravenna. The Tyrrheni, commencing from their own sea and the Tiber, extend to the circular chain of mountains which stretches from Liguria to the Adriatic. We will now enter into a detailed account, commencing with these.

2. The Tyrrheni have now received from the Romans the surname of Etrusci and Tusci. The Greeks thus named them from Tyrrhenus the son of Atys, as they say, who sent hither a colony from Lydia. Atys, who was one of the descendants of Hercules and Omphale, and had two sons, in a time of famine and scarcity determined by lot that Lydus should remain in the country, but that Tyrrhenus, with the greater part of the people, should depart. Arriving here, he named the country after himself, Tyrrhenia, and founded twelve cities, having appointed as their governor Tarcon, from whom the city of Tarquinia [received its name], and who, on account of the sagacity which he had displayed from childhood, was feigned to have been born with hoary hair. Placed originally under one authority, they became flourishing; but it seems that in after-times, their confederation being broken up and each city separated, they yielded to the violence of the neighbouring tribes. Otherwise they would never have abandoned a fertile country for a life of piracy on the sea, roving from one ocean to another; since, when united they were able not only to repel those who assailed them, but to act on the offensive, and undertake long campaigns. After the foundation of Rome, Demaratus arrived here, bringing with him people from Corinth.² He was received at Tarquinia, where he had a son, named Lucumo, by a woman of that country.³ Lucumo becoming the friend of Ancus Mar-

¹ Rimini.

² Larcher calculates that it was about the year of Rome 91, or 663 years before the Christian era, that Demaratus, flying from the tyranny of Cypselus at Corinth, established himself in Tyrrhenia.

³ Strabo here mentions only one son of Demaratus, to whom he gives

cius, king of the Romans, succeeded him on the throne, and assumed the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Both he and his father did much for the embellishment of Tyrrhenia, the one by means of the numerous artists who had followed him from their native country; the other having the resources of Rome.¹ It is said that the triumphal costume of the consuls, as well as that of the other magistrates, was introduced from the Tarquinii, with the fasces, axes, trumpets, sacrifices, divination, and music employed by the Romans in their public ceremonies. His son, the second Tarquin, named Superbus, who was driven from his throne, was the last king [of Rome]. Porsena, king of Clusium,² a city of Tyrrhenia, endeavoured to replace him on the throne by force of arms, but not being able he made peace³ with the Romans, and departed in a friendly way, with honour and loaded with gifts.

3. Such are the facts concerning the celebrity of the Tyrrheni, to which may be added the exploits of the Cæretani,⁴ who defeated the Galatæ after they had taken Rome. Having attacked them as they were departing through the country of the Sabini, they took from them, much against their will, the ransom which the Romans had willingly paid to them; besides this, they took under their protection those who fled to them out of Rome, the sacred fire and the priestesses of Vesta.⁵ The Romans, influenced by those who then misgoverned the city, seem not to have been properly mindful of this service; for although they conferred on them the rights of citizenship, they did not enrol them amongst the citizens; and further, they inscribed upon the same roll with the Cæretani, others who did not enjoy as great privileges as they did. However,

the name of Lucumo; in this latter statement he is supported by Dionysius Halicarnassus. Livy also mentions a young citizen of Clusium named Lucumo. But there is reason to believe that these three writers were deceived by the writers whom they followed. It seems to be incontestable that Lucumo was the designation of the chief of each of the twelve cities of Etruria.

¹ Dionysius Halicarnassus relates that after a brisk war the cities of Etruria submitted to Tarquinius Priscus, and that the Romans permitted him to accept this foreign royalty, and still hold the throne of Rome. No historian that we are aware of, with the exception of Strabo, mentions the benefits received by Etruria from that prince.

² Chiusi.

³ B. c. 508.

⁴ The people of Cerveteri.

⁵ This is also related by Livy and Valerius Maximus.

amongst the Greeks this city was highly esteemed both for its bravery and rectitude of conduct ; for they refrained from piracy, with favourable opportunities for engaging in it, and dedicated at Delphi the treasure, as it was called, of the Agyllæi ; for their country was formerly named Agylla, though now Cærea. It is said to have been founded by Pelasgi from Thessaly. The Lydians, who had taken the name of Tyrrheni, having engaged in war against the Agyllæi, one of them, approaching the wall, inquired the name of the city ; when one of the Thessalians from the wall, instead of answering the question, saluted him with χαῖρε.¹ The Tyrrheni received this as an omen, and having taken the city they changed its name. This city, once so flourishing and celebrated, only preserves the traces [of its former greatness] ; the neighbouring hot springs, named Cæretana,² being more frequented than it, by the people attracted thither for the sake of their health.

4. Almost every one is agreed that the Pelasgi were an ancient race spread throughout the whole of Greece, but especially in the country of the Æolians near to Thessaly. Ephorus, however, says that he considers they were originally Arcadians, who had taken up a warlike mode of life ; and having persuaded many others to the same course, imparted their own name to the whole, and became famous both among the Greeks, and in every other country where they chanced to come. Homer informs us that there were colonies of them in Crete, for he makes Ulysses say to Penelope—

“ Diverse their language is ; Achaians some,
And some indigenous are ; Cydonians there,
Crest-shaking Dorians, and Pelasgians dwell.”³

And that portion of Thessaly between the outlets of the Peneius⁴ and the Thermopylæ, as far as the mountains of Pindus, is named Pelasgic Argos, the district having formerly belonged to the Pelasgi. The poet himself also gives to Dodonæan Jupiter, the epithet of Pelasgian :—

¹ A Grecian form of salutation, equivalent to our “good-morning.”

² Cæri, according to Holstenius, the Bagni di Sasso, Clavier considered it Bagni di Stigliano.

³ Odyssey xix. 175. And there is a different language of different men mixed together ; there are in it Achaians, and magnanimous Eteocretans, and Cydonians, and crest-shaking Dorians, and divine Pelasgians.

⁴ The Salambria, Costum.

“Pelagian, Dodonæan Jove supreme.”¹

Many have likewise asserted that the nations of the Epirus are Pelasgic, because the dominions of the Pelasgi extended so far. And, as many of the heroes have been named Pelasgi, later writers have applied the same name to the nations over which they were the chiefs. Thus Lesbos² has been called Pelasgic, and Homer has called the people bordering on the Cilices in the Troad Pelasgi:—

“Hippothous from Larissa, for her soil
Far-famed, the spear-expert Pelasgians brought.”³

Ephorus, when he supposes that they were a tribe of Arcadians, follows Hesiod, who says,

“The sons born of the divine Lycaon, whom formerly Pelasgus begot.”

Likewise Æschylus in his *Suppliants*, or *Danaiids*, makes their race to be of Argos near Mycenæ. Ephorus likewise says that Peloponnesus was named Pelasgia; and Euripides, in the *Archelaus*, says,

“Danaus, who was the father of fifty daughters, having arrived in Argos inhabited⁴ the city of Inachus, and made a law that those who had before borne the name of Pelasgiotæ throughout Greece should be called Danaï.”

Anticlidides says, that they first colonized about Lemnos and Imbros, and that some of their number passed into Italy with Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys. And the writers on the Athenian Antiquities,⁵ relate of the Pelasgi, that some of them came to Athens, where, on account of their wanderings, and their settling like birds in any place where they chanced to come, they were called by the Athenians *Pelargi*.⁶

5. They say that the greatest length of Tyrrhenia, which is along the coast from Luna to Ostia, is about 2500 stadia; and that its breadth in the direction of the mountains is less than half that number. Then from Luna to Pisa there are more than 400 stadia; from thence to Volaterræ⁷ 280; thence to Pop-

¹ Iliad xvi. 223.

² Metelino.

³ Iliad ii. 840, Hippothous led the tribes of the spear-skilled Pelasgians, of those who inhabited fertile Larissa.

⁴ We have followed the example of the French translators in reading *ῥκησεν* with all MSS. Groskurd and Kramer adopt the views of Xylander and Siebenkees in substituting *ῥκισεν*.

⁵ *Οἱ τὴν Ἀθηΐδα συγγράψαντες*. *Ἀθηΐς* was a title given to their works by many authors who wrote on Athenian Antiquities, as Philochorus, Androtion, Amelesagoras, Hellanicus, &c.

⁶ Or Storks.

⁷ Volterra.

lonium 270 ; and from Poplonium to Cossa¹ near 800, or as some say, 600. Polybius, however, says that there are not² in all 1330.³ Of these Luna is a city and harbour ; it is named by the Greeks, the harbour and city of Selene.⁴ The city is not large, but the harbour⁵ is very fine and spacious, containing in itself numerous harbours, all of them deep near the shore ; it is in fact an arsenal worthy of a nation holding dominion for so long a time over so vast a sea. The harbour is surrounded by lofty mountains,⁶ from whence you may view the sea⁷ and Sardinia, and a great part of the coast on either side. Here are quarries of marble, both white and marked with green, so numerous and large, as to furnish tablets and columns of one block ; and most of the material for the fine works, both in Rome and the other cities, is furnished from hence. The transport of the marble is easy, as the quarries lie near to the sea, and from the sea they are conveyed by the Tiber. Tyrrhenia likewise supplies most of the straightest and longest planks for building, as they are brought direct from the mountains to the river. Between Luna and Pisa flows the Macra,⁸ a division which many writers consider the true boundary of Tyrrhenia and Liguria. Pisa was founded by the Pisatæ of the Peloponnesus, who went under Nestor to the expedition against Troy, but in their voyage home wandered out of their course, some to Metapontium,⁹ others to the Pisatis ; they were, however, all called Pyliaus. The city lies between the two rivers Arno¹⁰ and Æsar,¹¹ at their point of confluence ; the former of which, though very full, descends from Arretium¹² not in one body, but divided into three ; the second flows

¹ Ruins near Ansedonia.

² Coray here reads *οὐν* for *οὐκ*. Kramer considers the passage corrupt.

³ The French translation here gives 1460, and a note by Gosselin.

⁴ *Σελήνη*, the moon. ⁵ The bay of Spezia.

⁶ The mountains of Carrara. ⁷ The Mediterranean.

⁸ Other writers mention a river Macra, but none of them, as it appears, a district in Italy bearing that name. Kramer supposes that Strabo wrote *ποτάμιον*, and not *χωρίον*, the reading of all MSS.

⁹ Near the mouth of the river Basiento. ¹⁰ The ancient Arnus.

¹¹ Corresponding to the present Serchio, which discharges itself into the sea, and not into the Arno. The time when this change of direction took place is not recorded, but traces of the ancient name and course of the river remain in the Osari, which, after flowing a short distance through a marshy district, falls into the sea between the Serchio and Arno.

¹² Arezzo.

down from the Apennines. Where they fall into one current, the shock between them is so great as to raise the water to that height, that people standing on either bank are not able to see each other ; so that necessarily the voyage up from the sea is difficult. This voyage is about 20 stadia. There is a tradition, that when these rivers first descended from the mountains they were impeded by the inhabitants of the district, lest falling together they should inundate the country ; however, they promised not to inundate it, and they have kept their word. This city appears to have been formerly flourishing, and at the present day it still maintains its name, on account of its fertility, its marble-quarries, and its wood for building ships, which formerly they employed to preserve themselves from danger by sea ; for they were more warlike than the Tyrrheni, and were constantly irritated by the Ligurians, troublesome neighbours, who dwelt on the coast. At the present day the wood is mostly employed for building houses in Rome, and in the country villas [of the Romans], which resemble in their gorgeousness Persian palaces.

6. The country of the Volaterrani¹ is washed by the sea. Their city is situated in a deep hollow on the top of a high hill. The wall of the city is built round its summit, which is flat and precipitous on every side. From its base, the ascent upward is fifteen stadia, steep and difficult. Here certain of the Tyrrhenians and of those proscribed by Sulla,² took their stand, and having organized four bands, sustained a siege for two years, and at last secured articles of truce before surrendering the place. Poplonium is situated on a lofty promontory, which projects into the sea, and forms a chersonesus. It likewise sustained a siege about the same time. This little place is now deserted, with the exception of the temples and a few houses ; the sea-port, which is situated at the root of the mountain, is better inhabited, having both a small harbour and ship-sheds. This appears to me the only one of the ancient Tyrrhenian cities situated on the sea ; the reason being that this territory affords no harbours. The founders [of the cities] therefore either avoided the sea altogether, or threw up fortifications in order that they might not become the ready prey of those who might sail against them. On the

¹ Volterra.

² Eighty-one years B. C.

summit [of the cape] there is a look-out for thunnies.¹ From this city there is an indistinct and distant view of Sardinia. Cyrnus,² however, is nearer, being distant from Sardinia about 60 stadia. While Æthalia³ is much nearer to the continent than either, being distant therefrom only 300⁴ stadia, and the same number from Cyrnus. Poplonium is the best starting-place to any of the three mentioned islands. We ourselves observed them from the height of Poplonium, in which place we saw certain mines which had been abandoned, we also saw the craftsmen who work the iron brought from Æthalia; for they cannot reduce it into bars in the furnaces on the island, and it is therefore transferred direct from the mines to the continent. There is another remarkable circumstance, that the exhausted mines of the island in course of time are again re-filled similarly to what they say takes place at the *platamones*⁵ in Rhodes, the marble-quarries in Paros, and the salt-mines in India, mentioned by Clitarchus. Eratosthenes was therefore incorrect in saying that from the mainland you could neither see Cyrnus nor Sardinia; and so was Artemidorus in his assertion, that both these places lay in the high sea at a distance of 1200 stadia. For whatever others might, I certainly could never have seen them at such a distance, however carefully I had looked, particularly Cyrnus. Æthalia has a harbour named Argoüs,⁶ derived, as they say, from the [ship] Argo, Jason having sailed hither, seeking the abode of Circe as Medea wished to see that goddess; and that from the sweat scraped off by the Argonauts and hardened, are formed the variegated pebbles now seen on the beach.⁷ This and similar traditions prove what we before stated, that Homer did not invent them all himself, but, hearing the numerous current stories, he merely transferred the scenes to other localities and exaggerated the distances: as he makes Ulysses wander

¹ This was a regular business. A man was posted on a high place, from which he could see the shoals coming, and make a sign to the fishermen.

² Corsica.

³ The island of Elba.

⁴ The French translation has 200 in text, while it states in a note that all manuscripts give 300, and continues to discuss the real distance at some length. Kramer says, in a note, that MS. Vatic. No. 482, has 200.

⁵ Πλαταμῶνας is here adopted in preference to any attempt at translation. It is probable they were quarries of the cream-coloured limestone of the island.

⁶ Porto Ferrajo.

⁷ Gosselin supposes that the crystals of iron, abundant in the island of Elba, are here alluded to.

over the ocean, so does he narrate of Jason, as he too had been renowned for his travels: and the same he likewise relates of Menelaus. This is what we have to say of Æthalia.

7. Cyrnus is called by the Romans Corsica; it is poorly inhabited, being both rugged and in many parts entirely inaccessible, so that the mountaineers, who live by plunder, are more savage than wild beasts. Whenever any Roman general invades the country, and, penetrating into the wilds, seizes a vast number of slaves, it is a marvel to behold in Rome how savage and bestial they appear. For they either scorn to live, or if they do live, aggravate their purchasers by their apathy and insensibility, causing them to regret the purchase-money, however small.¹ We must remark, however, that some districts are habitable, and that there are some small cities, for instance Blesino, Charax, Eniconiæ, and Vapanes.² The chorographer³ says that the length of this island is 160 miles, its breadth 70; that the length of Sardinia is 220, and its breadth 98. According to others, the perimeter of Cyrnus is said to be about 1200⁴ stadia, and of Sardinia 4000. A great portion of this latter is rugged and untranquil; another large portion is fertile in every production, but particularly in wheat. There are many cities, some are considerable, as Caralis⁵ and Sulchi.⁶ There is however an evil, which must be set against the fertility of these places; for during the summer the island is unhealthy, more particularly so in the most fertile districts; in addition to this, it is often ravaged by the mountaineers, whom they call Diagesbes,⁷ who formerly were named Iolaënses. For it is said that Iolaus⁸ brought hither certain of the children of Hercules, and established himself amongst the barbarian pos-

¹ The testimony of Diodorus is just to the contrary. The Corsican slaves appear better fitted than any others for performing useful services; their physical constitution being peculiarly adapted thereto. Diodor. Sic. l. v. § 13.

² None of these names are found in Ptolemy's description of Corsica. Diodorus Siculus has names somewhat similar.

³ It is uncertain to whom Strabo here alludes. The French translators are of opinion that he alludes to the chart of Agrippa.

⁴ The French translators read with their manuscript 1394, *περι τρισχιλίουσ, κ. τ. λ.*, about 3200.

⁵ Cagliari.

⁶ Cluvier is of opinion that the modern Palma di Solo corresponds to Sulchi.

⁷ Some manuscripts read Diagebres.

⁸ The nephew of Hercules, being the son of Iphiclus, his brother.

sessors of the island, who were Tyrrhenians. Afterwards the Phœnicians of Carthage became masters of the island, and, assisted by the inhabitants, carried on war against the Romans; but after the subversion of the Carthaginians, the Romans became masters of the whole. There are four nations of mountaineers, the Parati, Sossinati, Balari, and the Aconites. These people dwell in caverns. Although they have some arable land, they neglect its cultivation, preferring rather to plunder what they find cultivated by others, whether on the island or on the continent, where they make descents, especially upon the Pisatæ. The prefects sent [into Sardinia] sometimes resist them, but at other times leave them alone, since it would cost too dear to maintain an army always on foot in an unhealthy place: they have, however, recourse to the arts of stratagem, and taking advantage of the custom of the barbarians, who always hold a great festival for several days after returning from a plundering expedition, they then fall upon them, and capture many. There are rams here which, instead of wool, have hair resembling that of a goat; they are called musmones, and the inhabitants make corselets of their hides. They likewise arm themselves with a pelta and a small sword.

8. Along the whole coast between Poplonium and Pisa these islands are clearly visible; they are oblong, and all three nearly parallel,¹ running towards the south and Libya. Æthalia is by far smaller than either of the other two. The chorographer says that the shortest passage from Libya to Sardinia is 300² miles. After Poplonium is the city of Cossæ, situated at a short distance from the sea: there is at the head of the bay a high hill upon which it is built; below it lies the port of Hercules,³ and near to it a marsh formed by the sea.⁴ At the summit of the cape which commands the gulf is a lookout for thunnies; for the thunny pursues his course along the coast, from the Atlantic Ocean as far as Sicily, in search not only of acorns, but also of the fish which furnishes the purple dye. As one sails along the coast from Cossæ to Ostia

¹ That is, Corsica and Sardinia run in a line north and south, and Elba lies to one side; the *παράλληλοι σχεδὸν αἱ τρεῖς* is an example showing how happily a circumstance may be expressed in Greek, while no amount of labour will adapt an English equivalent.

² The real distance, according to Gosselin, is 115 miles.

³ Porto Ercole

⁴ The Stagno d'Orbitello.

there are the towns of Gravisce,¹ Pyrgi,² Alsium,³ and Fregena.⁴ [From Cossæ] to Gravisce is a distance of 300 stadia, and between them is the place named Regis-Villa. This is said to have been the royal residence of Maleos the Pelasgian; they report that after he had reigned here for some time, he departed with his Pelasgians to Athens. These were of the same tribe as those who occupied Agylla. From Gravisce to Pyrgi is a little less than 180 stadia, and the sea-port town of the Cæretani is 30 stadia farther. [Pyrgi] contains a temple of Æthyia⁵ founded by the Pelasgi, and which was formerly rich, but it was plundered by Dionysius the tyrant of the Sicilians, at the time⁶ of his voyage to Cyrrus.⁷ From Pyrgi to Ostia is 260 stadia; between the two are Alsium and Fregena. Such is our account of the coast of Tyrrhenia.

9. In the interior of the country, besides the cities already mentioned, there are Arretium,⁸ Perusia,⁹ Volsinii,¹⁰ Sutrium;¹¹ and in addition to these are numerous small cities, as Blera,¹² Ferentinum,¹³ Falerium,¹⁴ Faliscum,¹⁵ Nepita,¹⁶ Statonia,¹⁷ and many others; some of which exist in their original state, others have been colonized by the Romans, or partially ruined by them in their wars, viz. those they frequently waged against the Veii¹⁸ and the Fidenæ.¹⁹ Some say that the inhabitants of Falerium are not Tyrrhenians, but Falisci, a distinct nation; others state further, that the Falisci speak a language peculiar to themselves; some again would make it Æquum-Faliscum on

¹ Situated in the marshy plain commanded by the heights of Corneto, between the Mignone and the Marta.

² This town stood on the site of the present S. Severa, at the mouth of the Rio-Castrica.

³ The ancient Alsium occupied the site of the place now called Statua; below it are the vestiges of the Portus Alsiensis, at the embouchure of the Rio-Cupino, a little to the east of Palo. ⁴ Torre Macarese.

⁵ The Roman Lucina, in later times identical with Diana.

⁶ About the year 384 before the Christian era. ⁷ Corsica.

⁸ Arezzo. ⁹ Perugia. ¹⁰ Bolsena. ¹¹ Sutri. ¹² Bieda.

¹³ The French translation understands this to be the modern Ferenti, near Viterbo. ¹⁴ Sta. Maria di Falari.

¹⁵ Probably another name for Falerium. ¹⁶ Nepi.

¹⁷ Castro, or Farnese, near Lake Mezzano.

¹⁸ This ancient city was probably situated near the Isola Farnesia, about the place where Storta now stands.

¹⁹ Fidenæ was situated on the left bank of the Tiber, near its confluence with the Anio, now the Teverone, 40 stadia from Rome. The ruins are near the villages Giubileo and Serpentina.

the Via Flaminia, lying between Oricli¹ and Rome. Below Mount Soracte² is the city of Feronia, having the same name as a certain goddess of the country, highly revered by the surrounding people: here is her temple, in which a remarkable ceremony is performed, for those possessed by the divinity pass over a large bed of burning coal and ashes bare-foot, unhurt. A great concourse of people assemble to assist at the festival, which is celebrated yearly, and to see the said spectacle. Arretium,³ near the mountains, is the most inland city: it is distant from Rome 1200 stadia: from Clusium⁴ [to Rome] is 800 stadia. Near to these [two cities] is Perusia.⁵ The large and numerous lakes add to the fertility of this country,⁶ they are navigable, and stocked with fish and aquatic birds. Large quantities of typha,⁷ papyrus, and anthela⁸ are transported to Rome, up the rivers which flow from these lakes to the Tiber. Among these are the lake Ciminius,⁹ and those near the Volsinii,¹⁰ and Clusium,¹¹ and Sabatus,¹² which is nearest to Rome and the sea, and the farthest Trasumennus,¹³ near Arretium. Along this is the pass by which armies can proceed from [Cisalpine] Keltica into Tyrrhenia; this is the one followed by Hannibal. There are two; the other leads towards Ariminum across Ombrica, and is preferable as the mountains are considerably lower; however, as this was carefully guarded, Hannibal was compelled to take the more difficult, which he succeeded in forcing after having vanquished Flaminius in a decisive engagement. There are likewise in Tyrrhenia numerous hot springs, which on account of their proximity to Rome, are not less frequented than those of Baiæ, which are the most famous of all.

10. Ombrica lies along the eastern boundary of Tyrrhenia, and commencing from the Apennines, or rather beyond those mountains, [extends] as far as the Adriatic. For com-

¹ *Hodie* Otricoli: the ancient town was situated nearer the Tiber than the modern.

² Monte di S. Silvestro.

³ Arezzo.

⁴ Chiusi.

⁵ Perugia.

⁶ Tyrrhenia.

⁷ An aquatic plant, perhaps the Typha of Linnæus, used in making lamp-wicks, and for other purposes to which tow was applied.

⁸ The downy substance growing on the flowering reed.

⁹ The Lago di Vico or di Ronciglione.

¹⁰ Lago di Bolsena.

¹¹ Now only marshes.

¹² Lago di Bracciano.

¹³ All MSS. are corrupt at this word. It is now called Lago di Perugia

mencing from Ravenna, the Ombrici inhabit the neighbouring country together with the cities of Sarsina, Ariminum,¹ Sena,² † and Marinum. †³ To their country likewise belongs the river Esino,⁴ Mount Cingulum, [the city of] Sentinum,⁵ the river Metaurus, and the Fanum Fortunæ;⁶ for about these parts are the boundaries which separate ancient Italy and [Cisalpine] Keltica on the side next the Adriatic, although the boundary has frequently been changed by the chief men of the state. First they made the Esino the boundary; afterwards the river Rubicon: the Esino being between Ancona and Sena, and the Rubicon between Ariminum and Ravenna, both of them falling into the Adriatic. At the present day, however, since Italy comprehends the whole country as far as the Alps, we need take no further notice of these limits. All allow that Ombrica⁷ extends as far as Ravenna, as the inhabitants are Ombrici. From Ravenna to Ariminum they say is about 300 stadia. Going from Ariminum to Rome by the Via Flaminia, the whole journey lies through Ombrica as far as the city of Ocricli⁸ and the Tiber, a distance of 1350 stadia. This, consequently, is the length [of Ombrica]; its breadth varies. The cities of considerable magnitude situated on this side the Apennines along the Via Flaminia, are Ocricli on the Tiber, Laroloni,⁹ and Narnia,¹⁰ through which the Nera¹¹ flows. This river discharges itself into the Tiber a little above Ocricli; it is not navigable for large vessels. After these are Carsuli and Mevania,¹² past which latter the Teneas¹³ flows, by which river the merchandise of the plain is transported in small vessels to the Tiber. There are also other cities well populated, rather on account of the route along which they lie, than for their political importance. Such are Forum Flaminium,¹⁴ Nuceria¹⁵ where wooden vases are manufactured, and Forum Sempronium.¹⁶ Going from Ocricli to Ariminum, on the right of the

¹ Rimini. ² Sinigaglia.

³ Apparently an interpolation; vide Kramer's edition, vol. i. p. 358, n.

⁴ The Æsis. ⁵ Sentina. ⁶ Fano. ⁷ Umbria. ⁸ Otricoli.

⁹ No such city as this is mentioned in any other writer; the word as it now stands is evidently corrupt.

¹⁰ Narni.

¹¹ The ancient Nar.

¹² Bevagna.

¹³ Mevania stood at the junction of the Tinia (now Timia) and the Topino.

¹⁴ Forfiamma, or Ponte-Centesimo, or the village of Vescia.

¹⁵ Nocera Camellaria.

¹⁶ Fossebruno.

way are Interamna,¹ Spoletium,² Asisium,³ and Camerta, situated in the mountains which bound Picenum. On the other side⁴ are Ameria,⁵ Tuder,⁶ a well-fortified city, Hispellum,⁷ and Iguvium,⁸ near to the passes of the mountain. The whole of this country is fertile, but rather too mountainous, and producing more rye⁹ than wheat for the food of the inhabitants. The next district, Sabina, is mountainous, and borders on Tyrrhenia in like manner. The parts of Latium which border on these districts and the Apennines are very rugged. These two nations¹⁰ commence from the Tiber and Tyrrhenia, and extend as far as the Apennines which advance obliquely towards the Adriatic: Ombrica extends, as we have said, beyond as far as the sea. We have now sufficiently described the Ombrici.

CHAPTER III.

1. THE Sabini occupy a narrow country, its length from the Tiber and the small city of Nomentum¹¹ to the Vestini being 1000 stadia. They have but few cities, and these have suffered severely in their continual wars [with the Romans]. Such are Amiternum¹² and Reate,¹³ which is near to the village of Interocrea¹⁴ and the cold waters at Cotyliaë, which are taken by patients, both as drink and as baths, for the cure of various maladies. The rocks of Foruli,¹⁵ likewise, belong to the Sabini; fitted rather for rebellion than peaceable habitation. Cures is now a small village, although formerly a famous city: whence came Titus Tatius and Numa Pompilius, kings of Rome. From this place is derived the name of Quirites, which the orators give to the Romans when they address the people. Trebula,¹⁶ Eretum,¹⁷ and other similar places, must

¹ Terni. ² Spoleto. ³ Between Spoleto and Camerino.

⁴ The left side of the Via Flaminia. ⁵ Amelia. ⁶ Todi. ⁷ Hispello.

⁸ Eugubbio, or Gubbio, where the celebrated inscriptions were found in 1440. ⁹ Ζεϊά. ¹⁰ Sabina and Latium.

¹¹ Probably Lamentana Vecchia.

¹² Groskurd considers this to be Amatrice.

¹³ Rieti.

¹⁴ Interdoco, between Rieti and Aquila.

¹⁵ Civita Tommassa, or rather Forcella.

¹⁶ Monte Leone della Sabina. ¹⁷ Chaupy considers this to be Rimane.

be looked upon rather as villages than cities. The whole land [of Sabina] is singularly fertile in olive-trees and vines, it produces also many acorns, and besides has excellent cattle: the mules bred at Reate¹ are much celebrated. In one word, the whole of Italy is rich both in cattle and vegetable productions; although certain articles may be finer in some districts than in others. The race of the Sabini is extremely ancient, they are Autochthones. The Picentini and Samnitæ descend from them, as do the Leucani from these latter, and the Bruttii again from these. A proof of their antiquity may be found in the bravery and valour which they have maintained till the present time. Fabius,² the historian, says that the Romans first knew what wealth was when they became masters of this nation. The Via Salaria, which however does not extend far, runs through their country: the Via Nomentana, which commences likewise at the Porta Collina, falls in with the Via Salaria near to Eretum, a village of Sabina lying above the Tiber.

2. Beyond Sabina is Latium, wherein the city of Rome is situated. It comprises many places which formed no part of ancient Latium. For the Æqui, the Volsci, the Hernici, the aborigines around Rome, the Rutuli who possessed ancient Ardea, and many other nations, some larger, some smaller, formed so many separate states around Rome, when that city was first built. Some of these nations, who dwelt in villages, were governed by their own laws, and subjected to no common tribe. They say³ that Æneas, with his father Anchises and his child Ascanius, arrived at Laurentum,⁴ near to Ostia and the bank of the Tiber, where he built a city about 24 stadia above the sea. That Latinus, the king of the aborigines who then dwelt on the site where Rome now stands, employed his forces to aid Æneas against the neighbouring Rutuli who inhabited Ardea, (now from Ardea to Rome is a distance of 160 stadia,) and having gained a victory, he built near to the spot a city, to which he gave the name of his daughter Lavinia. However, in a second battle, commenced by the Rutuli, Latinus fell, and Æneas, being conqueror, suc-

¹ Rieti. ² He flourished about 216 years before the Christian era.

³ Gosselin calls our attention to the difference between Strabo's relation of these occurrences, and the events as commonly recounted by the Greek and Latin authors.

⁴ Near the spot now called Paterno.

ceeded this prince on the throne, and conferred on his subjects the name of Latini. After the death both of himself and his father, Ascanius founded Alba,¹ on Mount Albanus,² situated about the same distance from Rome as Ardea. Here the Romans and Latini conjointly offer sacrifice to Jupiter. The magistracy all assemble, and during the period of the solemnity the government of the city is intrusted to some distinguished youth. The facts related of Amulius and his brother Numitor, some of which are fictitious, while others approach nearer the truth, occurred four hundred years later. These two brothers, who were descended from Ascanius, succeeded conjointly to the government of Alba, which extended as far as the Tiber. However, Amulius the younger, having expelled the elder, governed [alone]. Numitor had a son and a daughter; the former Amulius treacherously murdered in the chase; the latter, that she might remain childless, he made a priestess of Vesta, thus imposing virginity upon her. This [daughter] they name Rhea Silvia. Afterwards he discovered that she was pregnant, and when she had given birth to twins, he, out of respect to his brother, placed her in confinement, instead of putting her to death, and exposed the boys by the Tiber according to a national usage. According to the mythology, Mars was the father of these children, and when they were exposed they were discovered and suckled by a she-wolf. Faustulus, one of the swine-herds of the place, took and reared them up, and named one Romulus, the other Remus. (We must understand that Faustulus, who took them up and nourished them, was an influential man, and a subject of Amulius.) Having arrived at man's estate, they waged war upon Amulius and his sons; and having slain them, restored the government to Numitor. They then returned home and founded Rome, in a locality selected rather through necessity than choice, as the site was neither fortified by nature, nor sufficiently large for a city of importance. In addition to this, the neighbourhood supplied no inhabitants; for those who dwelt around, even though touching the very walls of the newly founded city, kept to themselves, and

¹ Cluvier placed the ancient Alba on the east shore of Lake Albano, about Palazzuolo. Holstenius thinks that it was on the southern shore in the locality of Villa-Domitiana. The Abbé de Chaupy places it farther to the east of Monte Albano.

² Monte Albano.

would have nothing at all to do with the Albani. Collatia, Antemnæ, Fidenæ, Labicum,¹ and similar places are here alluded to, which then were small cities, but are now villages possessed by private individuals; they are distant from Rome 30 or 40² stadia, or rather more. Between the fifth and sixth mile-stone which marks the distance from Rome there is a place named Festi; this they say was at that time the limit of the Roman territory, and at the present day, both here and in numerous other places which they consider to have been boundaries, the priests offer the sacrifice denominated Ambarvia.³ They say that, at the time of the foundation [of the

¹ The sites of these places are much disputed.

² Kramer considers this 40 an interpolation.

³ Usually Ambarvalia, sacrifices performed by the Fratres Arvales, who formed "a college or company of twelve in number, and were so called, according to Varro, from offering public sacrifices for the fertility of the fields. That they were of extreme antiquity is proved by the legend which refers their institution to Romulus; of whom it is said, that when his nurse, Acca Laurentia, lost one of her twelve sons, he allowed himself to be adopted by her in his place, and called himself and the remaining eleven—Fratres Arvales. (Gell. vi. 7.) We also find a college called the Sodales Titii, and as the latter were confessedly of Sabine origin, and instituted for the purpose of keeping up the Sabine religious rites, (Tac. Ann. i. 53,) there is some reason for the supposition of Niebuhr, that these colleges corresponded one to the other—the Fratres Arvales being connected with the Latin, and the Sodales Titii with the Sabine element of the Roman state; just as there were two colleges of the Luperci, the Fabii and the Quinctilii, the former of whom seem to have belonged to the Sabines.

The office of the Fratres Arvales was for life, and was not taken away even from an exile or captive. They wore, as a badge of office, a chaplet of ears of corn fastened on their heads with a white band. The number given on inscriptions varies, but it is never more than nine; though, according to the legend and general belief, it amounted to twelve. One of their annual duties was to celebrate a three days' festival in honour of Dea Dia, supposed to be Ceres. . . . Of this the master of the college, appointed annually, gave public notice from the temple of Concord on the Capitol. On the first and last of these days, the college met at the house of their president, to make offerings to the Dea Dia; on the second day they assembled in the grove of the same goddess, about five miles south of Rome, and there offered sacrifices for the fertility of the earth. An account of the different ceremonies of this festival is preserved in an inscription, which was written in the first year of the emperor Heliogabalus, (A. D. 218,) who was elected a member of the college under the name of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix. The same inscription contains a hymn, which appears to have been sung at the festival from the most ancient times.

Besides this festival of the Dea Dia, the Fratres Arvales were required

city], a dispute arose in which Remus lost his life. The city being built, Romulus assembled men from every quarter, and instituted for an asylum a grove between the citadel and the Capitol, to which whoever fled from the neighbouring states, he proclaimed as Roman citizens. Not having wives for these men, he appointed a horse-race in honour of Neptune, which is celebrated to this day. Numbers [of spectators] having assembled, particularly of the Sabini, he commanded that each of those who were in want of a wife, should carry off one of the assembled maidens. Titus Tatius, king of the Quirites, took up arms to avenge the insult, but made peace with Romulus on condition that their kingdoms should be united, and that they should divide the sovereignty between

on various occasions under the emperors to make vows and offer up thanksgivings, an enumeration of which is given in Forcellini. Strabo indeed informs us that, in the reign of Tiberius, these priests performed sacrifices called the *Ambarvalia* at various places on the borders of the Ager Romanus, or original territory of Rome; and amongst others, at Festi. There is no boldness in supposing that this was a custom handed down from time immemorial; and, moreover, that it was a duty of this priesthood to invoke a blessing upon the whole territory of Rome. It is proved by inscriptions that this college existed till the reign of the emperor Gordian, or A. D. 325, and it is probable that it was not abolished till A. D. 400, together with the other colleges of the pagan priesthoods.

The private *Ambarvalia* were certainly of a different nature to those mentioned by Strabo, and were so called from the victim *hostia Ambarvalis* that was slain on the occasion, being led three times round the corn-fields, before the sickle was put to the corn. This victim was accompanied by a crowd of merry-makers, (*chorus et socii*,) the reapers and farm-servants, dancing and singing, as they marched along, the praises of Ceres, and praying for her favour and presence while they offered her the libations of milk, honey, and wine. (Virg. *Georg.* i. 338.) This ceremony was also called a *lustratio*, (Virg. *Ecl.* v. 83,) or purification; and for a beautiful description of the holiday, and the prayers and vows made on the occasion, the reader is referred to Tibullus (ii. 1). It is perhaps worth while to remark that Polybius (iv. 21, § 9) uses language almost applicable to the Roman *Ambarvalia* in speaking of the Mantincians, who, he says, (specifying the occasion,) made a purification, and carried victims round the city and all the country.

There is, however, a still greater resemblance to the rites we have been describing, in the ceremonies of the Rogation or gang-week of the Latin church. These consisted of processions through the fields, accompanied with prayers (*rogationes*) for a blessing on the fruits of the earth, and were continued during three days in Whitsun-week. The custom was abolished at the Reformation in consequence of its abuses, and the perambulation of the parish boundaries substituted in its place. (Vid. Hocker, *Ecl. Pol.* v. 61, 2; Wheatley, *Com. Pray.* v. 20. Bonn's Standard Library edition.)

them. Tatius, however, was treacherously assassinated in Lavinium, upon which Romulus, with the consent of the Quirites, reigned alone. After him Numa Pompilius, formerly a subject of Tatius, assumed the government, by the general desire of the people. Such is the most authentic account of the foundation of Rome.

3. However, there also exists another more ancient and mythical account, to the effect that Rome was an Arcadian colony planted by Evander. He entertained Hercules when driving the oxen of Geryon, and being informed by his mother Nicostrata, (who was skilled in the art of prophecy,) that when Hercules should have completed his labours it was fore-ordained that he should be enrolled amongst the gods; he informed him of the matter, consecrated to him a grove, and offered sacrifice to him after the Grecian mode; a sacrifice which is continued in honour of Hercules to this day. The Roman historian Cœlius is of opinion that this is a proof that Rome is a Grecian colony, the sacrifice to Hercules after the Grecian mode having been brought over from their fatherland. The Romans also worship the mother of Evander under the name of Carmentis,¹ considering her one of the nymphs.

4. Thus then the Latini originally were few in number, and for the most part under no subjection to the Romans; but afterwards, being struck by the valour of Romulus and the kings who succeeded him, they all submitted. But the Æqui,² the Volsci, the Hernici; and before them the Rutuli, the aborigines, the Rhæci, together with certain of the

¹ The Camenæ, says Dr. Smith, were prophetic nymphs, and belonged to the religion of ancient Italy, although later traditions represent them as having been introduced into Italy from Arcadia. Two of the Camenæ were Antevorta and Postvorta; the third was Carmenta or Carmentis, a prophetic and healing divinity, who had a temple at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and altars near the Porta Carmentalis. The traditions which assigned a Greek origin to her worship at Rome, state that her original name was Nicostrata, and that she was called Carmentis from her prophetic powers. (Serv. *ad Æn.* viii. 51, 336; Dionys. i. 15, 32.) According to these traditions, she was the mother of Evander, the Arcadian, by Hermes; and after having endeavoured to persuade her son to kill Hermes, she fled with him to Italy, where she gave oracles to the people and to Hercules. She was put to death by her son at the age of 110 years, and then obtained divine honours. Dionys. i. 31, &c.

² This name is written in Strabo sometimes Αἴκοι, sometimes Αἴκουοι; the Latin writers also named them differently, Æqui, Æcani, Æquicoli, &c.

Argyrusci and the Preferni,¹ being subdued, the whole of their different countries were included under the name of Latium. To the Volsci pertained the Pomentine plain, bordering on the territory of the Latini, and the city of Apiola, levelled to the ground² by Tarquinius Priscus. The Æqui principally were neighbours to the Quirites, whose cities Tarquinius Priscus likewise devastated. His son took Suessa,³ the metropolis of the Volsci. The Hernici dwelt near to Lanuvium, Alba, and to Rome itself; neither were Aricia,⁴ the Tellenæ, and Antium⁵ at any great distance. The Albani were at first friendly with the Romans, speaking as they did the same language, and being likewise of the Latin stock; and though they were under separate governments, this did not prevent them from marrying together, nor from performing in common the sacred ceremonies at Alba, and other civil rites. In after-time, however, war having sprung up, Alba was entirely destroyed with the exception of the temple, and the Albani were declared citizens of Rome. Of the other surrounding cities, those which resisted were either destroyed or enfeebled, while others, which were friendly to the Romans, flourished. At the present day the coast from Ostia to the city of Sinuessa⁶ is denominated the Latin coast; formerly the country thus designated extended only so far as Circæum.⁷ The interior also [of Latium] was formerly small; but it afterwards extended to Campania, the Samnitæ, the Peligni,⁸ and other nations dwelling around the Apennines.

5. The whole [of Latium] is fertile, and abounding in every production, with the exception of a few districts along the coast, which are marshy and unhealthy; such as the country of Ardea, the lands between Antium and Lanuvium as far as Pometia, and certain of the districts of Setia,⁹ Terracina, and Circæum. Some parts may also be too moun-

¹ Privernates of Pliny; the chief city is now called Piperno.

² 604 years B. C.

³ Suessa surnamed Pometia, to distinguish it from Suessa Aurunca, is here alluded to. Its exact position does not appear to be known.

⁴ La Riccia.

⁵ Capo d' Anzo.

⁶ Monte Dragone.

⁷ Monte Circello.

⁸ According to Clavier, Strabo was mistaken in making Latium extend to the country of the Peligni, as these latter were always separated from Latium by the Marsi.

⁹ Sezza.

tainous and rocky; but even these are not absolutely idle and useless, since they furnish abundant pasturage, wood, and the peculiar productions of the marsh and rock; while Cæcubum, which is entirely marshy, nourishes a vine, the dendritis,¹ which produces the most excellent wine. Of the maritime cities of Latium, one is Ostia. This city has no port, owing to the accumulation of the alluvial deposit brought down by the Tiber, which is swelled by numerous rivers; vessels therefore bring to anchor further out, but not without danger; however, gain overcomes every thing, for there is an abundance of lighters in readiness to freight and un-freight the larger ships, before they approach the mouth of the river, and thus enable them to perform their voyage speedily. Being lightened of a part of their cargo, they enter the river and sail up to Rome, a distance of about 190 stadia. Such is the city of Ostia, founded by Ancus Martius. Next in order comes Antium, which city is likewise destitute of any port; it is situated on rocks, and about 260 stadia distant from Ostia. At the present day it is devoted to the leisure and recreation of statesmen from their political duties, whenever they can find time, and is in consequence covered with sumptuous mansions suited to such rustication. The inhabitants of Antium had formerly a marine, and even after they were under subjection to the Romans, took part with the Tyrrhenian pirates. Of this, first, Alexander sent to complain; after him Demetrius, having taken many of these pirates, sent them to the Romans, saying that he would surrender them their persons on account of their affinity to the Greeks, and remarking at the same time, that it seemed to him a great impropriety, that those who held sway over the whole of Italy should send out pirates, and that they who had consecrated in their forum a temple to the honour of the Dioscuri,² whom all denominated the Saviours, should likewise send to commit acts of piracy on Greece, which was the father-land of those divinities. Hereupon the Romans put a stop to this occupation [piracy]. Between these two cities is Lavinium, which contains a temple of Venus common to all the Latini, the care of which is intrusted to the priests of

¹ The vine to which the term arbustive or hautain is applied, which the French translators explain as a vine trained from the foot of a tree.

² Castor and Pollux.

Ardea. After this is Laurentum ;¹ and above these lies Ardea, a colony of the Rutuli, 70 stadia from the sea ; near to it is another temple of Venus, where all the Latini hold a public festival. These regions have been ravaged by the Samnitæ, and only the traces of the cities left ; but even these are revered on account of the arrival of Æneas here, and of the religious rites which they say were bequeathed from those times.

6. At 290 stadia from Antium is Mount Ciræum, insulated by the sea and marshes. They say that it contains numerous roots, but this perhaps is only to harmonize with the myth relating to Circe. It has a small city, together with a temple to Circe and an altar to Minerva ; they likewise say that a cup is shown which belonged to Ulysses. Between [Antium and Ciræum] is the river Stura,² which has a station for ships : the rest of the coast is exposed to the south-west wind,³ with the exception of this small harbour of Ciræum.⁴ Above this, in the interior, is the Pomentine plain : the region next to this was formerly inhabited by the Ausonians, who likewise possessed Campania : next after these the Osci, who also held part of Campania ; now, however, as we have remarked, the whole, as far as Sinuessa, belongs to the Latini. A peculiar fate has attended the Osci and Ausonians ; for although the Osci have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe, their dialect is extant among the Romans, dramatic and burlesque pieces composed in it being still represented at certain games which were instituted in ancient times. And as for the Ausonians, although they never have dwelt by the sea of Sicily,⁵ it is named the Ausonian Sea. At 100 stadia from Ciræum is Tarracina, formerly named Trachina,⁶ on account of its ruggedness ; before it is a great marsh, formed by two rivers, the larger of which is called the Aufidus.⁷ This is the first place where the Via Appia approaches the sea. This

¹ Near Paterno. ² Storas, the Astura of Pliny. ³ Libs.

⁴ *Hodie*, the Porto di Paula, connected with the Lake of S. Maria.

⁵ This does not appear to be in accordance with the statement of Dionysius Halicarnassus and Pliny, that the Ausonians anciently possessed the whole coast, from the Strait of Messina to the entrance of the Adriatic.

⁶ Or mountainous.

⁷ We should doubtless here read the Ufens, the modern *Ufente*.

road is paved from Rome to Brundusium,¹ and has great traffic. Of the maritime cities, these alone are situated on it; Tarracina, beyond it Formiæ,² Minturnæ,³ Sinuessa,⁴ and towards its extremity Tarentum and Brundusium. Near to Tarracina, advancing in the direction of Rome, a canal runs by the side of the Via Appia, which is supplied at intervals by water from the marshes and rivers. Travellers generally sail up it by night, embarking in the evening, and landing in the morning to travel the rest of their journey by the way: however, during the day the passage boat is towed by mules.⁵ Beyond is Formiæ, founded by the Lacedæmonians, and formerly called Hormiæ, on account of its excellent port. Between these [two cities],⁶ is a gulf which they have named Caiata,⁷ in fact all gulfs are called by the Lacedæmonians Caietæ: some, however, say that the gulf received this appellation from [Caieta], the nurse of Æneas. From Tarracina to the promontory of Caiata is a length of 100 stadia. Here⁸ are opened vast caverns, which contain large and sumptuous mansions. From hence to Formiæ is a distance of 40 stadia. Between this city and Sinuessa, at a distance of about 80 stadia from each, is Minturnæ. The river Liris,⁹ formerly named the Clanis, flows through it. It descends from the Apennines, passes through the country of the Vescini,¹⁰ and by the village of Fregellæ, (formerly a famous city,) and so into a sacred grove situated below the city, and held in great veneration by the people of Minturnæ. There are two islands, named Pandataria and Pontia,¹¹ lying in the high sea, and clearly discernible from the caverns. Although small, they are well inhabited, are not at any great distance from each other, and at 250 stadia from the mainland. Cæcubum is situated on the gulf of Caiata, and next to it Fundi, a city on the Via Appia. All these places produce excellent wines; but those of Cæcubum, Fundi, and Setia¹² are most in repute, and so are the Falernian, Alban,¹³ and Statanian wines. Sinuessa is situated in a gulf from which it takes its name, sinus signify-

¹ Βρενέσιον, now Brindes.² Mola di Gaeta.³ The ruins of this town are extant on either bank of the Garigliano, the ancient Liris.⁴ Rocca di Monte Dragone.⁵ Compare Horace, Satir. l. i. sat. 5.⁶ Tarracina and Formiæ.⁷ Gaëta.⁸ At Sperlunga.⁹ The Garigliano.¹⁰ Vestini, MSS.¹¹ Ponza.¹² Sezza. The French translators think this should be Vescia. ¹³ Albano.

ing [in Latin] a gulf. Near to it are some fine hot-baths, good for the cure of various maladies. Such are the maritime cities of Latium.

7. In the interior, the first city above Ostia is Rome ; it is the only city built on the Tiber. It has been remarked above, that its position was fixed, not by choice, but necessity ; to this must be added, that those who afterwards enlarged it, were not at liberty to select a better site, being prevented by what was already built. The first [kings] fortified the Capitol, the Palatium, and the Collis Quirinalis, which was so easy of access, that when Titus Tatius came to avenge the rape of the [Sabine] virgins, he took it on the first assault. Ancus Marcius, who added Mount Cælius and the Aventine Mount with the intermediate plain, separated as these places were both from each other and from what had been formerly fortified, was compelled to do this of necessity ; since he did not consider it proper to leave outside his walls, heights so well protected by nature, to whomsoever might have a mind to fortify themselves upon them, while at the same time he was not capable of enclosing the whole as far as Mount Quirinus. Servius perceived this defect, and added the Esquiline and Viminal hills. As these were both of easy access from without, a deep trench was dug outside them and the earth thrown up on the inside, thus forming a terrace of 6 stadia in length along the inner side of the trench. This terrace he surmounted with a wall flanked with towers, and extending from the Colline¹ to the Esquiline gate. Midway along the terrace is a third gate, named after the Viminal hill. Such is the Roman rampart, which seems to stand in need of other ramparts itself. But it seems to me that the first [founders] were of opinion, both in regard to themselves and their successors, that Romans had to depend not on fortifications, but on arms and their individual valour, both for safety and for wealth, and that walls were not a defence to men, but men were a defence to walls. At the period of its commencement, when the large and fertile districts surrounding the city belonged to others, and while it lay easily open to assault, there was nothing in its position which could be looked upon as favourable ; but when by valour and labour these districts became its own, there succeeded a tide of prosperity surpass-

¹ Called also the Quirinal, and often Salara, according to Ovid.

ing the advantages of every other place. Thus, notwithstanding the prodigious increase of the city, there has been plenty of food, and also of wood and stone for ceaseless building, rendered necessary by the falling down of houses, and on account of conflagrations, and of the sales, which seem never to cease. These sales are a kind of voluntary falling down of houses, each owner knocking down and rebuilding one part or another, according to his individual taste. For these purposes the numerous quarries, the forests, and the rivers which convey the materials, offer wonderful facilities. Of these rivers, the first is the Teverone,¹ which flows from Alba, a city of the Latins near to the country of the Marsi, and from thence through the plain below this [city], till it unites with the Tiber. After this come the Nera² and the Timia,³ which passing through Ombrica fall into the Tiber, and the Chiana,⁴ which flows through Tyrrhenia and the territory of Clusium.⁵ Augustus Cæsar endeavoured to avert from the city damages of the kind alluded to, and instituted a company of freedmen, who should be ready to lend their assistance in cases of conflagration;⁶ whilst, as a preventive against the falling of houses, he decreed that all new buildings should not be carried so high as formerly, and that those erected along the public ways should not exceed seventy feet in height.⁷ But these improvements must have ceased only for the facilities afforded by the quarries, the forests, and the ease of transport.

8. These advantages accrued to the city from the nature of the country; but the foresight of the Romans added others

¹ Anio.

² The Nar.

³ The Teneas of Strabo.

⁴ ὁ Κλάρις, there were other rivers called Clanis as well as this.

⁵ Chiusi.

⁶ Suetonius likewise mentions this fact. Dion Cassius informs us that Augustus, in the year of Rome 732, and twenty-two years before our era, commanded that the curule ædiles should promptly endeavour to arrest the progress of conflagrations, and for this purpose placed at their disposal 600 guards. Fifteen years afterwards he established a company of seven freedmen, presided over by one of the equestrian order, to see what means could be taken in order to prevent these numerous fires. Augustus, however, was not the first to take precautions of this nature, as we may learn from Livy, l. ix. § 46; l. xxxix. § 14; Tacit. Annal. l. xv. § 43, and various other authorities.

⁷ Subsequent emperors reduced this standard still lower. See what Tacitus says of Nero in regard to this point, Annal. l. xv. § 43. Trajan forbade that any house should be constructed above 60 feet in height. Sextus Aurelius Victor, Epit. § 27.

besides. The Grecian cities are thought to have flourished mainly on account of the felicitous choice made by their founders, in regard to the beauty and strength of their sites, their proximity to some port, and the fineness of the country. But the Roman prudence was more particularly employed on matters which had received but little attention from the Greeks, such as paving their roads, constructing aqueducts, and sewers, to convey the sewage of the city into the Tiber. In fact, they have paved the roads, cut through hills, and filled up valleys, so that the merchandise may be conveyed by carriage from the ports. The sewers, arched over with hewn stones, are large enough in some parts for waggons loaded with hay to pass through; while so plentiful is the supply of water from the aqueducts, that rivers may be said to flow through the city and the sewers, and almost every house is furnished with water-pipes and copious fountains. To effect which Marcus Agrippa directed his special attention; he likewise bestowed upon the city numerous ornaments. We may remark, that the ancients, occupied with greater and more necessary concerns, paid but little attention to the beautifying of Rome. But their successors, and especially those of our own day, without neglecting these things, have at the same time embellished the city with numerous and splendid objects. Pompey, divus Cæsar, and Augustus, with his children, friends, wife, and sister, have surpassed all others in their zeal and munificence in these decorations. The greater number of these may be seen in the Campus Martius, which to the beauties of nature adds those of art. The size of the plain is marvellous, permitting chariot-races and other feats of horsemanship without impediment, and multitudes to exercise themselves at ball,¹ in the circus² and the palæstra. The structures which surround it, the turf covered with herbage all the year round,

¹ There were five modes of playing at ball; 1. Throwing it up and catching it; 2. Foot-ball; 3. A throwing of the ball from one to another in a large party of players; 4. A dashing of the ball to the ground with force enough to rebound, when it was struck down again with the palm of the hand, and a reckoning was kept of the number of times the feat was repeated; and 5. A ball thrown among the players, who all endeavoured to obtain possession of it; this was a game of which we have no accurate account, it was called ἀρπαστόν, and Galen speaks of it, *περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας*, c. 2, p. 902.

² Coray proposes to read *δίσκος*, at quoits.

the summits of the hills beyond the Tiber, extending from its banks with panoramic effect, present a spectacle which the eye abandons with regret. Near to this plain is another surrounded with columns, sacred groves, three theatres, an amphitheatre, and superb temples in close contiguity to each other; and so magnificent, that it would seem idle to describe the rest of the city after it. For this cause the Romans, esteeming it as the most sacred place, have there erected funeral monuments to the most illustrious persons of either sex. The most remarkable of these is that designated as the Mausoleum,¹ which consists of a mound of earth raised upon a high foundation of white marble, situated near the river, and covered to the top with ever-green shrubs. Upon the summit is a bronze statue of Augustus Cæsar, and beneath the mound are the ashes² of himself, his relatives, and friends. Behind is a large grove containing charming promenades. In the centre of the plain,³ is the spot where this prince was reduced to ashes; it is surrounded with a double enclosure, one of marble, the other of iron, and planted within with poplars. If from hence you proceed to visit the ancient forum, which is equally filled with basilicas, porticos, and temples, you will there behold the Capitol, the Palatium, with the noble works which adorn them, and the piazza of Livia, each successive place causing you speedily to forget what you have before seen. Such is Rome.

9. Of the other cities of Latium, some are distinguished by a variety of remarkable objects, others by the celebrated roads which intersect Latium, being situated either upon, or near to, or between these roads, the most celebrated of which are the Via Appia, the Via Latina, and the Via Valeria. The former of these bounds the maritime portion of Latium, as far as Sinuessa, the latter extends along Sabina as far as the Marsi, whilst between these is the Via Latina, which falls in with the Via Appia near to Casilinum,⁴ a city distant from Capua⁵ 19 stadia. The Via Latina commences from the Via Appia, branching from it towards the left, near to Rome. It passes over the Tusculan mountain, between the city of Tusculum⁶ and Mount Albanus; it then descends to the little city of Algidum,⁷ and the Pictæ tavern; afterwards the Via

¹ The tomb of Augustus.

² *θήκαι*, urns, Greek.

³ The Campus Martius.

⁴ The modern Capua.

⁵ S. Maria di Capoa.

⁶ Tuscolo.

⁷ L'Osteria dell' Aglio.

Lavicana joins it, which commences, like the Via Prænestina, from the Esquiline gate. This road, as well as the Esquiline plain, the Via Lavicana leaves on the left; it then proceeds a distance of 120 stadia, or more, when it approaches Laticulum, an ancient city now in ruins, situated on an eminence; this and Tusculum it leaves on the right, and terminates near to Pictæ in the Via Latina. This place is 210 stadia distant from Rome. Proceeding thence along the Via Latina there are noble residences, and the cities Ferentinum,¹ Frusino,² by which the river Cosa flows, Fabrateria,³ by which flows the river Sacco,⁴ Aquinum,⁵ a large city, by which flows the great river Melfa,⁶ Interamnium, situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Garigliano and another, Casinum, also an important city, and the last of those belonging to Latium. For Teanum, called Sidicinum,⁷ which lies next in order, shows by its name that it belongs to the nation of the Sidicini. These people are Osci, a surviving nation of the Campani, so that this city, which is the largest of those situated upon the Via Latina, may be said to be Campanian; as well as that of Cales,⁸ another considerable city which lies beyond, and is contiguous to Casilinum.⁹

10. As to the places situated on either side of the Via Latina, those on the right are between it and the Via Appia; of their number are Setia¹⁰ and Signia,¹¹ which produce wine, that of Setia being one of the dearest wines, and that called Signium the best for strengthening the stomach. Before this¹² are Privernum,¹³ Cora,¹⁴ Suessa,¹⁵ 'Trapontium,'¹⁶ Velitræ,¹⁷ Aletrium,¹⁸ and also Fregellæ,¹⁹ by which the Garigliano flows, which discharges itself [into the sea] near Minturnæ. Fregellæ, though now a village, was formerly a considerable city, and the chief of the surrounding places we have just named. Even now their inhabitants throng to it on market days, and

¹ Ferentino, near to Vitorchiano.

² Frusinone.

³ Falvaterra. ⁴ Trerus. ⁵ Aquino. ⁶ Melpis. ⁷ Teano.

⁸ Calvi. ⁹ Nova Capua. ¹⁰ Sezza. ¹¹ Segni.

¹² *πρὸ δὲ ταύτης*. It seems doubtful whether *ταύτης* refers to Signia, or the Via Appia.

¹³ This city was sacked by the last Tarquin.

¹⁴ Core.

¹⁵ Probably Torre Petrarà.

¹⁶ Kramer supposes this name to be an interpolation; the idea of Cluvier, adopted by Siebenkees and Coray, is that we should here read *Σουέσσα τῶν Πωμεντινῶν*, Suessa Pometia.

¹⁷ Veiletri.

¹⁸ Alatri.

¹⁹ Ceperano.

for the performance of certain religious solemnities. Its defection from the Romans was the cause of its ruin.¹ Both these, and also the cities lying on the Via Latina and beyond, situated in the territories of the Hernici, Æqui, and Volsci, were for the most part founded by the Romans. To the left of the Via Latina, the cities between it and the Via Valeria, are, Gabii,² standing in the Via Prænestina, it possesses a stone-quarry, in greater demand at Rome than any other, and is at an equal distance of about 100 stadia between Rome and Præneste.³ Then Præneste, of which we shall have occasion presently to speak. Then, in the mountains above Præneste, Capitulum, a small city of the Hernici, and Anagnia,⁴ a considerable city; Create,⁵ and Sora, by which the river Garigliano⁶ flows as it passes on to Fregellæ, and Minturnæ. After these there are other places, and finally, Venafrum,⁷ from whence comes the finest oil. This city is situated on a high hill by the foot of which flows the Volturno,⁸ which passing by Casilinum,⁹ discharges itself [into the sea] at a city¹⁰ bearing the same name as itself. Æsernia¹¹ and Alliphæ,¹² cities of the Samnites, the former was destroyed in the Marsian war,¹³ the other still remains.

11. The Via Valeria, commencing from Tibura,¹⁴ leads to the country of the Marsi, and to Corfinium,¹⁵ the metropolis of the Peligni. Upon it are situated the Latin cities of Valeria,¹⁶ Carseoli,¹⁷ Alba,¹⁸ and near to it the city of Cuculum.¹⁹ Within sight of Rome are Tibura, Præneste, and Tusculum.²⁰ At Tibura is a temple of Hercules, and a cataract formed by the fall of the Teverone,²¹ (which is here navigable,) from a great height into a deep and wooded ravine close to the city. From thence the river flows through a highly fertile plain along by

¹ 125, B. C.

² Now called l' Osteria del Pantano, situated very near the Castel dell' Osa, and close by the lake Pantano de' Griffi. ³ Palestrina. ⁴ Anagni.

⁵ Cerretano. ⁶ Liris. ⁷ Venafro. ⁸ Vulturinus. ⁹ Capua.

¹⁰ Castel di Volturno. ¹¹ Isernia. ¹² Allife. ¹³ 90 years B. C. ¹⁴ Tivoli.

¹⁵ The modern Pentima is supposed to occupy the site where the citadel of Corfinium stood, and the church of S. Pelino, about three miles from Popoli, stands on that of the ancient city of Corfinium.

¹⁶ We read with all MSS. and editions, Valeria, but Kramer, following the conjectures of Cluvier and others, has adopted Varia in his text.

¹⁷ Carsoli.

¹⁸ Albi.

¹⁹ Groskurd considers this to be Cucullo, alias Scutolo.

²⁰ Il Tuscolo, above the modern town of Frascati. ²¹ The classic Anio.

the Tiburtine stone-quarries, those of the Gabii, and those denominated the red-stone quarries. As both the carriage from the quarries and the conveyance by river are easy, most of the Roman edifices are built of materials from hence. In this plain flow the cold waters called Albula, they spring from numerous fountains, and are taken both as a beverage and as baths,¹ for the cure of various diseases. Of the same kind are the Labanæ,² not far from these, on the Via Nomentana, and near to Eretum.³ At Præneste is the celebrated temple and oracle of Fortune. Both this and the preceding city are situated on the same chain of mountains, and are distant from each other 100 stadia. Præneste is 200 stadia from Rome, Tibura less than that distance. They are said to be both of Grecian foundation, Præneste being formerly named Polystephanus. They are both fortified, but Præneste is the stronger place of the two, having for its citadel a lofty mountain, which overhangs the town, and is divided at the back from the adjoining mountain range by a neck of land. This mountain is two stadia higher than the neck in direct altitude. In addition to these [natural] defences, the city is furnished on all sides with subterraneous passages, which extend to the plains, and some of which serve to convey water, while others form secret ways; it was in one of these that Marius⁴ perished, when he was besieged. Other cities are in most instances benefited by a strong position, but to the people of Præneste it has proved a bane, owing to the civil wars of the Romans.

The waters from the sulphur-lake; named the Solfatara di Tivoli.

² Now the Lago di S. Giovanni, or Bagni di Grotta Marozza.

³ Prob. Cretona, not Monte Rotondo.

⁴ The younger Marius being entirely defeated by Sulla in the decisive battle fought near Sacriportus, B. C. 82, Marius threw himself into Præneste, where he had deposited the treasures of the Capitoline temple. (Pliny H. N. l. xxxiii. s. 5.) Sulla left Lucretius Opella to prosecute the siege while he hastened on to Rome. Various efforts were made to relieve Præneste, but they all failed; and after Sulla's great victory at the Colline gate of Rome, in which Pontius Telesinus was defeated and slain, Marius despaired of holding out any longer, and in company with the brother of Telesinus attempted to escape by a subterraneous passage, which led from the town into the open country; but finding that their flight was discovered, they put an end to one another's lives. According to other accounts, Marius killed himself, or was killed by his slave at his own request. Marius perished in the year of his consulship. Smith, Dict. Biogr. and Myth.

For hither the revolutionary movers take refuge, and when at last they surrender, in addition to the injury sustained by the city during the war, the country is confiscated, and the guilt thus imputed to the guiltless. The river Verestis¹ flows through this region. The said cities are to the east of Rome.

12. But within-side the chain of mountains, [where these cities are situated,] there is another ridge, leaving a valley between it and Mount Algidus; it is lofty, and extends as far as Mount Albanus.² It is on this ridge that Tusculum is situated, a city which is not wanting in adornment, being entirely surrounded by ornamental plantations and edifices, particularly that part of it which looks towards Rome. For on this side Tusculum presents a fertile hill, well irrigated, and with numerous gentle slopes embellished with majestic palaces. Contiguous are the undulating slopes of Mount Albanus, which are equally fertile and ornamented. Beyond are plains which extend some of them to Rome and its environs, others to the sea; these latter are unhealthy, but the others are salubrious and well cultivated. Next after Albanum is the city Aricia, on the Appian Way. It is 160 stadia from Rome. This place is situated in a hollow, and has a strong citadel.³ Beyond it on one side of the way is Lanuvium,⁴ a Roman city on the right of the Via Appia, and from which both the sea and Antium may be viewed. On the other side is the Artemisium,⁵ which is called Nemus,⁶ on the left side of the way, leading from Aricia to the temple.⁷ They say that it is consecrated to Diana Taurica, and certainly the rites performed in this temple are something barbarous and Scythic. They appoint as priest a fugitive who has murdered the preceding priest with his own hand. Apprehensive of an attack upon himself, the priest is always armed with a sword, ready for resistance. The temple is in a grove, and before it is a

¹ The Abbé Chaupy is inclined to think that this was a name given to the part nearest the source of the river which Strabo, § 9, calls the Trerus, but Kramer thinks it was originally written *ὁ Τρηρος*, and corrupted by the copyists.

² Monte Cavo.

³ We have translated literally *ἔχει δ' ὄμως ἐρμυηνήν ἀκραν*, but it is possible that Strabo may have meant that the citadel was built on a height above the town; if so the citadel would occupy the site of la Riccia.

⁴ Civita Lavinia, or, Città della Vigna.

⁵ Or Grove of Diana.

⁶ Nemus Ariciæ.

⁷ The text here appears to be mutilated.

lake of considerable size. The temple and water are surrounded by abrupt and lofty precipices, so that they seem to be situated in a deep and hollow ravine. The springs by which the lake is filled are visible. One of these is denominated Egeria, after the name of a certain divinity; however, their course on leaving the lake is subterraneous, but they may be observed at some distance, when they rise to the surface of the ground.

13. Near to these localities is Mount Albanus,¹ which is much higher than either the Artemisium or the heights surrounding it, although these are sufficiently lofty and precipitous. It has likewise a lake,² much larger than that of the Artemisium. Further forward than these are the cities on the Via Latina, we have already mentioned. Alba³ is the most inland of all the Latin cities; it borders on the Marsi, and is situated on a high hill near to Lake Fucinus. This [lake] is vast as a sea, and is of great service to the Marsi and all the surrounding nations. They say, that at times its waters rise to the height of the mountains which surround it, and at others subside so much, that the places which had been covered with water reappear and may be cultivated; however, the subsidings of the waters occur irregularly and without previous warning, and are followed by their rising again; the springs fail altogether and gush out again after a time; as they say is the case with the Amenus,⁴ which flows through Catana,⁵ for after remaining dry for a number of years, it again flows. It is reported that the Marcian⁶ water, which is drunk at Rome in preference to any other, has its source in [Lake] Fucinus. As Alba is situated in the depths of the country, and is besides a strong position, the Romans have often employed it as a place of security, for lodging important prisoners.⁷

¹ Monte Cavo.

² The Lago d'Albano.

³ Alba Fucensis is here intended: *hæd.* Albi.

⁴ The Judicello.

⁵ Catania, in Sicily.

⁶ See Pliny in reference to the Aqua Marcia, *Hist. Nat.* l. xxxi. § 24, also l. ii. § 106.

⁷ It served successively as a place of confinement for the kings Syphax, Perseus, and Bituitus.

CHAPTER IV.

1. AFTER having commenced with the nations about the Alps, and the Apennine mountains which are near to these, we proceeded from thence and passed through that portion of the hither country lying between the Tyrrhenian Sea and the Apennine mountains, which incline towards the Adriatic, as far as the Samnites and the Campani. We will now return again, and describe the mountaineers, and those who dwell at the foot of the mountains; whether on the coast of the Adriatic, or in the interior. Thus, we must recommence from the boundaries of Keltica.¹

2. After the cities of the Ombrici, which are comprised between Ariminum² and Ancona, comes Picenum. The Picentini proceeded originally from the land of the Sabini. A woodpecker led the way for their chieftains, and from this bird they have taken their name, it being called in their language Picus, and is regarded as sacred to Mars. They inhabit the plains extending from the mountains to the sea; the length of their country considerably exceeds its breadth; the soil is every where good, but better fitted for the cultivation of fruits than grain. Its breadth, from the mountains to the sea varies in different parts. But its length; from the river *Æsis*³ to *Castrum*,⁴ sailing round the coast, is 800 stadia. Of its cities, Ancona is of Grecian origin, having been founded by the Syracusans who fled from the tyranny of Dionysius. It is situated upon a cape, which bending round towards the north forms a harbour; and it abounds in wine and wheat. Near to it is the city of Auxumon,⁵ at a little distance from the sea. After it are Septempeda,⁶ Pneuventia,⁷ Potentia,⁸ and Firmum Picenum,⁹ with its port of Castellum.¹⁰ Beyond, is the temple of Cupra,¹¹ built and dedicated by the Tyrrheni to Juno, who is named by them Cupra; and after it the river Tronto,¹²

¹ Cisalpine Gaul.² Rimini.³ The Fiumesino.⁴ Giulia Nova.⁵ Osimo.⁶ S. Severino.⁷ Probably for Pollentia, on the Chiento, opposite Urbisaglia.⁸ Ruins, on the river Potenza, near to Porto di Recanati.⁹ Fermo.¹⁰ Porto di Fermo.¹¹ Near to the river Monecchia, not far from Marano.¹² Truentum.

with a city of the same name.¹ Beyond this is *Castrum Novum*,² and the river *Piomba*,³ flowing from the city of *Adria*,⁴ and having [at its mouth] the naval station of *Adria*, which bears the same name as itself. In the interior is [the city of *Adria*] itself and *Asculum Picenum*,⁵ a very strong position, upon which is built a wall: the mountains which surround it are not accessible to armies.⁶ Above *Picenum* are the *Vestini*,⁷ the *Marsi*,⁸ the *Peligni*,⁹ the *Marucini*,¹⁰ and the *Frentani*,¹¹ a Samnitic nation possessing the hill-country, and extending almost to the sea. All these nations are small, but extremely brave, and have frequently given the Romans proofs of their valour, first as enemies, afterwards as allies; and finally, having demanded the liberty and rights of citizens, and being denied, they revolted and kindled the Marsian war.¹² They decreed that *Corfinium*,¹³ the metropolis of the *Peligni*, should be the capital for all the Italians instead of Rome: made it their place d'armes, and new-named it *Italica*. Then, having convoked deputies from all the people friendly to their design, they created consuls¹⁴ and prætors, and maintained the war for two¹⁵ years, until they had obtained the rights for which they struggled. The war was named the Marsian¹⁶ war, be-

¹ The position of this city is still disputed, it has been identified with *Porto d'Ascoli*, *Torre di Seguro*, and other places.

² *Giulia Nova*.

³ *Matrinus*.

⁴ *Atri*.

⁵ *Ascoli*.

⁶ The text is here defective.

⁷ The *Vestini* appear to have occupied the region where at present *Aquila*, *Ofena*, *Civita Aquana*, *Civita di Penna*, *Civita di St. Angelo*, and *Pescara* are situated.

⁸ They inhabited the canton in which are built *Tagliacozzo*, *Scurcola*, *Albi*, *Celano*, *Pescina*, and the environs of *Lake Celano*.

⁹ Inhabited the territories of *Sulmona*, *Pentima*, and *Popolo*.

¹⁰ Occupied the district of *Tieti* or *Chieti*.

¹¹ Inhabited the right bank of the *Sangro*, the territory of *Guasto*, the banks of the *Trigno* and *Biferno*, the district of *Larino*, the left bank of the *Fortore*, and extended north-west towards *Pescara*.

¹² 91 B. C.

¹³ *Pentima* near *Popoli*.

¹⁴ The first consuls were *Q. Pompædus Silo*, and *C. Aponius Mutilus*; the prætors were *Herius Asinius* for the *Marucini*, *C. Veltius Cato* for the *Marsi*, *M. Lamponius* and *T. Cleptius* for the *Leucani*, *Marius Egnatius Trebatius* and *Pontius Telesinus* for the *Samnites*, *C. Judacilius* for the *Apuli* or *Picentini*, and *A. Cluentius* for the *Peligni*. Many other officers besides these distinguished themselves in the several campaigns of the Marsian war.

¹⁵ A note in the French translation would make the duration of the Marsian war twelve years.

¹⁶ *Diodorus Siculus* agrees with *Strabo*, in asserting that this war was

cause that nation commenced the insurrection, and particularly on account of Pompædius.¹ These nations live generally in villages, nevertheless they are possessed of certain cities, some of which are at some little distance from the sea, as Corfinium, Sulmo,² Maruvium,³ and Teatea⁴ the metropolis of the Marrucini. Others are on the coast, as Aternum⁵ on the Picentine boundary, so named from the river [Aternus], which separates the Vestini from the Marrucini. This river flows from the territory of Amiternum and through the Vestini, leaving on its right the Marrucini, who lie above the Peligni, [at the place where the river] is crossed by a bridge. The city, which bears the same name, (viz. Aternum,) belongs to the Vestini, but its port is used in common both by the Peligni and the Marrucini. The bridge I have mentioned is about 24 stadia from Corfinium. After Aternum is Orton,⁶ a naval arsenal of the Frentani, and Buca,⁷ which belongs to the same people, and is conterminous with the Apulian Teanum.⁸ †Ortonium⁹ is situated in the territory of the Frentani. It is rocky, and inhabited by banditti, who construct their dwellings of the wrecks of ships, and lead other-

called Marsian, because it had been commenced by the Marsi, Ὀνομασθὰ δὲ φησι Μαρσικὸν [i. e. πόλεμον] ἐκ τῶν ἀρξάντων τῆς ἀποστάσεως. however, Velleius Paterculus asserts that the people of Asculum commenced the war, which was continued by the Marsi; and Livy (Epit. lib. lxxii.) makes the Picentini the first to raise the standard of revolt.

¹ Quintus Pompædius Silo.

² Now Sulmona, about seven miles south-east of Corfinium. It was the birth-place of Ovid.

Sulmo mihi patria est gelidis uberrimus undis. *Ovid. Trist.* iv. El. 9.

³ Maruvium, veteris celebratum nomine Marri,

Urbibus est illis caput.

Sil. Ital. viii. 507.

We must place this city, with Holstenius, at San Benedetto, on the eastern shore of the lake, where inscriptions have been found which leave no doubt on the subject. The coins of Maruvium have MARUB on the reverse and a head of Pluto.

⁴ Now Chieti, on the right bank of the Pescara. The family of Asinius Pollio came originally from this place.

⁵ Pescara.

⁶ Ortona-a-Mare.

⁷ Romanelli, (tom. iii. p. 40,) founding his opinion on ancient ecclesiastical records and the reports of local antiquaries, informs us that the ruins of Buca exist at the present Penna.

⁸ According to Holstenius and Romanelli, Civitate; according to others, Ponte Rotto.

⁹ Kramer is of opinion that this passage, from "Ortonium" to "life," is an interpolation posterior to the age of Strabo.

wise a savage life. † Between Orton and Aternum is the river Sagrus,¹ which separates the Frentani from the Peligni. From Picenum to the Apuli, named by the Greeks the Daunii,² sailing round the coast, is a distance of about 490³ stadia.

3. Next in order after Latium is Campania, which extends along the [Tyrrhenian] Sea; above it is Samnium, in the interior, extending as far as the Frentani and Daunii; and beyond are the Daunii, and the other nations as far as the Strait of Sicily. We shall in the first place speak of Campania. From Sinuessa⁴ to Misenum⁵ the coast forms a vast gulf; beyond this is another gulf still larger, which they name the Crater.⁶ It is enclosed by the two promontories of Misenum and the Athenæum.⁷ It is along the shores of these [two gulfs] that the whole of Campania is situated. This plain is fertile above all others, and entirely surrounded by fruitful hills and the mountains of the Samnites and Osci. Antiochus says that this country was formerly inhabited by the Opici, and that these were called Ausones. Polybius appears to consider these as two people, for he says that the Opici and Ausones inhabit the country around the Crater.⁸ Others, however, state that it was originally inhabited by Opici and Ausones, but was afterwards seized on by a nation of the Osci, who were driven out by the Cumæi, and these again by the Tyrrheni. Thus the possession of the plain was much disputed on account of its great fertility. [They add that the Tyrrheni] built there twelve cities, and named the metropolis Capua. But luxury having made them effeminate, in the same way that they had formerly been driven from the banks of the Po, they were now forced to abandon this country to the Samnites; who in their turn fell before the Romans. One proof of the fertility of this country is, that it produces the finest corn. I allude to the grain from which a groat is made superior to all kinds of rice, and to almost all other farinacious food. They say that some of the plains are cropped all the year round; twice with rye, the third time with

¹ Romanelli affirms that the mountain from which the river Alaro flows is called Sagra, and Cramer considers that river to be the ancient Sagrus.

² The Daunii formed only a portion of the Apuli.

³ We have followed Kramer's reading, τετρακοσίων ἐνεήκοντα.

⁴ The ruins of Monte Dragone. ⁵ Punta di Miseno.

⁶ The bay of Naples. ⁷ Punta della Campanella.

⁸ This passage is not found in the works of Polybius, as handed down to us.

panic, and occasionally a fourth time with vegetables. It is likewise from hence that the Romans procure their finest wines, the Falernian, the Statanian, and the Calenian. That of Surrentum¹ is now esteemed equal to these, it having been lately discovered that it can be kept to ripen. In addition to this, the whole country round Venafrum, bordering on the plains, is rich in olives.

4. The maritime cities [of Campania], after Sinuessa, are Liternum,² where is the sepulchral monument of the first of the two Scipios, surnamed Africanus; it was here that he passed the last days of his life, having abandoned public affairs in disgust at the intrigues of certain opponents. A river of the same name³ flows by this city. In like manner the Vulturnus bears the same name as the city⁴ founded on it, which comes next in order: this river flows through Venafrum⁵ and the midst of Campania. After these [cities] comes Cumæ,⁶ the most ancient settlement⁷ of the Chalcidenses and Cumæans, for it is the oldest of all [the Greek cities] in Sicily or Italy. The leaders of the expedition, Hippocles the Cumæan and Megasthenes of Chalcis, having mutually agreed that one of the nations should have the management of the colony, and the other the honour of conferring upon it its own name. Hence at the present day it is named Cumæ, while at the same time it is said to have been founded by the Chalcidenses. At first this city was highly prosperous, as well as the Phlegræan⁸ plain, which mythology has made the scene of the adventures of the giants, for no other reason, as it appears, than because the fertility of the country had given rise to battles for its possession. Afterwards, however, the Campanians becoming masters⁹ of the city, inflicted much injustice on the inhabit-

¹ Sorrento. ² Torre di Patria. ³ Liternus. ⁴ Vulturnum. ⁵ Venafro.

⁶ Κύμη. The Greeks gave a singular form to this name of the ancient seat of the Sibyl. Her chamber, which was hewn out of the solid rock, was destroyed when the fortress of Cumæ was besieged by Narses, who undermined it.

⁷ Eusebius states that it was founded 1050 B. C., a few years before the great migration of the Ionians into Asia Minor.

⁸ We may observe that Strabo seems not to have restricted the Φλέγραιον πῆδιον to that which modern geographers term the Phlegræan plains, which are contained between Cumæ and the hills bordering the Lake Agnano, a little beyond Pozzuolo, but, like Pliny, to have extended it to the whole region, at present termed Terra di Lavoro.

⁹ A note in the French translation observes, that Diodorus Siculus

ants, and even violated their wives. Still, however, there remain numerous traces of the Grecian taste, their temples, and their laws. Some are of opinion that Cumæ was so called from τὰ κύματα, the waves, the sea-coast near it being rocky and exposed. These people have excellent fisheries. On the shores of this gulf there is a scrubby forest, extending over numerous acres of parched and sandy land. This they call the Gallinarian¹ wood. It was there that the admirals of Sextus Pompeius assembled their gangs of pirates, at the time when he drew Sicily into revolt.²

5. Near to Cumæ is the promontory of Misenum,³ and between them is the Acherusian Lake,⁴ which is a muddy estuary of the sea. Having doubled Misenum, you come to a harbour at the very foot of the promontory. After this the shore runs inland, forming a deeply indented bay, on which are Baiæ and the hot springs, much used, both as a fashionable watering-place, and for the cure of diseases. Contiguous to Baiæ is the Lucrine Lake,⁵ and within this the Lake Avernus,⁶ which converts into a peninsula the land stretching from the maritime district, situated between it and Cumæ, as far as Cape Misenum, for there is only an isthmus of a few stadia, across which a subterraneous road is cut [from the head of the gulf of Avernus] to Cumæ and the sea [shore] on which it stands. Former writers, mingling fable with history, have applied to Avernus the expressions of Homer in his Invocation of Departed Spirits,⁷ and relate that here formerly was an oracle of the dead,⁸ and that it was to this place that Ulysses came. However, this gulf of Avernus is deep even near the shore, with an excellent entrance, and is both as to its size and nature a harbour; but it is not used, on account of the Lucrine Gulf which lies before it, and is both large and somewhat shallow. The Avernus is surrounded with steep hills which encompass the whole of it, with the excep-

(lib. xii. § 76) places this event in the fourth year of the 89th Olympiad, 421 B. C. Livy (lib. iv. § 44) seems to place it a year later.

¹ It is now called Pineta di Castel Volturno.

² Forty years B. C. ³ Punta di Miseno. ⁴ Lago di Fusaro.

⁵ Lago Lucrino. This lake has almost disappeared, owing to a subterraneous eruption, which in 1538 displaced the water and raised the hill called Monte Nuovo.

⁶ Lago d'Averno.

⁷ *νηκυία*, the title of the 11th book of the Odyssey.

⁸ *νεκυομαντεϊον*, another title of the same (11th) book

tion of the entrance. These hills, now so beautifully cultivated were formerly covered with wild forests, gigantic and impenetrable, which overshadowed the gulf, imparting a feeling of superstitious awe. The inhabitants affirm that birds, flying over the lake, fall into the water,¹ being stifled by the vapours rising from it, a phenomenon of all Plutonian² localities. They believed, in fact, that this place was a Plutonium, around which the Kimmerians used to dwell, and those who sailed into the place made sacrifice and propitiatory offerings to the infernal deities, as they were instructed by the priests who ministered at the place. There is here a spring of water near to the sea fit for drinking, from which, however, every one abstained, as they supposed it to be water from the Styx: [they thought likewise] that the oracle of the dead was situated some where here; and the hot springs near to the Acherusian Lake indicated the proximity of Pyriphlegethon. Ephorus, peopling this place with Kimmerii, tells us that they dwell in under-ground habitations, named by them Argillæ, and that these communicate with one another by means of certain subterranean passages; and that they conduct strangers through them to the oracle, which is built far below the surface of the earth. They live on the mines together with the profits accruing from the oracle, and grants made to them by the king [of the country]. It was a traditional custom for the servants of the oracle never to behold the sun, and only to quit their caverns at night. It was on this account that the poet said,

“ On them the Sun
Deigns not to look with his beam-darting eye.”³

At last, however, these men were exterminated by one of the kings, the oracle having deceived him; but [adds Ephorus] the oracle is still in existence, though removed to another

¹ Strabo is not the only one who mentions this: Virgil says,

“ Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
Screpea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris;
Quam super haud ullæ poterant impune volantes
Tendere iter pennis; talis esse halitus atris
Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat;
Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum.”

Æneid. vi. 237.

² The Greeks applied the term Plutonian to places where disagreeable and pestilential exhalations arose.

³ “ Nor ever does the light-giving Sun shine upon them.”

Odys. xi. 15.

place. Such were the myths related by our ancestors. But now that the wood surrounding the Avernus has been cut down by Agrippa, the lands built upon, and a subterranean passage cut from Avernus to Cumæ, all these appear fables. Perhaps¹ Cocceius, who made this subterranean passage,² wished to follow the practice of the Kimmerians we have already described, or fancied that it was natural to this place that its roads should be made under-ground.

6. The Lucrine gulf extends in breadth as far as Baïæ; it is separated from the sea by a bank eight stadia in length, and the breadth of a carriage-way; this they say was constructed by Hercules when he drove away the oxen of Geryon. But as the wave covered its surface in stormy weather, rendering it difficult to pass on foot, Agrippa has repaired it. Small vessels can put into it, but it is useless as a harbour.³ It contains abundant oyster-beds. Some take this to be the Acherusian Lake, while Artemidorus confounds it with Avernus. They say that Baïæ took its name from Baïus one of the companions of Ulysses, and Misenum from Misenus. Beyond is the strand and city of Dicæarchia. Formerly it was nothing but a naval station of the Cumæi. It was built on an eminence. But at the time of the war with Hannibal, the Romans established a colony there, and changed its name into Puteoli,⁴ [an appellation derived] from its wells; or, according to others, from the stench of its waters, the whole district from hence to Baïæ and Cumæ being full of sulphur, fire, and hot-springs. Some too are of opinion that it was on this account [that the country about] Cumæ was named Phlegra, and that the fables of the giants struck down by thunderbolts owe their origin to these eruptions of fire and water. This city has become a place of extensive commerce, having artificially constructed harbours, which were much facilitated by

¹ The text here appears to have been corrupted.

² We agree with Kramer in considering as an interpolation the words, *τε καὶ ἐπὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἐκ Δικαιαρχίας ἐπὶ ταῖς Βαταῖς*, and likewise another at Neapolis from Dicæarchia to Baïæ. It is generally supposed that the Grotta di Pansilipo, or. Crypta Neapolitana, is of much greater antiquity than the Augustan age, when Cocceius flourished. There is good reason to refer that great undertaking to the Cumæi, of whose skill in works of this nature we have so remarkable an instance in the temple of their sibyl.

³ Dion Cassius tells us, on the contrary, that owing to the exertions of Agrippa, the gulfs both of Avernus and Lucrinus became excellent ports, *λιμένας ναυλοχάτους ἀπέδειξεν*. ⁴ Pozzuoli.

the facile nature of the sand, which contains much gypsum, and will cement and consolidate thoroughly. For mixing this sand with chalk-stones they construct moles in the sea, thus forming bays along the open coast, in which the largest transport ships may safely ride. Immediately above the city lies the Forum-Vulcani,¹ a plain surrounded with hills which seem to be on fire, having in many parts mouths emitting smoke, frequently accompanied by a terrible rumbling noise; the plain itself is full of drifted sulphur.

7. After Dicæarchia is Neapolis,² [founded³ originally] by the Cumæi, but afterwards being peopled by Chalcidians, and certain Pithecussæans and Athenians,⁴ it was on this account denominated Naples.⁵ Here is pointed out the tomb of Par-

¹ La Solfa-terra.

² Naples.

³ Innumerable accounts exist relative to the foundation of this city. The most prevalent fiction was that the siren Parthenope was cast upon its shores, and from her it derived the name, by which it was usually designated by the ancient poets.

Sirenum dedit una suum memorabile nomen
Parthenope muris Acheloïas: æquore cujus
Regnavere diu cantus, quum dulce per undas
Exitium miseris caneret non prospera nautis.

Sil. Ital. xii. 33.

Scymnus of Chios mentions both the Phocæi and Cumæi as its founders. Stephanus of Byzantium attributes its foundation to the Rhodians; their proximity is favourable to the claims of the Cumæi, and hence the connexion of Naples with Eubœa, alluded to by Statius, who was born there.

At te nascentem gremio mea prima recepit
Parthenope, dulcisque solo tu gloria nostro
Reptasti; nitidum consurgat ad æthera tellus
Eubois, et pulchra tumeat Sebethos alumna. *Silv. i. 2.*

A Greek inscription mentions a hero named Eumelus as having had divine honours paid to him, possibly as founder of the city. [See Capaccio, *Hist. Nap.* p. 105. Martorelli de' Fenici primi abitatori di Napoli.] This may illustrate the following lines,—

Di patrii, quos auguriis super æquora magnis
Littus ad Ausonium devexit Abantia classis,
Tu ductor populi longe emigrantis Apollo,
Cujus adhuc volucrem leva cervice sedentem
Respiciens blande felix Eumelis adorat. *Silv. iv. 8, 45.*

⁴ Probably those mentioned in a fragment of Timæus, quoted by Tzetzes, (ad Lycophr. v. 732—737,) as having migrated to Italy under the command of Diotimus, who also instituted the λαμπροφορία, which was still observed at Naples in the time of Statius:

Tuque Actæa Ceres, cursu cui semper anhele
Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystæ. *Silv. iv. 8, 50.*

⁵ Neapolis, or Naples, signifying the new city.

thenope, one of the sirens, and a gymnastic sport is celebrated by command of an oracle. In course of time the inhabitants, having disagreed amongst themselves, admitted certain Campanians; thus being forced to regard in the light of friends those most inimical to them, since their friends were hostile. This is proved by the names of their demarchi, the earlier of which are Grecian, but the latter a mixture of Campanian with the Grecian names. Many traces of Grecian institution are still preserved, the gymnasia, the ephebeia,¹ the fratriæ,² and the Grecian names of people who are Roman citizens. At the present time they celebrate, every fifth year, public games for music and gymnastic exercises during many days, which rival the most famous games of Greece. There is here a subterranean passage, similar to that at Cumæ,³ extending for many stadia along the mountain,⁴ between Dicæarchia⁵ and Neapolis: it is sufficiently broad to let carriages pass each other, and light is admitted from the surface of the mountain, by means of numerous apertures cut through a great depth.⁶ Naples also has hot springs and baths not at all inferior in quality to those at Baiæ, but much less frequented, for another city has arisen there, not less than Dicæarchia, one palace after another having been built. Naples still preserves the Grecian mode of life, owing to those who retire hither from Rome for the sake of repose, after a life of labour from childhood, and to those whose age or weakness demands relaxation. Besides these, Romans who find attractions in this style of life, and observe the numbers of persons dwelling there, are attracted by the place, and make it their abode.

8. Following this is the fortress of Heraclæum,⁷ built upon

¹ Places of exercise for youth.

² Societies.

³ Grotta di Pausilipo.

⁴ Pausilypus mons was the name of the ridge of hills which separates the bay of Naples from that of Pozzuoli. This was probably given to it on account of its delightful situation and aspect, which rendered it the favourite residence of several noble and wealthy Romans.

⁵ Puteoli.

⁶ Seneca, in describing the Crypta Neapolitana, as it was then called, gives an exaggerated account of the sombre horrors of the place. Perhaps in his time the apertures had become obstructed, which was evidently not the case at the time when Strabo, or the authority whom he follows, visited the place.

⁷ Hercolano, or Herculaneum, by Cicero (to Atticus, vii. 3) called Herculanium. It is probable that the subversion of this town was not

a promontory which projects out into the sea, and which, on account of the prevalence of the south-west wind, is a very healthy spot. The Osci¹ originally possessed both this and Pompeia,² which is next to it, by which the river Sarno³ flows; afterwards the Tyrrheni and Pelasgi,⁴ and then the Samnites⁵ obtained possession of them, and the last⁶ in their turn were driven from these regions. Pompeia is the port for Nola,⁷ Nuceria,⁸ and Acerræ, which bears the same name as the city near to Cremona. It is built on the river Sarno, by which merchandise is received and exported. Above these places is Mount Vesuvius, which is covered with very beautiful fields, excepting its summit, a great part of which is level, but wholly sterile. It appears ash-coloured to the eye, cavernous hollows appear formed of blackened stones, looking as if they had been subjected to the action of fire. From this we may infer that the place was formerly in a burning state with live craters, which however became extinguished on the failing of the fuel. Perhaps this [volcano] may have been the cause of the fertility of the surrounding country, the same as occurs in Catania, where they say that that portion which has been covered with ashes thrown up by the fires of Ætna is most excellent for the vine. The land about Vesuvius contains fat, and a soil which has been subjected to fire, and is very strong and productive of fruit: when this fat superabounds, it is apt, like all sulphurous substances, to take fire, but being dried up by evaporation, extinguished, and pulverized, it becomes a productive earth. Adjoining sudden, but progressive, since Seneca mentions a partial demolition which it sustained from an earthquake. (*Nat. Quæst.* vi. l.) So many books have been written on the antiquities and works of art discovered in Herculaneum, that the subject need not be enlarged upon here.

¹ Several inscriptions in Oscan, and Etruscan, characters have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum. Lanzi, (tom. iii.)—Romanelli *Viaggio a Pompei ed Ercolano.*

² Pompeii. ³ The ancient Sarnus.

⁴ These Pelasgi were established among the Tyrrhenians.

⁵ It is believed that the Samnites possessed both places, 310, B. C.

⁶ The Romans must have been masters of these cities 272, B. C. (Livy, *Epit.* xiv.)

⁷ Nola resisted, under the able direction of Marcellus, all the efforts of Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ. A remarkable inscription in Oscan characters relative to this town is explained by Lanzi, (tom. iii. 612,) its name is there written NUFLA. See Cramer's *Ancient Italy*, vol. ii. p. 211.

⁸ Nocera de' Pagani.

Pompeia is Surrentum,¹ [a city] of the Campanians, from whence the Athenæum,² called by some the promontory of the Sirensæ, projects [into the sea]; upon its summit is the temple of Minerva, founded by Ulysses. From hence to the island of Capreas the passage is short; after doubling the promontory you encounter various desert and rocky little islands, which are called the Sirensæ.³ On the side towards Surrentum there is shown a temple with the ancient offerings of those who held this place in veneration. Here is the end of the bay named Crater,⁴ which is bounded by the two promontories of Misenum⁵ and the Athenæum, both looking towards the south. The whole is adorned by the cities we have described, by villas, and plantations, so close together that to the eye they appear but one city.

9. In front of Misenum lies the island of Prochyta,⁶ which has been rent from the Pithecussæ.⁷ Pithecussæ was peopled by a colony of Eretrians and Chalcidians, which was very prosperous on account of the fertility of the soil and the productive gold-mines; however, they abandoned the island on account of civil dissensions, and were ultimately driven out by earthquakes, and eruptions of fire, sea, and hot waters. It was on account of these eruptions, to which the island is subject, that the colonists sent by Hiero,⁸ the king of Syracuse, abandoned the island, together with the town which they had built, when it was taken possession of by the Neapolitans. This explains the myth concerning Typhon, who, they say, lies beneath the island, and when he turns himself, causes flames and water to rush forth, and sometimes even small

¹ Sorrento.

² Punta della Campanella.

³ The Sirensæ were three small rocks detached from the land, and celebrated as the islands of the Sirens; they are now called Galli. See Holsten. Adnot. p. 248; Romanelli, tom. iii. p. 619. Virgil, *Æn.* v. 864, describes them as,

Jamque adeo scopulos advecta subibat;

Difficiles quondam, multorumque ossibus albos.

It had been decreed that the Sirens should live only till some one hearing their song should pass on unmoved, and Orpheus, who accompanied the Argonauts, having surpassed the Sirens, and led on the ship, they cast themselves into the sea, and were metamorphosed into these rocks.

⁴ The bay of Naples.

⁵ Punta di Miseno.

⁶ Procida.

⁷ Ischia.

⁸ It appears that Hiero the First is here alluded to; he ascended the throne 478 years before the Christian era.

islands to rise in the sea, containing springs of hot water. Pindar throws more credibility into the myth, by making it conformable to the actual phenomena, for the whole strait from Cumæa to Sicily is subigneous, and below the sea has certain galleries which form a communication between [the volcanos¹ of the islands²] and those of the main-land. He shows that Ætna is on this account of the nature described by all, and also the Lipari Islands, with the regions around Dicæarchia, Neapolis, Baiæ, and the Pithecussæ. And mindful hereof, [Pindar] says that Typhon lies under the whole of this space.

“ Now indeed the sea-girt shores beyond Cumæ, and Sicily, press on his shaggy breast.”³

Timæus,⁴ who remarks that many paradoxical accounts were related by the ancients concerning the Pithecussæ, states, nevertheless, that a little before his time, Mount Epomeus,⁵ in the middle of the island, being shaken by an earthquake, vomited forth fire; and that the land between it and the coast was driven out into the sea. That the powdered soil, after being whirled on high, was poured down again upon the island in a whirlwind. That the sea retired from it to a distance of three stadia, but after remaining so for a short time it returned, and inundated the island, thus extinguishing the fire. And that the inhabitants of the continent fled at the noise, from the sea-coast, into the interior of Campania. It seems that the hot-springs⁶ here are a remedy for those afflicted with gravel. Capræ⁷ anciently possessed two small cities, afterwards but one. The Neapolitans possessed this island, but having lost Pithecussæ in war, they received it again from Cæsar Augustus, giving him in exchange Capræ. This [island] having thus become the property of that prince, he

¹ The volcanos of Sicily, Lipari, Pithecussæ, or Ischia, and Mount Vesuvius. See Humboldt (Cosmos i. 238, note).

² We, in common with the French translators and Siebenkees, have adopted the *νήσους* found in the MS. of Peter Bembo, and some others cited by Casaubon.

³ Pindar Pyth. Od i. 32; Conf. Pindar. Olymp. Od. iv. 2.

⁴ This writer flourished about 264 years before the Christian era.

⁵ *Epopeus mons*, now sometimes called Epomeo, but more commonly Monte San Nicolo.

⁶ The waters at the source Olmitello, in the southern part of the island, are the most efficacious for this disease.

⁷ Capri.

has ornamented it with numerous edifices. Such then are the maritime cities of Campania, and the islands lying opposite to it.

10. In the interior is the metropolis, Capua, being, as the etymon of the name signifies, the head; for in regard to it all the other cities appear small, excepting Teanum-Sidicinum,¹ which is a very considerable place. This city lies on the Via Appia, as also the others which lead from hence to Brundisium, [viz.] Callateria,² Caudium,³ and Beneventum.⁴ On the side of Rome is Casilinum,⁵ situated on the river Vultur-nus.⁶ Here 540 men of Præneste sustained against Hannibal in the height of his power so desperate a siege, that by reason of the famine, a rat⁷ was sold for two hundred drachmæ, the seller dying [of hunger], but the purchaser being saved. Hannibal observing some of them sowing turnip-seed near to the wall, admired, as well he might, the patient courage of these men, who hoped to hold out in the mean while, until these turnips should be ready for food. However, we are assured that they all survived, with the exception of a few who perished either by famine or in war.

11. In addition to those just spoken of, there are these Campanian cities which we have already mentioned, viz. Cales,⁸ and Teanum-Sidicinum, the limits of which are respectively marked out by the two temples of Fortune situated on either side of the Via Latina. Besides these are Suessula,⁹ Atella,¹⁰ Nola,¹¹ Nuceria,¹² Acerræ,¹³ Abella,¹⁴ with

¹ Teano.

² Galazze. We have not hesitated to read Callateria, with all MSS. Kramer has printed *Kαλαρία* in text. Numismatic writers ascribe to this, and not the Samnite Calatia, the coins with the head of Jupiter on the obverse, and the legend, KALAT, and KALATI, in retrograde Oscan characters on the reverse. Mionnet. Med. Ant. Suppl. vol. i. p. 232; Sestini, Monet. Vet. p. 13.

³ S. Maria di Goti, near to Forchia Caudina.

⁴ Benevento.

⁵ Nova Capua.

⁶ Volturmo.

⁷ The text has *μεδίμνου*; but we have adopted *μυός*, the word proposed by most of the Greek editors; Valerius Maximus, Pliny, and Frontinus all agreeing in the statement, that it was a rat which fetched this enormous price. ⁸ Calvi. ⁹ Castel di Sessola, near Maddaloni.

¹⁰ Holstenius says that the ruins of Atella are still to be seen near S. Arpino, or S. Elpidio, about two miles beyond Aversa.

¹¹ Now Nola. It was one of the most ancient and important cities of Campania; though situated in an open plain, it resisted all the efforts of Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ. Here Augustus expired, in the same room in which his father Octavius had breathed his last. ¹² Nocera.

¹³ Acerra near the source of the Agno, the ancient Clanian.

¹⁴ Avella Vecchia.

other smaller settlements, some of which are said to be Samnite.¹ The Samnites, by making incursions into Latium as far as Ardea, and afterwards devastating Campania itself, greatly extended their power. The Campanians, being otherwise accustomed to a despotic government, yielded ready obedience to their commands. At the present day they have been almost entirely exterminated by the various Roman generals, and last of all by Sulla, who was absolute master of the republic. He, after having by numerous battles extinguished the Italian revolt, observing that the Samnites, almost without exception, remained in one body, and with one sole intention, so that they had even marched upon Rome itself, gave them battle under the walls, and as he had issued orders to make no prisoners, many of them were cut to pieces on the field, while the remainder, said to be about three or four thousand men, who threw down their arms, were led off to the *Villa Publica* in the Campus Martius, and there shut in; three days after soldiers were sent in who massacred the whole; and when [Sulla] drew up his conscription list, he did not rest satisfied until he had destroyed, or driven from Italy, every one who bore a Samnite name. To those who reproached him for this animosity, he replied that he had learned by experience that not a single Roman could rest in peace so long as any of the Samnites survived. Thus their cities have now dwindled into villages, some indeed being entirely deserted, as Boianum,² Æsernia,³ Panna, Telesia⁴ adjoining Venafrum, and others similar, none of which can be looked upon as cities; but in a country so renowned and powerful as Italy, we thought proper to mention places even of second-rate importance. [We should add that] Beneventum⁵ and Venusia⁶ are still prosperous.

12. The following is the tradition concerning the [origin of the] Samnites. The Sabines having been engaged for

¹ Such was Nola, which our author in his sixth book evidently places in the territory of the Samnites. ² Bojano. ³ Isernia.

⁴ The ruins of Telesia are to be seen about a mile from the modern Telese. Allifæ was between Telesia and Venafrum. ⁵ Benevento.

⁶ Venosa. The coins of Venusia have on the reverse the inscription VE., and an eagle resting on a thunderbolt. On the obverse, a head of Jupiter, and sometimes of Bacchus. Sestini, *Monet. Vet.* p. 15. The *Antiquitates Venusinæ* and the *Iter Venusinum* were published at Naples in the last century.

a long period in war with the Ombrici, made a vow, common with some of the Grecian nations, that they would consecrate to the gods the productions of the year.¹ They were victorious, and accordingly of the productions,² the one kind were sacrificed, the other consecrated. However, in a time of scarcity, some one remarked, that they ought likewise to have consecrated the children. This then they did, and the children born at that period were called the sons of Mars.³ When these had grown up to manhood, they were sent forth, a bull leading the way, to found a colony. The bull lay down to rest in a place belonging to the Opici; a people dwelling in villages. These they drove out, and established themselves in the place. The bull, according to the direction of the diviners, they sacrificed to Mars, who had given him to them as a leader. It seems to have been in allusion to this that their parents called them by the diminutive form of Sabelli.⁴ The name of Samnites, or, as the Greeks call them, Saunites, originated in another cause. It is also said that certain Lacedæmonians came to dwell amongst them, and that this is the reason of their affection for the Greeks, and that certain of them are called Pitanatæ.⁵ The whole of this, however, appears to be a mere fabrication of the Tarentini, interested in flattering and conciliating to themselves a neighbouring people, so powerful as to be able, on a time, to bring into the field a force of eighty thousand foot-soldiers, and eight thousand cavalry. There is said to be a law amongst the Samnites, excellent in itself, and calculated to excite to virtue. It is not lawful for fathers to give away their daughters to whomsoever they may please; but every year ten of the most virtuous young women, and ten of the most virtuous young men, are selected; of these the most excellent young man is married to the most excellent young woman, the second to the second, and so on in order. Should he who re-

¹ Casaubon conjectures that in place of the τῶν ἔτει τούτων, we should read τῶν ἔαρι τούτων, or, the productions of the spring: and it certainly would seem that Strabo is here describing what the Latins called a *ver sacrum*. An ancient historian, speaking of the occurrence mentioned by Strabo, says, "Quondam Sabini feruntur vovisse, si res communis melioribus locis constitisset, se *ver sacrum* facturós." Sisenn. Hist. lib. iv. ap. Non. Marcell. De doctor. indag. ed. 1683, fol. 2531. Festus, Sext. P. Fest. De verb. sign. F. ed. 1699, p. 478, seems to have mentioned the same thing.

² The animals and fruits are intended

³ Devoted to Mars.

⁴ Or little Sabines.

⁵ From Pitane, a place in Laconia.

ceives this reward, afterwards change and become wicked, he is dishonoured, and the wife who had been given is taken away from him. Beyond are the Hirpini, who are also Samnites: their name they take from the wolf, which conducted their colony; a wolf being called by the Samnites *hirpos*: these people border on the Leucani in the interior. So much for the Samnites.

13. The fertility of their country has been productive to the Campanians of as much evil as good. Their luxury ran to such a height, that they would invite to supper, in order to exhibit pairs of fighting gladiators, the exact number of pairs being regulated according to the distinction of the guests. When, on their voluntary submission to Hannibal, they received his soldiers into winter quarters,¹ the pleasures [of the place] rendered the men so effeminate, that Hannibal said, although conqueror, that he was in danger of the enemy, since his soldiers were returned to him women, and no longer men. When the Romans obtained the mastery,² they inflicted on them numerous ills, and ended by distributing their land by lot.³ At the present day they are living in prosperity, and on friendly terms with the [Roman] colonists, and preserve their ancient reputation, both in respect to the size of their city and the numbers of their population. Beyond Campania and the Samnites,⁴ and upon the Tyrrhenian Sea, dwells the nation of the Picentini. This is a small off-shoot from the Picentini who dwell near the Adriatic, and was transplanted by the Romans to the Posidoniæ Gulf,⁵ now called the Gulf of Pæstum. The city of Posidonia, which is built about the middle of the gulf, is called Pæstum.⁶ The Sybarites [when they founded the city⁷] built the fortifications close upon the sea, but the inhabitants removed higher up. In after time⁸ the Leucani seized upon the city, but in their turn were deprived of it by the Romans.⁹ It is rendered unhealthy by a river¹⁰

¹ B. c. 216.² 211 B. c.³ B. c. 59.⁴ We concur with Kramer in considering that the words *μέχρι Φρεντανῶν*, which occur immediately after *Σαυνίτιν*, have been interpolated.⁵ The Gulf of Salerno.⁶ Pesti.⁷ This city must have been founded nearly 540 years B. c., for Herodotus says that the Phocæans were chiefly induced to settle on the shores of Œnotria by the advice of a citizen of Posidonia, and they founded Velia in the reign of Cyrus. B. i. 164.⁸ 442 B. c.⁹ B. c. 274.¹⁰ Apparently the Fiume Salso.

which overflows the marshy districts in the neighbourhood. Between the Sirenussæ and Posidonia¹ is Marcina,² a city founded by the Tyrrheni, but inhabited by the Samnites. [To go] from thence into Pompæa,³ through Nuceria,⁴ [you cross] an isthmus of not more than 120 stadia. The Picentes extend as far as the river Silaro,⁵ which separates their country on this side from ancient Leucania.⁶ The water of this river is reported to possess the singular property of petrifying any plant thrown into it, preserving at the same time both the colour and form.⁷ Picentia was formerly the capital of the Picentes; but they now dwell in villages, having been ejected by the Romans⁸ for taking part with Hannibal. Also, instead of doing military service, it has been decreed that they shall be the public daily couriers and letter-carriers; [a penalty] which for the same cause has been likewise inflicted on the Leucani and Bruttii. To keep them in check, the Romans fortified Salernum, which is a little above the sea. The distance from the Sirenussæ to the Silaro is 260 stadia.

¹ Pesti.² Vietri.³ Pompeii.⁴ Nocera.⁵ The ancient Silaris.⁶ We are inclined to read Leucania with Du Theil. The Paris manuscript, No. 1393, reads *kaviav*.⁷ Pliny, in his Natural History, (lib. ii. § 106,) has confirmed Strabo's account. It appears from Cluvier that the people who inhabit the banks of the Silaro are not acquainted with any circumstances which might corroborate the statement. (Cluvier, Ital. Ant. lib. iv. c. 14.)⁸ About B. C. 201.

BOOK VI.

ITALY.

SUMMARY.

The Sixth Book contains the remainder of Italy, and the regions within the Adriatic, as far as Macedonia; likewise a description of Apulia, Calabria, the country by the Ionian Gulf, together with the adjacent islands, from Sicily to the Ceraunian mountains, and on the other side as far as Carthage, and the small islands lying near to it.

CHAPTER I.

1. AFTER the mouth of the Silaro,¹ is Leucania, and the temple of Argive Juno, founded by Jason. Near to this, within 50 stadia, is Posidonia.² Sailing thence, towards the high sea, is the island of Leucosia,³ at a little distance from the main-land. It bears the name of one of the Sirens, who according to the mythology was cast up here, after having been precipitated with her companions into the deep. The promontory⁴ of the island projects opposite the Sirenussæ,⁵ forming the bay of Posidonium.⁶ After having made this cape there is another contiguous bay, on which is built the city which the Phocæans called Hyela when they founded it, but others Ela from a certain fountain. People in the present day call it Elea. It is here that Parmenides and Zeno, the Pythagorean philosophers, were born. And it is my opinion that through the instrumentality of those men, as well as by previous good management, the government of that place was well arranged, so that they successfully resisted the Leucani and the Posidoniataë, notwithstanding the smallness of their district and the inferiority of their numbers. They are

¹ The ancient Silaris.

² Pesti.

³ It is now called Licosa, and sometimes Isola piana; several vestiges of buildings were discovered on the island in 1696. Antonin. della Lucan. p. ii. disc. 8.

⁴ Capo della Licosa.

⁵ Punta della Campanella.

⁶ Golfo di Salerno.

compelled, therefore, on account of the barrenness of the soil, to apply to maritime trade chiefly, to employ themselves in the salting of fish, and in such other occupations. Antiochus¹ says that when Phoecea was taken by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus, those who had the means embarked with their families, and sailed under the conduct of Creontiades, first to Cynos and Marseilles, but having been driven thence, they founded Elea;² the name of which some say is derived from the river Elees.³ The city is distant about two hundred stadia from Posidonia. After this city is the promontory of Palinurus. But in front of the Eleatis are the CEnotrides, two islands⁴ having good anchorage.⁵ And beyond Palinurus are the promontory, harbour, and river of Pyxus;⁶ the three having the same name. This colony was founded⁷ by Micythus, then governor of Messina in Sicily; but those who were located here, except a few, abandoned the place. After Pyxus are the gulf,⁸ the river,⁹ and the city¹⁰ of Laüs. This, the last¹¹ city of the Leucani, situate a little above the sea, is a colony¹² of the Sybarites, and is distant from Elea 400 stadia. The whole circuit of Leucania, by sea is 650 stadia. Near to Laüs is seen the tomb of Draco, one of the companions of Ulysses, and the oracular response, given to the Italian Greeks, alludes to him:

¹ Strabo here cites the historian Antiochus, but it is surprising that he does not rather cite the writer from whom Antiochus seems to have borrowed this account, we mean Herodotus, who relates it (lib. i. § 164). But Strabo, probably, looking upon Herodotus as a collector of fables, chose rather to yield to the authority of Antiochus, who had written very accurate memoirs upon Italy, and who was, likewise, himself a very ancient author, (Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. lib. i. § 12,) and flourished about 420 years before the Christian era.

² Or Velia, founded 532 B. C., mentioned by Horace, Epist. I. xv. 1, "Quæ sit hyems Velia, quod cælum, Vala, Salerni."

³ The modern Alento.

⁴ Now unknown.

⁵ Pliny affirms that these two islands were called, the one Pontia, the other Ischia; "Contra Veliam Pontia et Ischia, utræque uno nomine CEnotrides, argumentum possessæ ab CEnotriis Italiae." Hist. Nat. lib. iii. § 13. If this reading be not faulty, Pliny will have placed in the latitude, of which our author is now giving a description, a small island bearing the same name, *Pontia*, as the island lying off Cape Misenum.

⁶ The Buxentum of the Latins.

⁷ 471 years before the Christian era.

⁸ Gulf of Policastro.

⁹ Now the river Laino.

¹⁰ Called Laino in the time of Cluverius. Lib. iv. cap. 14.

¹¹ Upon this coast.

¹² Founded about the year 510 B. C.

“Some day, around the Dragon’s stony tomb,
A mighty multitude shall meet their doom.”

For the Greeks of Italy, enticed by this prophecy, marched against Laüs, and were defeated by the Leucani.¹

2. Such, along the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, are the possessions of the Leucani, which at first did not reach to the other sea;² the Greeks who dwelt on the Gulf of Tarentum possessed it. But before the coming of the Greeks there were no Leucani, the Chones³ and Cœntri possessed these territories. But when the Samnites had greatly increased, and expelled the Chones and Cœntri, and driven the Leucani into this region, while the Greeks possessed the sea-coast on both sides as far as the straits, the Greeks and the Barbarians maintained a lengthened contest. The tyrants of Sicily, and afterwards the Carthaginians, at one time making war against the Romans, for the acquisition of Sicily, and at another, for Italy itself, utterly wasted all these regions. The Greeks, however, succeeded in depriving the ancient inhabitants of a great portion of the midland country, beginning even as early as the Trojan war; they increased in power, and extent of territory, to such a degree, that they called this region and Sicily, the *Magna Græcia*. But now the whole region, except Tarentum, Rhegium, and Neapolis, has become barbarian,⁴ and belongs partly to the Leucani and Bruttii, partly to the Campani; to these, however, only in name, but truly to the Romans; for these people have become Roman. However, it is incumbent on one who is treating of uni-

¹ About the year 390 before the Christian era.

² i. e. the Gulf of Tarentum.

³ Strabo seems here to distinguish the Chones from the Cœntri, and the Cœntri from the Greeks. According to Cluvier (*Ital. Antiq.* cap. 16, p. 1323) here was a double error: “not only (says he) Aristotle, but Antiochus, according to Strabo’s own testimony, positively affirmed that the Chones and Cœntri were one and the same nation, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiq. Roman.* lib. i. § 11) makes no doubt that the Cœntri were of Greek origin.” But Mazochi justifies the distinction between the Chones and the Cœntri, and shows cause to doubt that the Cœntri were of Greek origin.

⁴ ἐκβεβαρβάρωσθαι. We think with Mazochi (*Prodrom. ad Heracl. pseph. diatrib.* 2, cap. 7, sect. 2) that, by the above word, Strabo probably expressed that, at the time when he wrote, Tarentum, Rheggio, and Naples were the only cities founded by the Greeks in Italy, which, although become Roman, retained the language, laws, and usages of their mother country.

versal geography, to speak both of things as they now are, and of some of those that have been, and especially when they are important. Of the Leucani, who border upon the Tuscan Sea, mention has already been made; those who possess the midland regions dwell above the Gulf of Tarentum, but these, as well as the Bruttii, and the Samnites themselves, the progenitors of both, have been so maltreated [by the Romans], that it is difficult to determine the boundaries of each people. The reason of this is, that there no longer remains separately any of the institutions common to these nations; and their peculiarities of language, of military and civil costume, and such particulars, have passed away: besides, even their places of abode, considered separately and apart, possess nothing worthy of observation.

3. We will narrate in a general manner what we have gathered concerning the Leucani, who dwell in the interior, without too much care in distinguishing them from their neighbours, the Samnites. Petilia¹ is considered as the metropolis of the Leucani, and is still well peopled. It owes its foundation to Philoctetes, who was compelled to quit Melibœa on account of civil dissensions. Its position is so strong, that the Samnites were formerly obliged to construct forts around it for the defence of their territory. The ancient Crimissa, situated near these places, was also founded by Philoctetes. Apollodorus, in his description of the ships [of the Greeks], narrates concerning Philoctetes, that, according to certain writers, this prince having disembarked in the district of Crotona, settled on the promontory of Crimissa, and built the city of Chone² above it, from which the inhabitants were called Chones; and that certain colonists being sent by him into Sicily, to the neighbourhood of Eryx,³ with Ægestus the

¹ It has been well observed by Cramer in his *Ancient Italy*, that Strabo confused this Petilia of the Leucani with another better known of the Bruttii, the foundation of which was attributed to Philoctetes. It is observed by Antonini that Strabo contradicts himself, by ascribing to Philoctetes the origin of a town in Leucania, for he states a few lines further on that that hero occupied a part of the coast near Crotona, which was in the territory of the Bruttii. Strabo's account, however, of the existence of a Leucanian Petilia is confirmed by many inscriptions of early date. The ruins of the town remain on the Monte della Stella. Antonin. della Lucan. p. i. disc. 8. Romanelli, tom. i. p. 350.

² According to some judicious antiquaries, the site of Chone is located at Casabuona, near Strongoli.

³ Trapani del Monte.

Trojan, founded Ægesta.¹ In the inland districts are also Grumentum,² Vertinæ,³ Calasarna,⁴ and other small villages, reaching as far as Venusia,⁵ a city of some importance. This, however, I consider to be a Samnite city, as are also those which are next met with on going into Campania. Above the Thurii lies the district called Tauriana.⁶ The Leucani are of Samnite origin. Having vanquished the Posidoniates and their allies, they took possession of their cities. At one time the institutions of the Leucani were democratic, but during the wars a king was elected by those who were possessed of chief authority: at the present time they are Roman.

4. The Bruttii occupy the remainder of the coast as far as the Strait of Sicily, extending about 1350 stadia. Antiochus, in his treatise on Italy, says that this district, which he intended to describe, was called Italy, but that previously it had been called Ænotria. The boundary which he assigns to it on the Tyrrhenian Sea, is the river Lao,⁷ and on the Sea of Sicily Metapontium, the former of which we have given as the boundary of the Bruttii. He describes Tarentum, which is next to Metapontium,⁸ as beyond Italy, calling it Iapygian. He also relates that, at a more ancient period, those who dwelt on this side the isthmus, which lies next the Strait of Sicily, were the only people who were called Ænotrians and Italians. The isthmus is 160 stadia across between the two gulfs, namely, that of Hipponium,⁹ which Antiochus called Napitinus, and

¹ The ruins of this city, which was anciently called also Egesta, Acesta, and Segesta, may be seen at Barbara, in the valley of Mazzara.

² Kramer, following the suggestion of Xylander, has printed *Γρουμνερτόν*. I am inclined, however, to think that *Πουμνερτόν*, the reading of Manuscripts, is correct. According to Barrio, it occupied the situation of Gerenza, on the right bank of the Nieto.

³ Verzine on the Nieto. (Barr. lib. iv. cap. 18. Maraf. lib. iii. c. 18.)

⁴ Calasarna is supposed by the Calabrian topographers to accord with the site of Campania.

⁵ Venosa, situated about 15 miles south of the Aufidus. It was a colony of importance before the war against Pyrrhus. After the disaster at Cannæ, it afforded a retreat to Varro and the few who escaped that signal overthrow. Horace was born there in the year of the city 688. About six miles from Venosa, on the site named Palazzo, was the Fons Bandusisæ. (Chaupy, Des c. de la maison de Camp. d' Horace, tom. iii. p. 538.)

⁶ Cluvier thought that we should read *Θουριανή* instead of *Ταυριανή*.

⁷ Laos, now Lao.

⁸ Torre di Mare.

⁹ Golfo di S. Eufemia.

that of Scylletium.¹ The circumnavigation of the peninsula, which is comprised between this isthmus and the strait, is 2000 stadia. He says that afterwards the names of Italy and of the Ænотrians were extended as far as Metapontium and the Siritis; the Chones, a people of Ænотrian descent, and highly civilized, inhabited these districts, and called their country Chone. However, this author has written in a very loose and old-fashioned manner, without giving any definite boundaries to the Leucani and Bruttii. Now Leucania is situated on the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian Seas, extending on one coast from the Silaro² to the river Lao, and on the other from Metapontium³ to Thurii. Along the continent it stretches from the country of the Samnites, as far as the isthmus between Thurii and Cerilli,⁴ near the Lao. This isthmus is 300 stadia⁵ across. Beyond are the Bruttii, who dwell on the peninsula; in this is included another peninsula, which is bounded by the isthmus between Scylletium⁶ and the Hipponiate gulf.⁷ The nation received its appellation from the Leucani, for they call run-aways Bruttii, and they say that formerly they ran away from them when employed as shepherds, and that afterwards their independence was established through the weakness [of the Leucani], when Dion [of Syracuse] was prosecuting a war against [the younger] Dionysius, and fomented hostilities amongst all.⁸ This is all we shall remark as to the Leucani and Bruttii.

¹ Golfo di Squillace. Scylletium was once a Greek city of note, communicating its name to the gulf. Servius observes that the Athenians who founded the colony were returning from Africa. There was a Greek inscription found in 1791 relative to the *Λαμπαδηδρομία*, which seems to confirm the tradition of the Athenian origin of Scylletium. It was the birth-place of Cassiodorus.

² Σιλάρης. The Silaro, which divides Lucania from Campania, takes its rise in the Apennines, in a district which formerly belonged to the Hirpini; and after receiving the Tanager, now Negro, and the Calor, now Calore, falls into the Gulf of Salerno. Silius Italicus (viii. 582) states that this river possessed the property of incrusting twigs with a calcareous deposit:

“Nunc Silarus quos nutrit aquis, quo gurgite tradunt
Duritiem lapidum mersis inolescere ramis.”

At its mouth was a haven named Portus Alburnus.

³ Torre di Mare.

⁴ Cirella.

⁵ This measure, upon our charts, is 330 Olympic stadia. Gosselin.

⁶ Golfo di Squillace.

⁷ The Golfo di S. Eufemia.

⁸ ἐξετάρα*

πρὸς ἅπαντας. Lit. “He stirred up every body

5. From the Lao the first city is the Temesa¹ of the Bruttii, which at present is called Tempsa. It was founded by the Ausonians; afterwards the Ætoliens, under the command of Thoas, gained possession of it. These were expelled by the Bruttii; Hannibal and the Romans have overthrown the Bruttii.² In the vicinity of Temesa is the Heroum of Polites, one of the companions of Ulysses. It is surrounded by a thick grove of wild olives. He was treacherously slain by the barbarians, and became in consequence very wrathful, and his shade so tormented the inhabitants that they submitted to pay him a tribute, according to the direction of a certain oracle. Thus it became a proverb amongst them, "Let no one offend the hero of Temesa," for they said that [for a long time he³] had tormented them. But when the Epizephyrian Locrians took the city, they feign that Euthymus the pugilist went out against him, and having overcome him in fight, constrained him to free the inhabitants from tribute.⁴ They say that the poet intended this Temesa, and not the Tamassus⁵ in Cyprus, (for it is said that the words are suitable to either,⁶) when he sings,

against every body." It is conceived that the hostilities of the Bruttii were fomented by Dion in order to prevent the tyrant Dionysius from deriving any aid from his Leucanian allies. The advancement of the Bruttii to independence is computed by Diodorus Siculus to have taken place about 397 years after the foundation of Rome, that is, 356 before the Christian era.

¹ The situation of Temesa has not yet been fully determined. Cluverius fixes it about ten miles south of Amantea, near Torre Loppa. Romanelli observes, however, that Cluverius has not allowed for the difference between the ancient and modern computation of distance. To rectify this oversight, he makes choice of Torre del piano del Casale, nearly two miles north of Torre Loppa, as the locality of this ancient site. The silver coins of Temesa are scarce. They have the Greek epigraph, ΤΕΜ.

² After the second Punic war it was colonized by the Romans, who called it Tempsa, B. C. 195.

³ We concur with Kramer in approving the proposition of Groskurd to understand the words *ἐκείνον μὲν οὖν διὰ πολλοῦ* as having been originally written in the text immediately before *ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς*.

⁴ They had been compelled to sacrifice a virgin annually in order to appease his disturbed spirit.

⁵ Borgo di Tamasso.

⁶ These words in parenthesis seem to have been interpolated by the transcribers of our author. Both Temesa and Tamassus were rich in metal, but the spelling of the name in Homer is more in accordance with Temesa than Tamassus, and other poets have alluded to it, as Ovid. *Met.* xv. 706,

“in quest of brass

To Temesa.”¹

and certain copper-mines are pointed out near to the place, which are now exhausted. Contiguous to it is Terina,² which Hannibal destroyed, when he found he could no longer retain it; at the time when he took refuge in the country of the Bruttii.³ Next in order comes Cosentia,⁴ the metropolis of the Bruttii. A little above it is Pandosia, which is strongly fortified, before which Alexander the Molossian king was overthrown. This prince was led astray by the oracle of Dodona, which commanded him to avoid Acheron and Pandosia;⁵ for places with names like these being pointed out in Thesprotia, caused him to lose his life⁶ here. The position has three summits, and the river Acheron flows by it. He was also mistaken in another oracle,

“O Pandosia, thou three-topp’d hill,
Hereafter many people thou shalt kill;”

for he thought that it foreshowed the destruction of his enemies, and not of his own people. They say that Pandosia⁷

“Evincitque fretum, Siculique angusta Pelori,
Hippotadæque domos regis, Temesesque metalla.”

And Fast. v. 441,

“ . . . Temesæaque concrepat æra.”

And Statius, Silv. i. 42,

“Et cui se toties Temese dedit hausta metallis.”

¹ Odyssey i. 184.

² Nocera.

³ Hannibal took refuge in Calabria about 209 years before the Christian era.

⁴ Cosenza, near the source of the Crathis, now Crati, represents Cosentia. It was taken by Hannibal after the surrender of Petilia, but towards the end of the war the Romans regained it.

⁵ *Αιακίδη, προφύλαξο μολεῖν Ἀχερούσιον ὕδρω
Πανδοσίην θ', ὅθι τοι θάνατος πεπρωμένος ἐστί.*

Son of Æacus, beware of approaching the Acherusian water and Pandosia, where death is destined for thee.

⁶ About B. C. 330.

⁷ Commentators generally agree that this is the Pandosia memorable for the defeat and death of Alexander, king of Epirus. The early Calabrian antiquaries have placed it at Castel Franco. D'Anville, in his map, lays it down near Lao and Cirella. Modern investigators have sought its ruins near Mendocino, between Cosenza and the sea, a hill with three summits having been remarked there, which answers to the fatal height pointed out by the oracle,

Πανδοσία τρικώλωνε, πολύν ποτε λαόν ὀλέσσεις

was formerly the residence of the CEnotrian kings. After Cœsentia is Hipponium,¹ founded by the Locrians.² The Romans took it from the Bruttii, who were in possession of it at a subsequent period, and changed the name into Vibo-Valentia.³ And because the meadows in its vicinity are luxuriant and full of flowers, it is supposed that Proserpine came over from Sicily to gather them, and from thence the custom among women of this city, to gather flowers and plait garlands, prevailed to such an extent, that they now think it shameful to wear purchased garlands at the festivals.⁴ It also possesses a harbour⁵ made by Agathocles,⁶ the tyrant of Sicily, when he was in possession of the town. On sailing hence to the Portus Herculis,⁷ we come to the point where the headlands of Italy, as they stretch towards the Strait [of Sicily], begin to turn westward. In this voyage we pass Medma,⁸ a city of the same Locrians,⁹ which bears the name of a copious fountain, and possessing at a short distance a naval station, called Emporium.¹⁰ Very nigh is the river Metauro,¹¹ as also a naval station bearing the same name.¹² The Lipari Isles lie off this coast; they are distant 200 stadia from the strait. They say that they are the islands of Æolus, of whom the poet makes together with a rivulet, Maresanto or Arconti; which last name recalls the Acheron denounced by another prediction, as so inauspicious to the Molossian king. Scylax, in his Periplus, seems to place Pandosia, together with Clampetia and Terina, near the western coast.

¹ Afterwards Vibo Valentia, now Monte-Leone.

² Surnamed the Epizephyrii. Heyne supposes this took place B. C. 388.

³ B. C. 193.

⁴ There was a temple erected to Proserpine in these meadows, and a building called "Amalthæa's horn," raised by Gelon of Syracuse.

⁵ The present harbour of Bivona.

⁶ He reigned from B. C. 317 to B. C. 289.

⁷ Now Le Formicole. The promontory named Capo Vaticano seems to have been anciently known under the same appellation.

⁸ Medma, or Mesma, was situated on the right bank of the river Mesima, which seems to retain traces of the name of the ancient city. Antiquaries report that its ruins are seen between Nicotera and the river Mesima. The epigraph on the coins of this city is generally ΜΕΣΜΑ, or ΜΕΣΜΑΙΩΝ, and in a single instance ΜΕΔΑΜΑ.

⁹ That is, the Epizephyrian Locrians.

¹⁰ Cluverius considers this to be the modern Bagnara.

¹¹ The ancient river Metaurus is now also called Marro, and sometimes Petrace. It was noted for the excellence of the thunny fish caught at its mouth.

¹² Metaurum. The site of this place is supposed to accord with that of the town of Gioja.

mention in the *Odyssey*.¹ They are seven in number, and are all easily distinguished both from Sicily and the coast of the continent about Medma. We will speak of them in particular when we describe Sicily. After the river Metaurus, there is another Metaurus.² Next in order is Scyllæum, an elevated cliff nearly surrounded by the sea. But connected with the main-land by a low isthmus easily accessible on either side, which Anaxilaus, the tyrant of Rhegium, fortified against the Tyrrheni, and formed a commodious haven, and thus prevented the pirates from passing through the strait. Next to the Scyllæan promontory was that of Cænys, distant from Medma 250 stadia. It is the last headland, and forms the narrowest part of the Strait [of Sicily], being opposite to Cape Pelorus on the Sicilian side, which is one of the three points which give to that island the form of a triangle. Its aspect is towards the rising of the sun in summer, whilst that of Cænys looks towards the west. Indeed they both seem to have diverged from the general line of coast in order to stand out opposite each other.³ From Cænys to the Posidonium⁴ [and] the Columna Rheginorum,⁵ the narrow part of the strait stretches as much as 6 stadia, the shortest passage across the strait is a little more. From the Columna [Rhegi-

¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, lib. x.

² There have been many suggestions for the correction of this passage. Kramer thinks that Cluverius was happy in proposing *Ποταμός* instead of *Μέταυρος*, and that then the Cratais, now Solano, or Fiume de' Pesci, would be the river which Strabo intended.

³ According to Pliny, these two promontories were separated by an interval of twelve stadia, or a mile and a half, which accords with the statement of Polybius. Thucydides, however, allows about two miles and a half, which he considers to be the utmost possible distance. Topographers are divided as to the exact point of the Italian coast which answers to Cape Cænys. The Calabrian geographers say the Punta del Pezzo, called also Coda del Volpe, in which opinion Cluverius and D'Anville coincide, but Holstenius contends for the Torre del Cavallo, which the French translators seem to favour. In fact, that may be the narrowest point, still it does not answer so well to Strabo's description of the figure and bearing of Cape Cænys as the Punta del Pezzo.

⁴ The temple or altar of Neptune.

⁵ The Columna Rhegina, as remarked by Cramer, (vol. ii. p. 427,) was probably a pillar set up to mark the consular road leading to the south of Italy. Strabo speaks of it as a small tower (book iii. c. v. § 5, p. 265). In the Itinerary of Antoninus it is simply termed Columna, but in the inscription relative to the Via Aquilia, it is called Statua. The situation of this tower is generally identified with the site of La Catona.

norum] to Rhegium, where the strait begins to widen, is a hundred [stadia] as you advance in a direction towards the exterior and eastern sea, which is called the sea of Sicily.

6. Rhegium¹ was founded by certain Chalcidenses, who, as they say, were decimated as an offering to Apollo in a time of scarcity, by order of an oracle, and afterwards removed hither from Delphi, taking with them certain others from home. As Antiochus says, the Zancleæans sent for the Chalcidenses, and appointed Antimnestus chief over them. Certain fugitives of the Messenians of Peloponnesus accompanied this colony, who had been compelled to fly by those who refused to give satisfaction to the Lacedæmonians for the violation² of the virgins at Limnæ, whom they had abused when attending the religious festival, and had slain those who assisted them. However when the fugitives had removed to Macistus, they sent to the oracle complaining against Apollo and Diana for suffering these things to happen notwithstanding they so greatly honoured them, and inquiring how the devoted might be saved. Apollo commanded to send them with the Chalcidenses to Rhegium, and to be grateful, therefore, to his sister Diana for that they were not lost but saved, as they should not be destroyed with their country, which would be annihilated shortly after by the Spartans.³ They acted in accordance with the oracle, and thus it was that the rulers of the Rhegini were all of Messenian race until the time of Anaxilaus.

Antiochus asserts that anciently the whole of this district was inhabited by Sicilians and Morgetes; and that they

¹ Now Reggio, one of the most celebrated and flourishing cities of Magna Grecia, founded about 696 years B. C. Cato affirms that it was once in the possession of the Aurunci. The connexion which subsisted between Rhegium and the Chalcidian colonies in Sicily, induced its inhabitants to take part with the Athenians in their first hostilities against the Syracusans and Locrians. In the great Sicilian expedition, the Rhegians observed a strict neutrality. While the Athenian fleet was moored in their roads, they refused to admit the army within their walls, which therefore encamped near the temple of Diana outside the town. Rhegium subsequently pursued a similar policy, and suffered severely under tyrants, but the Roman senate at length freed the unfortunate citizens.

² Strabo here alludes to the crime which was perpetrated in the reign of Teleclus, about 811 years before the Christian era. The division of the Messenians into two parties, the one wishing and the other refusing to give satisfaction, lasted about 150 years. See book vi. cap. iii. § 3.

³ It was taken by the Lacedæmonians about B. C. 668.

afterwards passed into Sicily when they were expelled by the Ænetri. Some say that Morgantium¹ thus received its name from the Morgetes. But the city of the Rhegini became very powerful, and possessed many dependent settlements. It has always been a bulwark for us against the island [of Sicily], and, indeed, has recently served to that purpose when Sextus Pompeius alienated Sicily.² It was called Rhegium either, as Æschylus says, because of the convulsion which had taken place in this region; for Sicily was broken from the continent by earthquakes,

“ Whence it is called Rhegium.”³

Others,⁴ as well as he, have affirmed the same thing, and adduce as an evidence that which is observed about Ætna, and the appearances seen in other parts of Sicily, the Lipari and neighbouring islands, and even in the Pithecussæ, with the whole coast beyond them, which prove that it was not unlikely that this convulsion had taken place. But now these mouths being opened, through which the fire is drawn up, and the ardent masses and water poured out, they say that the land in the neighbourhood of the Strait of Sicily rarely suffers from the effects of earthquakes; but formerly all the passages to the surface being blocked up, the fire which was smouldering beneath the earth, together with the vapour, occasioned terrible earthquakes, and the regions, being disturbed by the force of the pent-up winds, sometimes gave way, and being rent received the sea, which flowed in from either side; and thus were formed both this strait and the sea which surrounds the other islands in the neighbourhood. For Prochyta⁵ and the

¹ It seems probable that Strabo here refers to Morgantium in Sicily, which had disappeared in his days, and which he mentions in b. vi. c. ii. § 4.

² Sextus Pompeius, having received from the senate the command of the fleet, B. C. 43, in a short time made himself master of Sicily, which he held till 36.

³ This is a quotation from one of the missing works of Æschylus.

⁴ Virgil speaks of this great catastrophe, Æn. iii. 414,

“ Hæc loca, vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina
 (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas,)
 Dissiluisse ferunt : cum protinus utraque tellus
 Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, et undis
 Hesperium Sicuro latus abscidit : arvaque et urbes
 Litore diductas angusto interluit æstu.”

⁵ Procida.

Pithecussæ, as well as Capreæ, Leucosia, the Sirenes, and the CEnotrides, are but so many detached fragments from the continent, but other islands have risen from the bottom of the sea, a circumstance which frequently occurs in many places; for it is more reasonable to think that the islands in the midst of the sea have been raised up from the bottom, and that those which lie off headlands and are separated merely by a strait were broken off from them. Still it is beside our purpose to investigate thoroughly whether the name were given to the city for these causes, or whether it were named by the Samnites from the Latin word *regium*, which signifies royal, on account of its importance,¹ for their chieftains participated in the privileges of citizenship with the Romans, and generally used the Latin language. But Dionysius (the elder), having been treated with contempt by them, destroyed the illustrious city which had founded many towns and produced many distinguished characters, whether statesmen or men of letters,² for when he sought a consort from their city, they offered him the hangman's daughter;³ but his son (Dionysius the younger) partly restored it,⁴ and called it Phœbia. During the war with Pyrrhus, a body of Campanians destroyed most of the citizens against the faith of treaties,⁵ and a little

¹ It appears from the more ancient coins of Rhegium, that the original name was *REGION*. In these the epigraph is *REC. RECI. RECINOS*, in characters partaking more of the Oscan than the Greek form; those of more recent date are decidedly Greek, *PHI. PHITINQN*, being inscribed on them. A note in the French translation shows that the inhabitants of Rhegium did not participate in the rights of Roman citizens till about 90 years before the Christian era.

² Among these were many followers of Pythagoras, also Theagenes Hippias, Lycus surnamed Butera, and Glaucus, who were historians; Ibius, Cleomenes, and Lycus the adoptive father of Lycophron, who were poets; Clearchus and Pythagoras, who were sculptors.

³ The Rhegians firmly opposed the designs of this tyrant; and when, under pretence of courting their alliance, he sought a consort from their city, they replied with independent feeling that he might have their hangman's daughter. (See Diodorus Siculus, *xiv.* 44.) Had the other states of Magna-Grecia displayed the same energy, the ambitious views of this artful prince might have been frustrated; but after the defeat of their forces on the Elleporus, now Callipari, they succumbed, and Rhegium, after a gallant defence which lasted nearly a year, was compelled to yield, about the year 398 B. C. The insulting tyrant sentenced the heroic Phyton, who had commanded the town, to a cruel death, and removed the few inhabitants that remained to Sicily.

⁴ B. C. 360.

⁵ B. C. 280.

before the Marsic or social war, earthquakes destroyed most of the towns;¹ but after Augustus Cæsar had driven Sextus Pompeius out of Sicily, when he saw that the city was deficient of inhabitants, he appointed certain of those who accompanied the expedition to reside there, and it is now tolerably well peopled.²

7. Sailing 50 stadia from Rhegium towards the east, we meet the cape called Leucopetra, from the colour of the rock, where they say the range of the Apennines terminates.³ Further on is Heraclæum.⁴ It is the last promontory, and looks towards the south; for presently on doubling it the course takes a south-western direction as far as the promontory of Iapygia,⁵ then it runs towards the north more and more, and towards the west along the Ionian gulf. After the Herculeum Promontorium is the head-land of Locris, which is called Zephyrium,⁶ possessing a haven exposed to the west winds, whence is derived its name. Then is the state of the Locri Epizephyrii, a colony of Locrians transported by Evanthes from the Crissæan gulf, shortly after the foundation of Crotona and Syracuse.⁷ Ephorus was not correct in stating

¹ B. C. 91.

² The defeat of Sextus Pompeius is referred to the year 36 B. C., but there is no precise date mentioned for the establishment of the veteran soldiers in Rhegium, which probably took place about the year 31 B. C.

³ Pliny computes the distance from Rhegium to Cape Leucopetra at 12 miles; there is probably some error in the text, as there is no cape which corresponds with the distance of 50 stadia from Rhegium. A note in the French translation proposes to read 100 instead of 50 stadia. Topographers are not agreed in fixing the situation of the celebrated Leucopetra. D'Anville places it at Capo Pittaro, Grimaldi at the Punta della Saetta, and Cluverius, Holstenius, and Cellarius at the Capo dell'Armi. This latter opinion seems more compatible with the statement of Pliny, and is also more generally accredited.

⁴ The Herculeum Promontorium is known in modern geography as Capo Spartivento.

⁵ The Promontorium Iapygium, or Sallentinum, as it was sometimes called, formed a remarkable feature in the figure of Italy, while the art of navigation was in its infancy. It was a conspicuous land-mark to mariners bound from the ports of Greece to Sicily. The fleets of Athens, after having circumnavigated the Peloponnesus, usually made for Corcyra, whence they steered straight across to the promontory, and then coasted along the south of Italy. It seems from Thucydides (vi. 44) that there was a haven here which afforded a shelter to vessels in tempestuous weather.

⁶ Now Capo di Bruzzano.

⁷ The one 710, the other 734 years B. C.

that they were a colony of the Locri Opuntii.¹ They remained at first during three or four years at Cape Zephyrium ; afterwards they removed their city, with the assistance of certain Syracusans who dwelt amongst them. There is also a fountain called Locria in the place where the Locri first took up their abode. From Rhegium to the Locri there are 600 stadia. The city is built on a height, which they call Esopis.²

8. The Locri are believed to have been the first who committed their laws to writing, but after they had enjoyed the advantage of these good laws for a very considerable time, Dionysius [the younger], having been expelled³ from Syracuse, found means to abuse them in a most abominable manner, for he, entering into a private chamber where certain young brides had been adorned for their nuptials, violated them ; he also gathered the most beautiful virgins to his revels, and having liberated doves with uncut wings, commanded the young women to chase them round the apartment in a state of perfect nudity, while on some he bound sandals of unequal height, one being high and the other low, in order to make their appearance in the pursuit the more unseemly. However he paid dearly for this, for having returned to Sicily to resume his government, the Locri overpowered the guard he had left in their city, freed themselves, and obtained possession of his wife and children ; there were two of his daughters, and his second son who had already attained the age of manhood ; the eldest, however, called Apollocrates, accompanied his father in the expedition. And although Dionysius himself entreated them earnestly, as did also the Tarentines, to deliver the prisoners for whatever ransom they should name, they remained inexorable, and endured a siege and the wasting of their country, that they might vent their rage on his daughters. After having exposed them to the most shameful out-

¹ The opinion of Ephorus seems to be supported by many other writers, and is generally preferred by modern critics. ² Monte Esopo.

³ This wicked prince, having been expelled from Syracuse, had found refuge among the Locrians from the storm which threatened his existence, but, deprived as he was degraded, he repaid the kindness of the people, who treated him as their kinsman because his mother Doris had been the daughter of one of their principal citizens, with the basest treachery and ingratitude. He introduced into their city a number of miscreants, and having overpowered the inhabitants, gave loose to all the vicious propensities of his nature.

rages, they strangled them, burnt their bodies, pounded their bones, and cast them into the sea.¹ Ephorus in speaking of the written law of the Locri, which Zaleucus had most judiciously selected from the Cretan, Lacedæmonian, and Areopagite codes, says that Zaleucus was the first to establish this principle, that whereas formerly lawgivers had left it to the judges to award the punishments for the several offences, he established a certain penalty in his laws, thinking that the minds of the judges would not be led to attach the same penalties for the same transgressions, which course he considered expedient. He praises him also for having simplified the law of contracts. [He says also] that the Thurians, being desirous to improve [the code of Zaleucus] more than the Locri had done, became more celebrated, but were less judicious.² For that state is not regulated by the best government, where they guard against all manner of deceit by their laws, but that wherein they abide by laws simply framed. Plato also has observed that where there are many laws, there there will be law-suits and evil lives, in the same way as, where there are many physicians, there it is likely there is much sickness.

9. There is a certain singular circumstance, respecting grasshoppers, worthy of note. The river Alece³ divides Rhegium from Locris, flowing through a deep ravine; those which are in the territory of the Locrians sing, but those on the other side are silent; and it is thought probable that this is caused by the region being woody, and their membranes being softened by dew do not produce sound; but those on the Locrian side being sunned, are dry and horny, so that the sound is easily produced by them. The statue of Eunomus the harper having a grasshopper seated on his harp is shown at Locri. Timæus says, that this Eunomus was once contending at the Pythian games and disputed with Aristo of Rhegium for the prize, and that Aristo declared that the people

¹ Horrid as is the vengeance which the Locri took on these unfortunate victims of a husband's and a father's crimes, it serves to confirm the accounts of the iniquity and barbarity of a prince, whose mean and imbecile conduct at other times sanctions the notion that his intellect was disordered.

² We could almost wish to read this passage—"rendered them more plausible, but impaired their utility."

³ The ancient Halex.

of Delphi ought to take part with him, because his ancestors were consecrated to the god, and sent out to found the colony ; but Eunomus said that they could have no claim to contend for melody with any one, because that among them even the grasshoppers, who are the most gifted of all creatures, were mute. Nevertheless Aristo was applauded, and had hopes of obtaining the victory, but Eunomus was declared victorious, and dedicated the said statue in his country, because that at the contest one of the chords of his harp having broken, a grasshopper taking his stand on it supplied the sound. Above these towns the Bruttii possess the interior, and there is the city Mamertium,¹ and the forest which they call Sila, which produces the best or Bruttian pitch.² It yields fine trees, and is well watered, extending over a length of 700 stadia.

10. After the Locri is the [river] Sagras,³ in the feminine gender, on which is situated the altar of the Dioscuri, near which ten thousand Locrians, with a small body of Rhegians gained a victory over 130,000 Crotoniatae, whence they say arose the proverb applied to incredulous people, "It is more true than the victory of the Sagras." Some people add to the mysterious account, that it was announced the same day at the Olympic games to the people there assembled, and this speedy news was found perfectly correct. They say that this mischance was so unfortunate an event to the Crotoniatae, that after it they did not long remain as a nation, on account

¹ Although Strabo ascribes Mamertium to the Bruttii, it is more probable that it was a colony of Campanian mercenaries, deriving their name from Mamers, the Oscan Mars, who served under Agathocles, and other princes of Sicily. The Mamertini were employed by the Romans against Pyrrhus, whom they attacked in the woods and defiles about Rhegium. Barrio (lib. ii. c. 10) and Maraf. (lib. iii. c. 25, f. 222) have identified the site of this ancient town with Martorano, but it seems too distant from Locri and Rhegium to accord with Strabo's description. Cluverius, D'Anville, and Romanelli place it at Oppido, a bishop's see above Reggio, and Gerace, where old coins are said to have been discovered. Cramer (vol. ii. p. 439) thinks that the Melæ mentioned by Thucydides may have been identical with Mamertium. Several remains of antiquity exist on the site called Mela, in the vicinity of Oppido.

² The pix Bruttia is noticed by Pliny, Columella, Dioscorides, and other authorities mentioned by Bochart, Canaan, p. 595. Bochart looks upon the Bruttii as a people known to the Phœnicians at a very remote period.

³ Geographers differ much as to the modern river which corresponds to this stream. Romanelli and Swinburne consider it to be the Alaro.

of the number of citizens who fell in the battle. After the Sagras is Caulonia, which was at first called Aulonia, from the *αὐλὼν*, or valley, in which it was situated; but it is deserted, for its former possessors were driven out by the barbarians,¹ and have taken refuge in Sicily, and there founded [another] Caulonia.² After this is Scylletium,³ a colony of the Athenians, who set out under Menestheus;⁴ it is now called Scylacium.⁵ Dionysius [the elder] allotted a portion of it to the Locri, whilst it was in the possession of the Crotoniatae.⁶ The Scylleticus Sinus received its name from this city. It together with the Hipponiates Sinus forms the isthmus which we have mentioned above.⁷ Dionysius⁸ undertook to build a wall across the isthmus, at the time he was carrying on war against the Leucani, assigning as a pretext that it would afford security to the inhabitants of the peninsula from the inroads of the barbarians dwelling beyond it; but in truth his intention was to cut off the communication of the Greeks with each other, and to have the greater power over those who dwelt within the peninsula, but those who dwelt without⁹ assembled and prevented the undertaking.

11. After Scylletium is the region of Crotona, and the

¹ During the war against Pyrrhus, whose cause was espoused by Caulonia, the city was pillaged by the Mamertini, the allies of the Romans. The town was subsequently occupied by the Bruttii, who defended it against the Romans in the second Punic war. Barrio and other Calabrian topographers have fixed its site at Castro Vetere, but Strabo placed it on the left bank of the Sagras, which is inconsistent with their supposition, and it is still a subject of inquiry.

² Cluvier (*Sicil. ant. lib. ii.*) reckons this place was situated between Caltanis and Pietrapreccia. ³ Now Squillace.

⁴ Servius observes that these Athenians were returning from Africa, *Serv. Æn. iii. 552.*

⁵ Saumaise (*Exercit. Plin. p. 47, 57*) thinks the true reading should be Scylaceium, or Virgil could not have made the penultimate long.

. . . Attollit se diva Lacinia contra

Caulonisque arces, et navifragum Scylaceum. *Æn. iii. 652.*

⁶ About B. C. 389.

⁷ Book vi. cap. i. § 4.

⁸ Pliny seems to attribute to Dionysius the elder the project of cutting not walling off the isthmus: "Itaque Dionysius major intercisam eo loco adjicere Siciliae voluit." *Hist. Nat. lib. iii. § 15.* Grimaldi also is of opinion that the circumstance mentioned by Strabo should be referred to the first years of Dionysius the younger, about B. C. 366—359.

⁹ By those who dwelt without, Strabo doubtless intended the Crotoniatae, and their allies.

Iapygium tria Promontoria,¹ and after these the Lacinium,² sacred to Juno, formerly rich and filled with many offerings. But the distances have not been accurately stated. We can only say that in a general way Polybius reckons 2300³ stadia from the strait⁴ to Lacinium,⁵ and 700 stadia from Lacinium to the Iapygian promontory. They call this the entrance of the Gulf of Taranto. The extent of the gulf is considerable, being 240 miles along the shore. As the chorographer says . . . of 380 . . . to a light person, Artemidorus: wanting also by so many . . . of the breadth of the mouth of the gulf.⁶ Its aspect looks towards the rising of the sun in winter.⁷ It commenced from Lacinium, for presently on doubling the cape you come to where the Greek cities formerly stood; now they no longer exist, with the exception of Tarentum. But on account of the estimation in which certain of them were held, it is worth while to speak of them somewhat in detail.

12. The first is Crotona, 150 stadia from Lacinium and the river Esaro;⁸ there is also a haven⁹ there, and another river

¹ These three capes are now called Capo delle Castella, Capo Rizzuto, and Capo della Nave.

² Lacinium was about six miles from Crotona. The celebrated temple of Juno derived its name from the promontory. According to Diodorus Siculus, some ascribe its origin to Hercules. (Diod. Sic. iv. 24.) Its ruins are in the early Doric style, with fluted pillars broader at the base than at the capital. It measured about 132 yards in length, and 66 in breadth. Its principal entrance opened to the west.

³ Gosselin follows the opinion that Polybius wrote 1300 stadia.

⁴ The Strait of Sicily.

⁵ The modern names of Cape Lacinium, viz. Capo delle Colonne and Capo Nao, are derived from the remains of the temple, which is still visible on its summit.

⁶ The text is here evidently deficient. Groskurd says that Strabo most probably wrote as follows, "As the chorographer says, Artemidorus reckons that [the journey would take 12 days for one travelling on foot], with his girdle on; [but, to one sailing, the distance is 2000 stadia:] leaving at the same time as many [for the mouth, as Polybius has given] for the breadth of the mouth of the gulf." The French translators, however, have attempted to read the text as follows, "The chorographer makes it 240 miles, and Artemidorus says that it is 380 for a light traveller; a computation in which the breadth of the mouth is not included;" but comment on it in several extensive notes.

⁷ South-east.

⁸ The ancient Æsar.

⁹ Groskurd observes, Im Texte *καὶ λιμῆν*. Besser also, liest man mit *ὄλῳ λιμῆν*, and translates it "a salt-marsh;" but Cramer, in his description of ancient Italy, observes that the mouth of the river Esaro formed a haven, which, however incommo-
dious compared with those of

Nieto,¹ the name whereof is said to be derived from the following circumstance—they say that certain of the Greeks who had wandered from the fleet which had besieged Troy, having arrived in this place, disembarked to take a survey of the country, and that the Trojan women who accompanied them in the fleet, having observed the absence of the men, and being wearied with a toilsome voyage, set fire to the fleet, so that they were compelled to abide, when they saw, in addition [to the loss of their ships], that the soil was very fertile. Many others arriving soon after, and being desirous to live near their fellow-countrymen, founded several settlements. Most of them derived their names from the Trojans, and the river Nieto received its appellation from the destruction² [of the ships]. But Antiochus relates that an oracle having commanded the Greeks to found Crotona, Myscellus went forth to view the place, and having seen Sybaris already built on a neighbouring river of the same name, thought it better, and returned to the god to ask if he might be permitted to settle in that, instead of the other; but that the oracle answered, applying to him an epithet noticing his defective stature, (for Myscellus was somewhat crook-backed,)

“O short-backed Myscellus, whilst seeking somewhat else of thyself, Thou pursuest only misfortune: it is right to accept that which is preferred to thee.”³

and that he returned and built Crotona, wherein he was assisted by Archias,⁴ the founder of Syracuse, who happened to touch at Crotona by chance, as he was proceeding to the colony of the Syracusans. The Iapyges possessed Crotona before this time,⁵ as Ephorus relates. The city cultivated martial

Tarentum and Brundisium, was long a source of great wealth to Crotona, as we are assured by Polybius, Frag. x. l.

¹ Neæthus. This river was said to derive its name from the circumstance of the captive Trojan women having there set fire to the Grecian fleet.

² Νέαιθος, from νῆας and αἰθεῖν, “to burn the ships.”

³ There is much obscurity in this oracular response. The various manuscripts offer many readings.

⁴ A note in the French translation observes that the establishment of Myscellus at Crotona took place about 709 or 703 years B. C., and that Syracuse was founded as early as 735 years B. C.

⁵ According to some traditions, Crotona was very ancient, and derived its name from the hero Croto. Thus Ovid:

discipline and athletic exercises to a great extent, and in one of the Olympic games all the seven wrestlers, who obtained the palm in the stadium, were Crotoniatæ; whence, it seems, the saying arose that the last wrestler of Crotona was the first of the other Greeks, and hence they say also is the origin of the expression, "more salubrious than Crotona," as instancing a place which had something to show, in the number of wrestlers which it produced, as a proof of its salubrity and the robust frame of body which it was capable of rearing. Thus it had many victors in the Olympic games, although it cannot be reckoned to have been long inhabited on account of the vast destruction of its citizens, who fell at the battle of the Sagras. Its celebrity too was not a little spread by the number of Pythagoreans who resided there, and Milo,¹ who was the most renowned of wrestlers, and lived in terms of intimacy with Pythagoras, who abode long in this city. They relate that at a banquet of the philosophers, when one of the pillars in the hall gave way, Milo sustained the ceiling while they all escaped, and afterwards saved himself. It is likely that, trusting to the same strength, he met his fate as related by some, for whilst making his way through a thick wood, he strayed considerably out of the path, when finding a great log with wedges in it, he thrust both his hands and feet into the fissure, intending to split it completely, but was only able to force it enough to let the wedges fall out, when the gaping log presently closed on him, and he, being taken as in a snare, was devoured by wild beasts.

13. Beyond this, at the distance of 200 stadia, is situated Sybaris,² a colony settled by the Achæans, between the two

"Vixque pererratis quæ spectant littora terris,
Invenit Æsarei fatalia fluminis ora :
Nec procul hinc tumulum, sub quo sacrata Crotonis
Ossa tegebat humus. Jussaue ibi mœnia terra
Condidit; et nomen tumulati traxit in urbem."

Ovid. Metam. xv. 53.

¹ Milo is said to have carried off the prize for wrestling from the 62nd Olympiad, B. C. 532, and also to have commanded the 100,000 Crotoniatæ who engaged the hostile armies of Sybaris and destroyed their city, about B. C. 509. Diod. Sic. xii. 9, &c.

² Sybaris was said to have been founded by the people of Trœzene not long after the siege of Troy. Aristot. Politic. lib. v. cap. 3. Solin. viii. But these were subsequently joined by a more numerous colony of Achæans, about B. C. 720. Euseb. Chron. ii.

rivers Crati¹ and Sybaris.² Its founder was Is³ the Helicean.⁴ So great was the prosperity enjoyed by this city anciently, that it held dominion over four neighbouring people and twenty-five towns; in the war with the Crotoniatae it brought into the field 300,000 men, and occupied a circuit of 50 stadia on the Crati. But on account of the arrogance and turbulence of its citizens, it was deprived of all its prosperity by the Crotoniatae in 70⁵ days, who took the city, and turning the waters of the river [Crati], overwhelmed it with an inundation.⁶ Some time after, a few who had escaped came together and inhabited the site of their former city, but in time they were dispossessed by the Athenians⁷ and other Greeks, who came and settled amongst them, but they despised and subjugated them, and removed the city to a neighbouring place, calling its name Thurii, from a fountain of that name. The water of the river Sybaris has the peculiar property of making the horses which drink it shy,⁸ for which reason they keep their horses away from the river. The Crati turns the hair of those who bathe in it yellow, and sometimes white, but has

¹ ὁ Κραθίς. There was a stream of the same name in Achaia, from whence the Italian Crathis, now Crati, derived its name. The Crathis and Sybaris now join about 14 miles from the sea.

² Now Cochile.

³ Koray objected to the old reading, ὁ Ἰσελικεύς, and proposed instead Οἶσ. . . . Ἐλικεύς; Groskurd thought it better to translate it Ihr Erbauer war Is aus Helike; and Kramer has adopted this latter view, which we have followed.

⁴ Helice was mentioned, book i. chap. iii. § 18. Ovid, *Metam.* xv. 293, also speaks of this city,

“Si quæras Helicen et Buram Achaïdas urbes,
Invenies sub aquis . . .”

⁵ The Epitome gives nine days.

⁶ The events which led to this catastrophe are thus related by Diodorus Siculus: “A democratical party, at the head of which was Telys, having gained the ascendancy, expelled 500 of the principal citizens, who sought refuge at Crotona. This city, upon receiving a summons to give up the fugitives, or prepare for war, by the advice of Pythagoras chose the latter. The armies met near the river Triunti, in the territory of Crotona, where the brave citizens gained a complete victory.”

⁷ At the instigation of Pericles, the Athenians sent out a colony under the command of Lampon and Xenocritus, which arrived about 55 years after the overthrow of Sybaris. Two celebrated characters are named among those who joined this expedition, which was collected from different parts of Greece. These were Herodotus, and Lysias the orator.

⁸ Compare Ælian. *Hist. Anim.* ii. 36.

been found salutary for the cure of many disorders. Thurii, after having flourished for a long time, became a continual prey to the aggressions of the Leucani,¹ and afterwards the Tarentini troubling them, they appealed to the Romans for succour, who, in course of time, sent a colony² when it was nearly deserted, and changed the name of the city to Copiæ.³

14. After Thurii is Lagaria,⁴ a garrison fort; it was originally settled by Epeius⁵ and the Phocenses; hence is derived the Lagaritan wine, sweet and delicate, and much recommended by the physicians, as is likewise the Thurian wine, which is reckoned among the best. Then comes the city of Heraclea,⁶ a little way from the sea, and two navigable rivers, the Agri⁷ and the Sinno,⁸ on which was the city Siris, founded by a Trojan colony, but in course of time, when Heraclea was peopled with the citizens of Siris by the Tarentini, it became the harbour of Heraclea. Its distance from Heraclea was 24 stadia, and from Thurii about 330.⁹ They point out the statue of the Trojan Minerva, which is erected there, as a proof of its colonization by the Trojans. They also relate as a miracle how the statue closed its eyes when the suppliants, who had fled for sanctuary to her shrine, were dragged away by the Ionians after they had taken the city;¹⁰ they say that these Ionians came to settle here, when they fled from the yoke of the Lydians, and took the town of the Trojans¹¹ by force, calling its name Polieum. They show, too, at the present time

¹ From B. c. 390 to 290.

² About B. c. 194.

³ Cæsar however calls it Thurii, and designates it a municipal town. Civ. Bell. iii. 22.

⁴ Now La Nucara.

⁵ It is not ascertained whether this leader were the architect of the Horse of Troy.

⁶ Antiquaries seem agreed in fixing the site of this town at Policoro, about three miles from the mouth of the Agri, where considerable remains are still visible. The city is famous as the seat of the general council of the Greek states, and the celebrated bronze tables on which the learned Mazzocchi bestowed so much labour were discovered near its site. Its coins represent Hercules contending with the lion, and bear the epigraph HPA or ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙΩΝ.

⁷ Ἀκρίης.

⁸ Σίνου.

⁹ This accords very well with the distance given in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

¹⁰ About B. c. 580.

¹¹ Kramer reads *χρώνων* in the text. We have followed the opinion of the French translators, who have rendered it "possédée par des Troyens." MSS. give various readings.

the statue that closes its eyes. It must, however, require a good courage, not to assert that it appeared to have closed its eyes, as that at Troy turned away its eyes from beholding the violence offered to Cassandra, but to show it in the act of winking:—but it is much more daring to make so many statues of the Minerva rescued from Ilium, as those who describe them affirm, for there is a Minerva said to be Trojan in the sense of having been rescued from that city, not only at Siris, but at Rome, at Lavinium, and at Luceria. The scene, too, of the daring of the Trojan female captives is assigned to many different places and appears incredible, although it is by no means impossible. There are some who say that Siris, and also that Sybaris on the Trionto,¹ were founded by the Rhodians. Antiochus says that the site of Siris having become the subject of a contention between the Tarentini and the Thurii, on that occasion commanded by Cleandridas the general who had been banished from Lacedæmon, the two people came to a composition, and agreed to inhabit it in common, but that the colony² should be considered as Tarentine; however, at a subsequent period both the name and the locality were changed, and it was called Heraclea.³

15. Next in order is Metapontium,⁴ at a distance of 140 stadia from the sea-port of Heraclea. It is said to be a settlement of the Pylians at the time of their return from Ilium under Nestor; their success in agriculture was so great, that it is said they offered at Delphi a golden harvest:⁵ they adduce, as a proof of this foundation, the offerings of the dead sacrificed periodically to the Neleïdæ;⁶ but it was destroyed by

¹ Kramer reads ἐπὶ Τεύθραντος, but thinks with Groskurd that ἐπὶ τοῦ Τράεντος, the Traens or modern Trionto, is the true reading.

² About B. C. 444.

³ About B. C. 433.

⁴ In the time of Pausanias, this city was a heap of ruins, and nothing remained standing but the walls and theatre. Considerable vestiges, situated near the station called Torre di Mare, indicate the site it anciently adorned.

⁵ ἄερος χρυσοῦν. Xylander and others have thought this was a statue representing Summer; others have reckoned that golden sheaves were intended. The coins of Metapontium, which are greatly admired as works of art, have a head of Ceres, and on the reverse an ear of corn. A large sum of these might be justly called a golden harvest.

⁶ Neleus had twelve sons, eleven of whom were slain by Hercules, while Nestor alone escaped; we must therefore infer from this passage, that rites were celebrated at Metapontium in honour of his brothers.

the Samnites.¹ Antiochus says that certain Achæans, who had been sent for by the Achæans of Sybaris, settled in this place when it had been desolated; he adds that these were sent for on account of the hatred of the Achæans to the Tarentini, who had originally migrated from Laconia, in order to prevent their seizing upon the place which lay adjacent to them. Of the two cities, viz. Metapontium which was situated the nearer, [and Siris the further,²] from Tarentum, the newcomers preferred to occupy Metapontium. This choice was suggested by the Sybarites, because, if they should make good their settlement there, they would also possess Siris, but if they were to turn to Siris, Metapontium would be annexed to the territory of the Tarentines which was conterminous. But after being engaged in war with the Tarentini and the CEnotrians, who dwelt beyond them, they came to an agreement, securing to them a portion of land, which should constitute the boundary between Italy, as it then existed, and Iapygia. This, too, is the locality which tradition assigns to the adventures of Metapontus and the captive Melanippe, and her son Bœotus. But Antiochus is of opinion that the city Metapontium was originally called Metabum, and that its name was altered at a subsequent period; and that Melanippe was not entertained here but at Dius, and thinks that the heroum of Metabus as well as the testimony of the poet Asius, who says that

“The beautiful Melanippe, in the halls of Dius, bare
Bœotus,”

afford sufficient proof that Melanippe was led to Dius and not to Metabum. Ephorus says that Daulius, the tyrant of Crissa³ near Delphi, was the founder of Metapontium. There is, however, another tradition, that Leucippus was sent by the Achæans to help to found the colony, and having asked permission of the Tarentini to have the place for a day and a night, would not give it up, replying by day to those who

¹ The Greek words might either mean that Metapontium was destroyed or that the sacrifices were abolished. From the succeeding sentence it would be most natural to suppose that Strabo meant to say the city was overthrown.

² These words are not in the Greek text, but seem to have been accidentally omitted by the transcriber.

³ A city of Phocis, now Krisso.

asked it of him, that he had asked and obtained it till the following night, and when asked by night, he said that he held it till the coming day.

Next adjoining is Tarentum and Iapygia, which we will describe when we shall have first gone through the islands which lie off Italy, according to our original purpose; for we have always given the adjacent islands with every nation we have hitherto described, and since we have gone through CEnotria, which only, the people of ancient times named Italy, we feel justified in keeping to the same arrangement, and shall pass on to Sicily and the surrounding islands.

CHAPTER II.

1. SICILY is triangular in form, and on this account was at first called Trinacria, but afterwards the name was softened and it was changed into Thrinacia.¹ Three low headlands bound the figure: Pelorias is the name of that towards Cænys and the Columna Rheginorum which forms the strait; Pachynus² is that which stretches towards the east, and is washed by the Sea of Sicily, looking towards the Peloponnesus and in the direction of the passage to Crete; the third is Lilybæum, and is next to Africa, looking towards that region and the setting of the sun in winter.⁴ Of the sides which these three headlands bound, two are somewhat concave, while the third is slightly convex, it runs from Lilybæum to Pelorias, and is the longest, being, as Posidonius has said, 1700 stadia adding

¹ The ordinary reading is Trinacis, but Kramer found it given Thrinacia in the Vatican Manuscript, No. 482, which seems to suit the rest of the sentence better. Dionysius Perieg. vers. 467, says,

Τρινακίη δ' ἐπὶ τῆσιν, ὑπὲρ πέδον Ἀύσονιῶν
'Ἐκτέταται.

And Homer, Strabo's great geographical authority, in book xi. of the Odyssey, line 106, terms it *Θρινακίη νῆσος*. Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 440, says,

"Trinacria fines Italos mittere relictas."

² Capo Passaro.

³ Capo di Marsalla, or Capo Boeo.

⁴ The south-west.

further twenty. Of the others, that extending to Pachynus from Lilybæum is the longer, while the shortest faces the Strait and Italy, extending from Pelorias to Pachynus, being about 1120 or 1130 stadia. Posidonius shows that the circumference is 4400 stadia, but in the Chorography the distances are declared to exceed the above numbers, being severally reckoned in miles. Thus from Cape Pelorias to Mylæ,¹ 25 miles; from Mylæ to Tyndaris,² 25; thence to Agathyrnum,³ 30; from Agathyrnum to Alæsa,⁴ 30; from Alæsa to Cephalœdium,⁵ 30; these are but insignificant places; from Cephalœdium to the river Himera,⁶ which runs through the midst of Sicily, 18; from thence to Panormus,⁷ 35; [thence] to the Emporium⁸ of the Ægestani, 32; leaving to Lilybæum⁹ a distance of 38; thence having doubled the Cape and coasting the adjacent side to Heracleum,¹⁰ 75; and to the Emporium¹¹ of the Agrigentini, 20; and to¹² Cama-

¹ Milazzo.² S. Maria di Tindaro.³ The MSS. of Strabo read Agathyrsum, but the town is more commonly called Agathyrnum. Livy, book xxvi. cap. 40, and Silius Italicus, book xiv. ver. 260, call it Agathyrna. Cluverius considers it to have been situated near S. Marco; others would place it nearer to Capo d'Orlando; while D'Anville is in favour of Agati.⁴ I Bagni, or S. Maria de' Palazzi. Groskurd gives it as Torre di Pittineo by Tusa, or Torre di Tusa. Cicero writes the name without a diphthong, "statim Messana litteras Halesam mittit." Cic. in Verr. ii. c. 7. Diodorus spells it Ἰαλεσα. Silius Italicus, lib. xiv. ver. 219, makes the penultimate long:

"Venit ab amne trahens nomen Gela, venit Halæsa."

And the inscription in Gruter, p. 212, gives the name of the river near it, Ἀλαισος.

⁵ Cefalù.⁶ Modern critics consider this to be the Fiume-Grande, which takes its rise near Polizzi and the Fiume Salso, the latter flows from a source within a few miles of the Fiume-Grande, and after a course of about 80 miles, falls into the sea near Alicata. The Fiume Salso was also called Himera, and both rivers taken to be one.⁷ Palermo.⁸ Castel-à-Mare.⁹ Capo Boeo.¹⁰ Probably ruins at the embouchure of the Platani. Groskurd also gives for it Bissenza.¹¹ At the mouth of the Fiume di Girgenti. Virgil calls Agrigentum by the Greek name, Æn. iii. 703,

"Arduus inde Acragas ostentat maxima longe

Mœnia, magnanimùm quondam generator equorum."

¹² As the distance from Agrigentum to Camarina greatly exceeds another 20 miles, Kramer supposes that the words, "and to Gela, 20," have been omitted by the copyist.

rina,¹ another 20; then to Pachynus, 50; thence again along the third side to Syracuse, 36;² from Syracuse to Catana, 60; then to Tauromenium,³ 33; thence to Messana, 30.⁴ Thus on foot⁵ from Pachynus to Pelorias we have 168 [miles], and from Messana⁶ to [Cape] Lilybæum, on the Via Valeria,⁷ we have 235⁸ [miles]. Some have estimated the circuit in a more simple way, as Ephorus, who says that the compass of the island by sea takes five days and nights. Posidonius attempts to determine the situation of the island by climata,⁹ and places Pelorias to the north, Lilybæum to the south, and Pachynus to the east. We however consider that of necessity all climata are set out in the manner of a parallelogram, but that districts portrayed as triangles, and especially such triangles as are scalene,¹⁰ and whereof no one side lies parallel to a side of the parallelogram, cannot in any way be assimilated to climata on account of their obliquity. However, we must allow, that in treating of Sicily, Pelorias, which lies to the south of Italy, may well be called the most northern of the three angles, so that we say that the line which joins it¹¹ to Pachynus faces the east but looks towards the north.¹² Now this line [of coast] will make the side next the Strait [of Messina], and it must have a slight inclination towards the winter sunrise;¹³ for thus the shore slightly changes its direction as you travel from Catana towards Syracuse and Pachynus. Now the transit from Pachynus to the mouth of the Alpheus¹⁴ is 4000 stadia. But when Artemidorus says that from Pachy-

¹ Torre di Camarana.

² The Paris MS. No. 1393, used by the French translators, has 33; the Paris MS. 1396, and the Medici plut. 28, No. 5, give 20 miles.

³ Taormina.

⁴ Gosselin observes, that the distance from Messina to Cape Pelorias, which would complete the circuit of Sicily, is about 9 miles.

⁵ i. e. by land.

⁶ Messina.

⁷ An intelligent critic has imagined that this road may have been commenced by M. Valerius Maximus Messala, consul in the year 263, and censor in 253, before the Christian era. D'Orvill. Sic. c. ii. p. 12.

⁸ We have followed Kramer, who inserts [διακόσια] before τριάκοντα πέντε.

⁹ i. e. to give its parallels of latitude and longitude.

¹⁰ i. e. wherein all three sides are unequal.

¹¹ i. e. Pelorias.

¹² Or, lies towards the east, with a northern inclination.

¹³ South-east.

¹⁴ A river of the Peloponnesus, now called Rufeá.

nus to Tænarum¹ it is 4600, and from the Alpheus to the Pamisus is 1130 stadia,² he appears to me to lie open to the objection of having given distances which do not accord with the 4000 stadia from Pachynus to the Alpheus. The line run from Pachynus to Lilybæum (which is much to the west of Pelorias) is considerably diverged from the south towards the west, having at the same time an aspect looking towards the east and towards the south.³ On one side it is washed by the sea of Sicily, and on the other by the Libyan Sea, extending from Carthage to the Syrtes. The shortest run is 1500 stadia from Lilybæum to the coast of Africa about Carthage; and, according to report, a certain very sharp-sighted person,⁴ placed on a watch-tower, announced to the Carthaginians besieged in Lilybæum the number of the ships which were leaving Carthage. And from Lilybæum to Pelorias the side must necessarily incline towards the east, and look in a direction towards the west and north, having Italy to the north, and the Tyrrhenian Sea with the islands of Æolus to the west.⁵

2. The cities situated on the side which forms the Strait are, first Messana, then Tauromenium,⁶ Catana, and Syracuse; between Catana and Syracuse were the ruined cities Naxos⁷ and Megara,⁸ situated where the rivers descending from Ætna fall into the sea, and afford good accommodation for shipping. Here is also the promontory of Xiphonia. They say that Ephorus founded these first cities of the Greeks in Sicily in

¹ Cape Matapan.

² The French translation gives 1160 stadia.

³ Gossellin observes, that from Pachynus to Lilybæum the coast runs from the south to the north-west, and looks towards the south-west.

⁴ This person, according to Varro, was named Strabo. See Varr. ap. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. § 21, page 386.

⁵ This coast of Sicily rises very little as it advances towards the east, and looks almost continually towards the north, with the exception of a very short space near Lilybæum. The Æolian islands lie to the north.

⁶ Taormina.

⁷ Naxos was not situated between Catana and Syracuse, but was most probably built on the left bank of the Fiume Freddo, the ancient Asines, near Taormina. It is possible that Strabo originally wrote, between Messina and Syracuse. Naxos was founded about 734 B. C., and destroyed by Dionysius the elder about the year 403. Naxos is thought by some to be the modern Schisso.

⁸ Megara was founded on the right of the Cantaro, the ancient Alabus. It was destroyed about 214 years B. C.

the tenth generation from the Trojan war. For those who preceded him were so terrified by the piratical customs of the Tyrrheni, and the ferocity of the savages of the neighbourhood, that they did not even venture to resort thither for the purposes of commerce. Theocles the Athenian, however, having been driven to Sicily by storms, observed both the weakness of the inhabitants and the excellence of the soil. On his return home, he was unable to persuade the Athenians to make any attempt, but he collected a numerous band of Chalcidians in Eubœa, with some Ionians and Dorians, whereof the most part were Megarenses, and sailed. The Chalcidians founded Naxos, and the Dorians Megara, which was at first called Hybla. These cities no longer exist, but the name of Hybla survives on account of the Hyblæan honey.

3. The first of the cities which at present remain on the aforesaid side is Messana, built at the head of the gulf of Pelorias, which is curved very considerably towards the east, and forms a bay. The passage across to Rhegium¹ is 60 stadia, but the distance to the Columna Rheginorum is much less. It was from a colony of the Messenians of the Peloponnesus that it was named Messana, having been originally called Zancle, on account of the great inequality of the coast (for anything irregular was termed ζάγκλιον).² It was originally founded by the people of Naxos near Catana. Afterwards the Mamertini, a tribe of Campanians, took possession of it.³ The Romans, in the war in Sicily against the Carthaginians, used it as an arsenal.⁴ Still more recently,⁵ Sextus Pompeius assembled his fleet in it, to contend against Augustus Cæsar; and when he relinquished the island, he took ship from thence.⁶ Charybdis⁷ is pointed out at a short distance from the city in the Strait, an immense gulf, into which the back currents of the Strait frequently impel ships, carrying them down with a whirl and the violence of the eddy. When they are swallowed down and shattered, the wrecks are cast by the stream on the shore of Tauromenia,⁸ which they call, on account of this kind of accumulation, the dunghill.⁹ So greatly have the Mamertini prevailed over the Messenians, that they have by degrees wrested the

¹ Reggio.

² Thucydides says ζάγκλιον is a Sicilian word.

³ B. C. 289.

⁴ B. C. 264 to 243.

⁵ B. C. 44.

⁶ B. C. 36.

⁷ Now called Garafalo.

⁸ Taormina.

⁹ κοπρία.

city from them. The inhabitants generally are rather called Mamertini than Messenians. The district abounds in wine, which we do not call Messenian, but Mamertinian: it vies with the best produced in Italy.¹ The city is well peopled, but Catania is more populous, which has been colonized by the Romans.² Tauromenium is less populous than either. Catania was founded by people from Naxos, and Tauromenium by the Zancleans of Hybla,³ but Catania was deprived of its original inhabitants when Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, introduced others, and called it by the name of Ætna instead of Catania. It is of this that Pindar says he was the founder, when he sings,

“Thou understandest what I say, O father, that bearest the same name with the splendid holy sacrifices, thou founder of Ætna.”⁴

But on the death of Hiero,⁵ the Catanæans returned and expelled the new inhabitants, and demolished the mausoleum of the tyrant. The Ætnæans, compelled to retire,⁶ established themselves on a hilly district of Ætna, called Innesa,⁷ and called the place Ætna. It is distant from Catania about 80 stadia. They still acknowledged Hiero as their founder.

Ætna lies the highest of any part of Catania, and participates the most in the inconveniences occasioned by the mouths of the volcano, for the streams of lava flowing down in Catania⁸ pass through it first. It was here that Amphinomus

¹ These wines, although grown in Sicily, were reckoned among the Italian wines. See Athen. Deipnos. lib. i. cap. 21, ed. Schweigh. tom. i. p. 102. And from the time of Julius Cæsar they were classed in the fourth division of the most esteemed wines. See Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. § 8, No. 4 and § 17.

² At the same time as Syracuse.

³ A note in the French translation suggests that we should read Sicilians of Hybla. τῶν ἐν Ὑβλη Σικελῶν instead of Ζαγκλαίων.

⁴ Hiero in Greek was Ἱέρων. The line of Pindar in Kramer's edition is,

ξύνες [ὄ] ται λέγω, Ζαθέων ἱερῶν ὁμόνυμῃ πάτερ,
κτίστορ Δῆτνας.

The words played on are Ἱέρων and ἱερῶν.

⁵ This occurred in the year 468.

⁶ About 461.

⁷ Cluvier considers that the monastery of Saint Nicolas de Arenis, about 12 modern miles from Catania, is situated about the place to which Strabo here alludes.

⁸ τὴν Καταναίαν. The spelling of this name, like very many in the present work, was by no means uniform in classic authors. Strabo has generally called it Catania (Κατάνη); Ptolemy, Κατάνη κολώνια; Pliny,

and Anapias set the example of filial piety so greatly celebrated, for they, seizing their parents, carried them on their shoulders¹ to a place of safety from the impending ruin; for whenever, as Posidonius relates, there is an eruption of the mountain the fields of the Catanæans are buried to a great depth. However, after the burning ashes have occasioned a temporary damage, they fertilize the country for future seasons, and render the soil good for the vine and very strong for other produce, the neighbouring districts not being equally adapted to the produce of wine. They say that the roots which the districts covered with these ashes produce, are so good for fattening sheep, that they are sometimes suffocated, wherefore they bleed them in the ear every four or five days,² in the same way as we have related a like practice at Erythia. When the stream of lava cools³ it covers the surface of the earth with stone to a considerable depth, so that those who wish to uncover the original surface are obliged to hew away the stone as in a quarry. For the stone is liquefied in the craters and then thrown up. That which is cast forth from the top is like a black moist clay and flows down the hill-sides, then congealing it becomes mill-stone, preserving the same colour it had while fluid. The ashes of the stones which are burnt are like what would be produced by wood, and as rue thrives on wood ashes, so there is probably some quality in the ashes of Ætna which is appropriate to the vine.

4. Archias, sailing from Corinth, founded Syracuse about the same period⁴ that Naxos and Megara were built. They say that Myscellus and Archias having repaired to Delphi at the same time to consult the oracle, the god demanded whether they would choose wealth or health, when Archias

lib. iii. cap. 8, Colonia Catina; Pomponius Mela, lib. ii. cap. 7, Catina; Cicero, Catina; and on ancient coins we find KATANAIQN.

¹ This feat was recorded by divers works of art set up in different places: it must have taken place in one of the eruptions, 477, 453, or 427, before the Christian era. The place where they lived was called Campus Piorum.

² δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἢ πέντε, in Kramer's text; in his notes he particularizes the readings of the different manuscripts and editions, some reading forty or fifty. He also records his sorrow at having preferred the reading of fifty days to thirty, in the passage relating to the fat beasts of Erythia, book iii. cap. 5, § 4, (page 255).

³ Literally, changes into coagulation.

⁴ About 758 or 735 B. C.

preferred wealth and Myscellus health, upon which the oracle assigned Syracuse to the former to found, and Crotona to the latter. And certainly, in like manner as it fell out that the Crotoniatae should inhabit a state so notable for salubrity as we have described,¹ so such great riches have accrued to the Syracusans that their name has been embodied in the proverb applied to those who have too great wealth, viz. that they have not yet attained to a tithe of the riches of the Syracusans. While Archias was on his voyage to Sicily, he left Chersicrates, a chief of the race of the Heracleidæ,² with a part of the expedition to settle the island now called Corcyra,³ but anciently called Scheria, and he, having expelled the Liburni who possessed it, established his colony in the island. Archias, pursuing his route, met with certain Dorians at Zephyrium,⁴ come from Sicily, and who had quitted the company of those who had founded Megara; these he took with him, and in conjunction with them founded Syracuse. The city flourished on account of the fertility⁵ of the country and the convenience of the harbours, the citizens became great rulers; while under tyrants themselves, they domineered over the other states [of Sicily], and when freed from despotism, they set at liberty such as had been enslaved by the barbarians: of these barbarians some were the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, while others had come across from the continent. The Greeks suffered none of the barbarians to approach the shore, although they were not able to expel them entirely from the interior, for the Siculi, Sicani,⁶ Morgetes, and some others,⁷ still inhabit the island to the present day, amongst whom also were the Iberians, who, as Ephorus relates, were

¹ Book vi. chap. 1, § 12.

² According to other authorities he was descended from Bacchus.

³ At present Corfù.

⁴ Cape Bruzzano.

⁵ Cicero's Oratio Frumentaria supports this character of the country. Silius Italicus, lib. xiv. vers. 23, thus celebrates the richness of the soil,

“ Multa solo virtus : jam reddere fœnus aratris,
Jam montes umbrare olea, dare nomina Baccho ;
Nectare Cecropias Hyblæo accendere ceras :”

and Florus terms it Terra frugum ferax.

⁶ Strabo makes a distinct mention of Siculi and Sicani, as if they were different people. Philologists have been much divided as to whether they were not different appellations of the same nation.

⁷ Such as the Elymi, or Helymi, who occupied the districts bordering on the Belici in the western part of the island.

the first of the barbarians that are considered to have been settlers in Sicily. It seems probable that Morgantium¹ was founded by the Morgetes. Formerly it was a city, but now it is not. When the Carthaginians² endeavoured to gain possession of the island they continually harassed both the Greeks and the barbarians, but the Syracusans withstood them; at a later period the Romans expelled the Carthaginians and took Syracuse after a long siege.³ And [Sextus] Pompeius, having destroyed Syracuse in the same way as he had done by the other cities,⁴ Augustus Cæsar in our own times sent thither a colony, and to a great extent restored it to its former importance, for anciently it consisted of five towns⁵ enclosed by a wall of 180⁶ stadia, but there being no great need that it should fill this extensive circle, he thought it expedient to fortify in a better way the thickly inhabited portion lying next the island of Ortygia, the circumference of which by itself equals that of an important city. Ortygia is connected to the mainland by a bridge, and [boasts of] the fountain Arethusa, which springs in such abundance as to form a river at once, and flows into the sea. They say that it is the river Alpheus⁷ which rises in the Peloponnesus, and that it flows through the land beneath the sea⁸ to the place

¹ It is probable that Morgantium was situated on the right bank of the Giaretta, below its confluence with the Dattaino, but at some little distance from the sea; at least such is the opinion of Cluverius, in opposition to the views of Sicilian topographers. Sic. Ant. book ii. cap. 7, pp. 325 and 335.

² The first settlement of the Carthaginians in Sicily was about 560 B. C.

³ 212 years B. C.

⁴ 42 years B. C.

⁵ They were called Nesos, [the island Ortygia,] Achradina, Tycha, Neapolis, and Epipolæ. Ausonius applies the epithet fourfold,

“ Quis Catinam sileat? quis quadruplices Syracusas? ”

Dionysius however fortified Epipolæ with a wall, and joined it to the city.

⁶ Twenty-two miles four perches English. Swinburne spent two days in examining the extent of the ruins, and was satisfied as to the accuracy of Strabo's statement.

⁷ A river of Elis.

⁸ Virgil thus deals with the subject:

“ Sicanio prætenta sinu jacet insula contra
Plemmyrium undosum: nomen dixere priores
Ortygiam. Alpheum fama est huc, Elisidis amnem,
Occultas egisse vias subter mare; qui nunc
Ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis.” *Æn.* iii. 692.

where the Arethusa rises and flows into the sea. Some such proofs as these are given in support of the fact. A certain chalice having fallen into the river at Olympia was cast up by the springs of Arethusa; the fountain too is troubled by the sacrifices of oxen at Olympia. And Pindar, following such reports, thus sings,

“Ortygia, revered place of reappearing¹ of the Alpheus,
The offset of renowned Syracuse.”²

Timæus³ the historian advances these accounts in like manner with Pindar. Undoubtedly if before reaching the sea the Alpheus were to fall into some chasm,⁴ there would be a probability that it continued its course from thence to Sicily, preserving its potable water unmixed with the sea; but since the mouth of the river manifestly falls into the sea, and there does not appear any opening in the bed of the sea there, which would be capable of imbibing the waters of the river, (although even if there were they could not remain perfectly fresh, still it might be possible to retain much of the character of fresh water, if they were presently to be swallowed down into a passage running below the earth which forms the bed of the sea,) it is altogether impossible; and this the water of Arethusa clearly proves, being perfectly fit for beverage; but

¹ The words of Pindar are,

ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ,
κλειῶν Συρακοσσᾶν θάλος, Ὀρτυγία.

The French translators have rendered them,

“Terme saint du tourment d’Alphée
Bel ornement, de Syracuse Ortygia!”

And Groskurd,

“Ehrwürdige Ruhstatt Alpheos’,
Ruhmzweig Syrakossai’s, o Du Ortygia.”

Liddell and Scott call ἀνάμπνευμα a resting-place, referring to this passage, but I can see no reason for not allowing to it the signification most suitable to the passage. ἀναπνέω is, “to breathe again,” and, according to the supposition of the ancients, the Alpheus might justly be said to breathe again on appearing at Arethusa, after its passage beneath the bed of the sea from Greece. ἀναπνοή also, means “a recovering of breath.”

² Pindar, Nem. Od. i. vers. 1. See also Bohn’s Classic. Lib. Pindar.

³ Conf. Antig. Caryst. Hist. Mir. cap. 155.

⁴ According to Strabo himself, book viii. chap. 3, § 12, the Alpheus flows through a subterraneous course before it comes to Olympia; the objection therefore which he here takes, rests only on the circumstance of the river pursuing a visible course all the way to the sea, from the point where the chalice had fallen into it.

that the flow of the river should remain compact through so long a course, not mixing with the sea until it should fall into the fancied channel, is entirely visionary; for we can scarcely credit it of the Rhone, the body of the waters of which remains compact during its passage through the lake, and preserves a visible course, but in that instance both the distance is short and the lake is not agitated by waves like the sea, but in this case of the Alpheus,¹ where there are great storms and the waters are tossed with violence, the supposition is by no means worthy of attention. The fable of the chalice being carried over is likewise a mere fabrication, for it is not calculated for transfer, nor is it by any means probable it should be washed away so far, nor yet by such difficult passages. Many rivers, however, and in many parts of the world, flow beneath the earth, but none for so great a distance.—Still, although there may be no impossibility in this circumstance, yet the above-mentioned accounts are altogether impossible, and almost as absurd as the fable related of the Inachus: this river, as Sophocles² feigns,

“Flowing from the heights of Pindus and Lacmus, passes from the country of the Perrhœbi³ to that of the Amphiloichi⁴ and the Acarnanians, and mingles its waters with the Achelous:”⁵

and further on [he says],

“Thence to Argos, cutting through the waves, it comes to the territory of Lyrceius.”

Those who would have the river Inopus to be a branch of the Nile flowing to Delos, exaggerate this kind of marvel to the utmost. Zoilus the rhetorician, in his Eulogium of the people of Tenedos, says that the river Alpheus flows from Tenedos: yet this is the man who blames Homer for fabulous writing. Ibycus also says that the Asopus, a river of Sicyon,⁶ flows from Phrygia. Hecataeus is more rational, who says that the Inachus of the Amphiloichi, which flows from Mount Lacmus, from whence also the *Æas*⁷ descends, was distinct from the river of like name in Argolis, and was so named after Amphiloichus, from whom likewise the city of Argos was de-

¹ A river of Elis.

² The play from which this is quoted is not extant.

³ A people of Thessaly.

⁴ A people of Argos.

⁵ Aspro-potamo.

⁶ In the Peloponnesus.

⁷ The Lao or the Pollina.

nominated Amphilochian. He says further, that this river falls into the Achelous, and that the *Æas* flows to Apollonia¹ towards the west. On each side of the island there is an extensive harbour; the extent of the larger one is 80² stadia. [Augustus] Cæsar has not only restored this city, but Catana, and likewise Centoripa,³ which had contributed much towards the overthrow of [Sextus] Pompey. Centoripa is situated above Catana and confines with the mountains of *Ætna* and the river Giaretta,⁴ which flows into Catanæa.

5. One of the remaining sides, that stretching from Pachynus to Lilybæum, is entirely deserted; still it preserves a few traces of the ancient inhabitants, one of whose cities was Camarina.⁵ Acragas,⁶ which was a colony of the Geloi,⁷ together with its port and Lilybæum,⁸ still exist. In fact, these regions, lying opposite to Carthage, have been wasted by the great and protracted wars which have been waged. The remaining and greatest side, although it is by no means densely peopled, is well occupied, for Alæsa,⁹ Tyndaris,¹⁰ the emporium¹¹ of the *Ægestani* and Cephalœdium,¹² are respectable towns. Panormus has received a Roman colony: they say that *Ægesta*¹³ was founded by the Greeks who passed over, as we have related when speaking of Italy, with Philoctetes to the Crotoniatis, and were by him sent to Sicily with *Ægestus*¹⁴ the Trojan.

6. In the interior of the island a few inhabitants possess Enna,¹⁵ in which there is a temple of Ceres;¹⁶ it is situated on

¹ Pollina.

² The Porto Maggiore of Syracuse is scarcely half so large.

³ Centorbe, to the south-west of *Ætna*. Silius, lib. xiv., mentions it as "Centuripe, largoque virens Entella Lyæo."

⁴ The ancient Symæthus.

⁵ Now Camarana: it was founded 600 years B. C. ⁶ Girgenti.

⁷ "Apparet Camarina procul, campique Geloi." Virg. *Æn.* iii. 701.

⁸ Marsalla. ⁹ I Bagni. ¹⁰ S. Maria di Tindaro.

¹¹ Castel-à-Mare. ¹² Cefalù.

¹³ Now ruins at Barbara.

¹⁴ Also called Acestes. ¹⁵ Castro-Ioanni.

¹⁶ Ovid, in the fourth book of his *Fasti*, thus alludes to the temple,

"Grata domus Cereri, multas ea possidet urbes,
In quibus est culto fertilis Enna solo."

From this place we have the adjective *Enneus*, and the *Ennea virgo* of Sil. lib. xiv., for Proserpine,

"Tum rapta præceps Ennea virgine flexit."

a hill, and surrounded by spacious table-lands well adapted for tillage. The fugitive slaves, who placed themselves under the leading of Eunus,¹ and sustained in this city a long siege, scarcely being reduced by the Romans, occasioned much damage to the city. The Catanæi, Tauromenitæ, and many others, suffered, much in like manner. † Eryx,² a very lofty mountain, is also inhabited. It possesses a temple of Venus, which is very much esteemed; in former times it was well filled with women sacred to the goddess, whom the inhabitants of Sicily, and also many others, offered in accomplishment of their vows; but now, both is the neighbourhood much thinner of inhabitants, and the temple not near so well supplied with priestesses and female attendants.³ There is also an establishment of this goddess at Rome called the temple of Venus Erycina, just before the Colline Gate; in addition to the temple it has a portico well worthy of notice. † The other settlement and most of the interior have been left to the shepherds for pasturage; for we do not know that Himera is yet inhabited,⁴ or Gela,⁵ or Callipolis, or Selinus, or Eubœa, or many other places; of these the Zanclæi of Mylæ⁶ founded Himera,⁷ the people of Naxos, Callipolis,⁸ the Megaræans of Sicily,⁹ Selinus,¹⁰ and the Leontini¹¹ Eubœa.¹² Many too of the cities

Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. cap. 3, says that there was a fable about the seizure of the virgin [Proserpine] in the meadows near Enna. The locality is very near the town, embellished with violets and all kinds of beautiful flowers. An ancient coin of the place described by Ezech. Spanheim, page 906, is inscribed with the letters M U N. H E N N A E. Pliny, lib. iii. cap. 8, writes, "Municipes Hennenses."

¹ About 146 years B. C.

² The sentence from "Eryx" to "notice," placed between daggers, seems to have been transposed from the end of § 5; it should immediately succeed the words Ægestus the Trojan.

³ Diodorus Siculus, lib. iv. § 83, tom. i. p. 326, gives a different account of the state of this place at this time.

⁴ The Carthaginians had destroyed it about 409 years B. C.

⁵ Some colonists from Rhodes made a settlement here 45 years after the foundation of Syracuse. It was overthrown about 279 years B. C.

⁶ Milazzo.

⁷ About 649 B. C.

⁸ It is supposed that Callipolis anciently occupied the site of Mascalis.

⁹ Those who inhabited Hybla Minor. We know that Selinus was in existence 640 B. C., and destroyed 268 B. C.

¹⁰ Now ruins called di Pollece on the river Madiuni in the Terra de Pulci.

¹¹ The Leontini arrived in Sicily 728 B. C., and founded Leontini, now Lentini.

¹² Eubœa was destroyed by the tyrant Gelon, who reigned from 491 to

of the aboriginal inhabitants¹ have been destroyed, as Camici, the kingdom of Cocalus, at whose house Minos is reported to have been treacherously cut off. The Romans therefore, considering the deserted condition of the country, and having got possession both of the hills and the most part of the plains, have given them over to horse-breeders, herdsmen, and shepherds, by whom the island has frequently been brought into great perils. First of all the shepherds, taking to pillage here and there in different places, and afterwards assembling in numbers and forcibly taking settlements; for instance, as those under the command of Eunus² seized upon Enna.³ And quite recently, during the time that we were at Rome, a certain Selurus, called the son of Ætna, was sent up to that city. He had been the captain of a band of robbers, and had for a long time infested the country round Ætna, committing frequent depredations. We saw him torn to pieces by wild beasts in the forum after a contest of gladiators: he had been set upon a platform fashioned to represent Mount Ætna, which being suddenly unfastened and falling, he was precipitated amongst certain cages of wild beasts, which had also been slightly constructed under the platform for the occasion.

7. The fertility of the country is so generally extolled by every one, as nothing inferior to Italy, that there is a question as to what we should say of it. Indeed, for wheat, honey, saffron, and some other commodities, it even surpasses that country. In addition to this, its proximity renders the island like a part of Italy itself, so that it supplies the Roman market with produce both commodiously and without trouble. Indeed they call it the granary of Rome, for all the produce of the island is carried thither, except a few things required for home consumption. It consists not only of the fruits of the earth, but of cattle, skins, wool, and the like. Posidonius says that Syracuse and Eryx are situated on the sea like two citadels, and that Enna in the midst, between Syracuse and Eryx, commands the surrounding plains. † The⁴ whole terri-

478 B. C. Eubali, Castelluzzo, and a place near the little town of Licodia, not far from the source of the Drillo, have been supposed to be the site of the ancient Eubœa. Siebenkees thinks that the words between daggers at the end of § 7 should follow "Eubœa."

¹ Lit. barbarians. ² About 134 B. C. ³ Castro-Idanni.

⁴ Kramer and Siebenkees consider that the sentence between daggers,

tory of the Leontini, which was possessed by the people of Naxos settled in Sicily, suffered much, for they always shared in the misfortunes of Syracuse, but not always in its prosperity.†

8. Near to Centoripa is the town we have a little before mentioned, *Ætna*, which serves as a place for travellers about to ascend Mount *Ætna*, to halt and refresh themselves for the expedition. For here commences the region in which is situated the summit of the mountain. The districts above are barren and covered with ashes, which are surmounted by the snows in winter: all below it however is filled with woods and plantations of all kinds. It seems that the summits of the mountain take many changes by the ravages of the fire, which sometimes is brought together into one crater, and at another is divided; at one time again it heaves forth streams of lava, and at another flames and thick smoke: at other times again ejecting red-hot masses of fire-stone. In such violent commotions as these the subterraneous passages must necessarily undergo a corresponding change, and at times the orifices on the surface around be considerably increased. Some who have very recently ascended the mountain, reported¹ to us, that they found at the top an even plain of about 20 stadia in circumference, enclosed by an overhanging ridge of ashes about the height of a wall, so that those who are desirous of proceeding further are obliged to leap down into the plain. They noticed in the midst of it a mound; it was ash-coloured, as was likewise the plain in appearance. Above the mound a column of cloud reared itself in a perpendicular line to the height of 200 stadia, and remained motionless (there being no air stirring at the time); it resembled smoke. Two of the party resolutely attempted to proceed further across this plain, but, finding the sand very hot and sinking very deep in it, they turned back, without however being able to make any more particular observations, as to what we have described, than those who beheld from a greater distance. They were, however, of opinion, from the observations they were able to make, that much exaggeration pervades the accounts we have of the volcano, and especially the tale about *Empedocles*, that he leaped into the

from "The" to "prosperity," has been transferred from its proper place. See note ¹², page 412.

¹ The French translators infer from this passage that Strabo had never visited Sicily.

crater, and left as a vestige of his folly one of the brazen sandals which he wore, it being found outside at a short distance from the lip of the crater, with the appearance of having been cast up by the violence of the flame; for neither is the place approachable nor even visible, nor yet was it likely that any thing could be cast in thither, on account of the contrary current of the vapours and other matters cast up from the lower parts of the mountain, and also on account of the overpowering excess of heat, which would most likely meet any one long before approaching the mouth of the crater; and if eventually any thing should be cast down, it would be totally decomposed before it were cast up again, what manner of form soever it might have had at first. And again, although it is not unreasonable to suppose that the force of the vapour and fire is occasionally slackened for want of a continual supply of fuel, still we are not to conclude that it is ever possible for a man to approach it in the presence of so great an opposing power. *Ætna* more especially commands the shore along the Strait and Catana, but it also overlooks the sea that washes Tyrrhenia and the Lipari Islands. By night a glowing light appears on its summit, but in the day-time it is enveloped with smoke and thick darkness.

9. The Nebrodes mountains¹ take their rise opposite² to *Ætna*; they are not so lofty as *Ætna*, but extend over a much greater surface. The whole island is hollow under ground, and full of rivers and fire like the bed of the Tyrrhenian Sea,³ as far as Cumæa, as we before described.⁴ For there are hot springs in many places in the island, some of which are saline, as those named Selinuntia⁵ and the springs at Himera, while those at *Ægesta*⁶ are fresh. Near to *Acragas*⁷ there are certain lakes,⁸ the waters of which taste like the sea, but their

¹ Sicilian topographers vary exceedingly in defining the position of these mountains. Groskurd makes them Madonia.

² To the south-west.

³ See Humboldt, *Cosmos*, i. 242.

⁴ Book v. chap. iv. § 9.

⁵ I Bagni di Sciacca.

⁶ Now ruins at Barbara, in the valley of Mazzara.

⁷ Girgenti.

⁸ A modern traveller is of opinion that these correspond with certain peculiar marshes near Girgenti, in the midst of the Macaluba mountains, supplied by a spring of salt water. The soil here is chalky, and the mountains abound in a grey and ductile clay. See Monsieur le Commandeur de Dolomieu, *Voyage aux îles de Lipari*, pp. 165 *et seqq.*; also Fazell. *Decad.* i. lib. i. cap. 5, p. 45.

properties are very different, for if those who do not know how to swim plunge into them, they are not covered over by them, but float on the surface like pieces of wood.

The Palici¹ possess craters which cast up water in a jet, having the appearance of a dome, and then receive it back again into the same place it rose from. The cavern near Maturum² has within it a considerable channel, with a river flowing through it under ground for a long distance, and afterwards emerging to the surface as does the El-Asi³ in Syria, which, after descending into the chasm between Apameia and Antioch, which they call Charybdis, rises again to the surface at the distance of about 40 stadia. Much the same circumstances are remarked of the Tigris⁴ in Mesopotamia, and the Nile in Africa,⁵ a little before⁶ its most notorious springs. The water in the neighbourhood of the city of Stymphalus, having passed under ground about 200 stadia, gives rise to the river Erasinus⁷ in Argia;⁸ and again, the waters which are ingulfed with a low roaring sound near Asea⁹ in Arcadia, after a long course, spring forth with such

¹ The place dedicated to these avengers of perjury is frequently located near Mineo and Palagonia; others, thinking to gain the support of Virgil's testimony, place it near Paterno, much farther north, between Catana and Centorbi, and not far from the banks of the Giaretta, the ancient Symæthus.

² Cluvier supposes this cavern must have been near Mazarum [Mazara]. The river named Mazarus by the ancients, runs through a rocky district, abounding in stone quarries. It is possible that this river, much hemmed in throughout its course, might have anciently flowed beneath some of these massive rocks.

³ Orontes.

⁴ According to Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. vi. § 31, tom. i. p. 333, the Tigris is ingulfed on reaching a branch of Mount Taurus, at a place called Zoroanda, which M. D'Anville identifies with the modern Hazour.

⁵ *Λιβύη* in Strabo.

⁶ Kramer here persists in reading *πρὸ*, and rejects *ἀπὸ*: we have endeavoured to translate it with Kramer, but the French translation of 1809 renders it, a little below its sources.

⁷ A river of Argolis: see book viii. Casaub. pp. 371 and 389.

⁸ Argolis.

⁹ This ancient city was found in ruins by Pausanias, who says (Arcadic. or book viii. cap. 44, p. 691) "that at less than 20 stadia distant from the Athenæum are found the ruins of Asea, as well as the hill on which the citadel of the town was built, which was surrounded by walls, the vestiges of which still remain. About 5 stadia from Asea, and not far from the main road, is the source of the Alpheus, and, quite close,

copiousness as to form the Eurotas and the Alpheus,¹ whence has arisen a fable extensively credited, that if a certain charm is uttered over each of two crowns on their being cast into the stream where the two rivers flow in a common channel, each crown will make its appearance in its respective river according to the charm. As for what we might add with reference to the Timao,² it has already been particularized.

10. Phænomena, similar to these, and such as take place throughout Sicily,³ are witnessed in the Lipari Islands, and especially in Lipari itself.—These islands are seven in number, the chief of which is Lipari, a colony of the Cnidians.⁴ It is nearest to Sicily after Thermessa.⁵ It was originally named Meligunis. It was possessed of a fleet, and for a considerable time repelled the incursions of the Tyrrheni.⁶ The islands now called Liparæan were subject to it, some call them the islands of Æolus. The citizens were so successful as to make frequent offerings of the spoils taken in war to the temple of Apollo at Delphi.⁷ It possesses a fertile soil,⁸

even at the edge of the road, that of the Eurotas. . . . [At a short distance] the two rivers unite and run as one for about 20 stadia; they then both cast themselves into a chasm, and, continuing their under-ground course, they afterwards reappear; one (the Eurotas) in Laconia, the other in the territory of Megalopolis." Such is what Pausanias relates in one place. But when, in this account, he fixes the source of the Alpheus at about 5 stadia from Asea, we must understand him to allude to a second source of the river; for further on (book viii. cap. 54, p. 709) he says distinctly that the main source of the Alpheus is seen near Phylace in Arcadia; then adds that that river, on coming to the district of Tegea, is absorbed under the ground, to re-issue near Asea.

¹ See § 4 of this chapter, page 408.

² The ancient Timavus. See book v. chap. i. § 8, page 319.

³ The French translation, "en divers endroits de l' Italie." Some manuscripts read *Ἰταλίαν*. We have followed Kramer and Groskurd.

⁴ Founded about B. C. 580.

⁵ Thermessa, at present called Vulcano, is doubtless the same mentioned in Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. iii. § 14, tom. i. p. 164, as Therasia, by the error of the copyist. Paulus Orosius, lib. iv. cap. 20, says that it rose from the bed of the sea, B. C. 571. It is however certain that it was in existence B. C. 427, confer. Thucyd. lib. iii. § 88, and was for a considerable time called Hiera.

⁶ See Pausan. Phoc. or lib. x. cap. 16, p. 835.

⁷ See Pausan. Phoc. or lib. x. cap. 2, p. 824.

⁸ M. le Comm. de Dolomieu, in his Voyage aux îles de Lipari, ed. 1783, p. 75 *et seq.*, supports the character here given of the fertility of this island, and praises the abundance of delicious fruits it produces.

and mines¹ of alum easy to be wrought, hot springs,² and craters. [Thermessa] is, as it were, situated between this and Sicily; it is now designated as Hiera, or sacred to Vulcan; it is entirely rocky, and desert, and volcanic. In it are three craters, and the flames which issue from the largest are accompanied with burning masses of lava, which have already obstructed a considerable portion of the strait [between Thermessa and the island Lipari]; repeated observations have led to the belief that the flames of the volcanos, both in this island and at Mount *Ætna*, are stimulated by the winds³ as they rise; and when the winds are lulled, the flames also subside; nor is this without reason, for if the winds are both originally produced and kept up by the vapours arising from the sea, those who witness these phenomena will not be surprised, if the fire should be excited in some such way, by the like aliment and circumstances. Polybius tells us that one of the three craters of the island has partly fallen down, while the larger of the two that remain has a lip, the circumference of which is five stadia, and the diameter nearly 50 feet,⁴ and its elevation about a stadium from the level of the sea, which may be seen at the base in calm weather; but if we are to credit this, we may as well attend to what has been reported concerning Empedocles. [Polybius] also says, that "when the south wind is to blow, a thick cloud lies stretched round the island, so that one cannot see even as far as Sicily in the distance; but when there is to be a north wind, the clear flames ascend to a great height above the said crater, and great rumblings are heard; while for the west wind effects are produced about half way between these two. The other craters are similarly affected, but their exhalations are not so violent. Indeed, it is possible to foretell what wind will blow three days beforehand, from the degree of intensity of the rumbling, and also from the part whence the exhalations, flames, and smoky blazes issue. It is said indeed that some of the inhabitants of the Lipari Islands, at times when there has been so great a calm that no ship could sail out of port, have pre-

¹ M. le Comm. de Dolomieu considers it probable that the Liparæans obtained this alum by the lixiviation of earths exposed to the acid-sulphurous vapours of their volcanos, pp. 77, 78.

² These hot springs are not much frequented, although they still exist.

³ See Humboldt, *Cosm.* i. 242.

⁴ This is 30 feet in the epitome.

dicted what wind would blow, and have not been mistaken." From hence indeed that which seems to be the most fabulous invention of the poet, appears not to have been written without some foundation, and he appears to have merely used an allegorical style, while guided by the truth, when he says that Æolus is the steward of the winds;¹ however, we have formerly said enough as to this.² We will now return to the point whence we digressed.

11. We have noticed the islands of Lipari and TherMESSA. As for Strongyle,³ it takes its name from its form.⁴ Like the other two, it is subigneous, but is deficient in the force of the flames which are emitted, while their brightness is greater. It is here they say that Æolus resided.⁵ The fourth is Didyma; this island also is named from its form.⁶ Of the others, [the fifth and sixth] are Ericus-

¹ Odys. lib. x. 21.

² Here follow some words which convey no intelligible meaning.—They are written in the margin of some of the manuscripts. Kramer inserts them between asterisks as follows: *ἔστιν ἡ ἐπίστασις τῆς ἐναργείας λέγοιτ' αὖν, ἐπίσης τε γὰρ ἄμφω πάρεστι, καὶ διαθέσει καὶ τῇ ἐναργείᾳ· ἢ γε ἡδονὴ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρων* Groskurd thinks the passage might be translated, "[Great, undoubtedly,] is the impression produced by animated energy, [of which] it may be asserted [that it excites in a marked degree both admiration and pleasure]. For both arise equally from graphic representation and animated description. Pleasure at least is common to both." The following are Groskurd's own words: Gross allerding's ist der Eindruck kräftiger Lebendigkeit, [von welcher] man behaupten darf, [dass sie vorzüglich sowohl Bewunderung als Vergnügen gewähre]. Denn Beide erfolgen gleichermassen, sowohl durch Darstellung als durch Lebendigkeit; das Vergnügen wenigstens ist Beiden gemein. ³ Stromboli.

⁴ *στρογγύλος* means "round." M. Dolomieu, p. 113, says that the island of Stromboli, seen from a distance, appears like a cone; when, however, it is more particularly examined, it looks like a mountain terminated by two peaks of different heights, and the sides appear disturbed and torn by craters opened in various parts, and streams of lava which have flowed down. It might be about 12 miles in circumference.

⁵ Most of the ancient authors agree in considering Lipari as the residence of Æolus. See Cluver. Sic. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 14.

⁶ *δίδυμος*, "double." Cluverius identifies this with the island now called Salini. M. Dolomieu says that Didyma is situated to the west of Lipari; it is nearly circular, and contains three mountains placed so as to form a triangle. Two of the mountains are connected at their bases, the third is separated from them by a valley which runs right across the island, so that while sailing at some distance in the sea on the south side it has the appearance of two islands, from which circumstance it took its

sa¹ and Phœnicussa;² they are called from the plants which they produce, and are given up to pasture. The seventh [island] is called Euonymus;³ it is the farthest in the sea and barren. It is called Euonymus because it lies the most to the left when you sail from the island of Lipari to Sicily,⁴ and many times flames of fire have been seen to rise to the surface, and play upon the sea round the islands: these flames rush with violence from the cavities at the bottom of the sea,⁵ and force for themselves a passage to the open air. Posidonius says, that at a time so recent as to be almost within his recollection, about the summer solstice and at break of day, between Hieria and Euonymus, the sea was observed to be suddenly raised aloft, and to abide some time raised in a compact mass and then to subside. Some ventured to approach that part in their ships; they observed the fish dead and driven by the current, but being distressed by the heat and foul smell, were compelled to turn back. One of the boats which had approached nearest lost some of her crew, and was scarcely able to reach Lipari with the rest, and they had fits like an epileptic person, at one time fainting and giddy, and at another returning to their senses; and many days afterwards a mud or clay was observed rising in the sea, and in many parts the flames

ancient name of Didyma: its present name, Salini, is derived from salt works there.

¹ Ericussa, now called Alicudi or Alicurim, is covered with trees, it is inhabited, but little cultivated. The pasturage is pretty good.

² Phœnicussa, now Felicudi or Filicurim, abounds in rich pastures; both wheat and the vine are here cultivated.

³ Cluverius, Sic. Ant. lib. ii. p. 414, identifies this island with Lisca-Bianca, to the east of Lipari, but M. le commandeur Dolomieu, Voyage pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile, tom. iv. part ii. chap. 14, considers that it corresponded with the present Panaria, which is about eight times the circumference of Lisca-Bianca. He says the neighbouring islets are but the detached portions of a vast crater now submerged; the denomination, Formocoli or the Little Ants, is aptly illustrative of their minuteness and numbers. The most important are Datolo, Lisca-Nera, Lisca-Bianca, and Basiluzzo. M. Gosselin very justly remarks that it is quite possible the volcanos, which continually burn in the islands of Æolus, may have formed some new one, and gives some good reasons for identifying Didyma with Panaria.

⁴ Rich. Pocock, Descr. de l' Or., &c. vers. Fr. part iii. chap. 24, tom. vi. p. 327, considers that Strabo meant to say that Euonymus lies most to the left hand as you sail from Sicily to the island of Lipari, and proposes Ustica, the westernmost of the Lipari Islands, as its modern representative.

⁵ See Humboldt, Cosmos ii. 557.

issued, and smoke and smoky blazes; afterwards it congealed and became a rock like mill-stones. Titus Flaminius,¹ who then commanded in Sicily, despatched to the senate [of Rome] a full account of the phenomenon; the senate sent and offered sacrifices to the infernal and marine divinities both in the little island [which had thus been formed] and the Lipari Islands. Now the chorographer reckons that from Ericodes to Phœnicodes are 10 miles, from thence to Didyma 30, from thence to the northernmost point² of Lipari 29, and from thence to Sicily 19, while from Strongyle are 16.³ Melita⁴ lies before⁵ Pachynus; from thence come the little dogs called Maltese;⁶ so does also Gaudus,⁷ both of them are situated about 88 miles distant from that promontory. Cossura⁸ is situated before Cape Lilybæum, and opposite the Carthaginian city Aspis, which they call [in Latin] Clypea, it is situated in the midst of the space which lies between those

¹ A note in the French translation suggests that, notwithstanding the accord of all manuscripts, we should, doubtless, understand Titus Quinctius Flaminius, prætor in A. U. C. 628, and B. C. 126.

² πρὸς ἄρκτον, in Kramer's text. We have followed the example set by the French translators, and approved by Groskurd, who proposes to read πρὸς ἀρκτ[ικὸν ἄκρ]ον. Kramer however justly remarks, that many other things in this passage are exceedingly confused, and remain incapable of conjectural elucidation.

³ From Ericodes, now Alicudi, to Phœnicodes, now Felicudi, the distance given by the chorographer is the same as that set down by Ptolemy, and by far too much for that which, according to our charts, separates Felicudi from Salini, but tallies exactly with that to the island Panaria, so that the evidence, both of the chorographer and Ptolemy, seems to point to Panaria, not to Salini, as the ancient Didyma. Further, the 29 miles given in Strabo's text as the distance from Didyma to Lipari, are reduced to 19 miles in the chart of Ptolemy, and even this last distance would be much too great for the interval which separates Salini from Lipari, but agrees with the distance from Lipari to Panaria, and seems likewise to confirm the identity of Panaria and Didyma. The 19 miles, from Lipari to Sicily, agree with Ptolemy and our charts. Ptolemy gives the equivalent of 44 miles as the distance between Sicily and Strongyle, while our modern maps confirm his computation. M. Gosselin observes that the 16 miles of the existing text of Strabo must be a transcriber's error; but the construction of the text might very well allow the distance to be from Didyma to Strongyle, which would be nearly correct.

⁴ Malta.

⁵ Towards Africa and the south.

⁶ Μελιτῶνα.

⁷ All other classic authors, both Greek and Latin, give the name of Gaulus to this island; it is the modern Gozzo.

⁸ Pantelaria.

two places, and is distant from each the number of miles last given.¹ Ægimurus also and other little islands lie off Sicily and Africa. So much for the islands.

CHAPTER III.

1. HAVING previously passed over the regions of ancient Italy as far as Metapontium, we must now proceed to describe the rest. After it Iapygia² comes next in order; the Greeks call it Messapia, but the inhabitants, dividing it into cantons, call one the Salentini,³ that in the neighbourhood of the Cape⁴ Iapygia, and another the Calabri;⁵ above these towards the north lie the Peucetii,⁶ and those who are called Daunii⁷ in the Greek language, but the inhabitants call

¹ This M. Gosselin very satisfactorily proves to be 88.

² A note in the French translation observes, that the Iapygia of Strabo was confined to the peninsula of Tarentum.

³ The Sallentini, or Salentini, cannot be distinguished with accuracy from the Calabri, as the name is used by several writers in a very extensive sense, and applied to the greater part of Iapygia.

⁴ Capo di Leuca.

⁵ The district occupied by the Calabri seems to have been that maritime part of the Iapygian peninsula extending from the ancient Bruundusium to the city of Hydruntum, answering nearly to what is now called Terra di Lecce.

⁶ Dionysius of Halicarnassus derives the name of this people from Peucetius, son of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, but they are generally spoken of in history as barbarians, differing in no essential respect from the Daunii, Iapyges, and other neighbouring nations.

⁷ A note in the French translation remarks, that Strabo would have done well to add, "*and also the Apuli properly so called.*" If we follow Strabo's testimony solely, we may almost describe the bounds of the Peucetii by four lines, viz. 1. From Tarentum to Brindisi. 2. Along the sea-shore from Brindisi to Bari. 3. From Bari to Garagnone or Gorgoglione, the ancient Sylvium, if not even still nearer to Venosa. 4. From Garagnone to Tarentum, constituting what is called in modern geography Terra di Bari.—The following are the limits of the Dannii. 1. From Garagnone to Bari. 2. From Bari to Peschici or to Rodi. 3. Thence to Lucera; and, 4. from Lucera to Garagnone. Thus they occupied a great part of La Puglia, with a portion of the Terra di Bari. With regard to those who, according to Strabo, were properly Apuli, they extended from the neighbourhood of Lucera to Rodi or Peschici, thence to

the whole region beyond the Calabri, Apulia. Some of these people are called Pœdicli,¹ especially the Peucetii. Messapia forms a peninsula; the isthmus extending from Brentesium² to Tarentum, which bounds it, being 310 stadia, and the circumnavigation round the Iapygian promontory³ about [one thousand]⁴ four hundred. [Tarentum⁵] is distant from Metapontium⁶ about two hundred and [twenty⁵] stadia. The course to it by sea runs in an easterly direction. The Gulf of Tarentum is for the most part destitute of a port, but here there is a spacious and commodious [harbour⁷], closed in by a great bridge. It is 100 stadia⁸ in circuit. This port, at the head of its basin which recedes most inland, forms, with the exterior sea, an isthmus which connects the peninsula with the land. The city is situated upon this peninsula. The neck of land is so low that ships are easily hauled over it from either side. The site of the city likewise is extremely low; the ground, however, rises slightly towards the citadel. The old wall of the city has an immense circuit, but now the portion towards the isthmus is deserted, but that standing near the mouth of the harbour, where the citadel is situated, still subsists, and contains a considerable city. It possesses a noble gymnasium and a spacious forum, in which there is set up a brazen colossus of Jupiter, the largest that ever was, with the exception of that of Rhodes. The citadel is situated between the forum and the entrance of the harbour, it still preserves some slight relics of its ancient magnificence

the mouth of the river Fortore, thence to Civitate, (the ancient Teanum Apulum,) which was included, and from Civitate to Lucera; this district would answer to the northern portion of La Puglia, which the Fortore separates from La Capitanata.

¹ The name of Pœdiculi was given to the inhabitants of that portion of Peucetia which was more particularly situated on the coast between the Aufidus and the confines of the Calabri. Pliny (iii. 11) states that this particular tribe derived their origin from Illyria.

² Brindisi. ³ Capo di Leuca.

⁴ We have followed Groskurd's example in introducing this thousand. The French translators thought it too hardy to venture, and Kramer was fearful to insert it in his text, but he approves of it in his notes.

⁵ Manuscripts here have blanks.

⁶ Ruins near Torre a Mare.

⁷ Mare-piccolo.

⁸ Or twelve miles and a half. This computation does not agree with modern measurements, which reckon the circuit at sixteen miles. See Swinburne's Travels, tom. i. sect. 32. Gagliardi, Topogr. di Taranto.

and gifts, but the chief of them were destroyed either by the Carthaginians¹ when they took the city, or by the Romans² when they took it by force and sacked it. Amongst other booty taken on this occasion³ was the brazen colossus of Hercules, the work of Lysippus, now in the Capitol, which was dedicated as an offering by Fabius Maximus, who took the city.

2. Antiochus, speaking of the foundation of this city, says that after the Messenian war⁴ such of the Lacedæmonians as did not join the army were sentenced to be slaves, and denominated Helots; and that such as were born during the period of the war they termed Partheniæ, and decreed to be base: but these not bearing the reproach, (for they were many,) conspired against the free citizens,⁵ but the chief magistrates, becoming acquainted with the existence of the plot, employed certain persons, who, by feigning friendship to the cause, should be able to give some intelligence of the nature of it. Of this number was Phalanthus, who was apparently the chief leader of them, but who was not quite pleased with those who had been named to conduct their deliberations.⁶ It was agreed that at the Hyacinthine games, celebrated in the temple of Amyclæ, just at the conclusion of the contest, and when Phalanthus should put on his helmet,⁷ they should make a simultaneous attack. The free citizens⁵ were distinguishable from others by their hair. They, having been secretly warned as to the arrangements made for the signal of Phalanthus, just as the chief contest came off, a herald came forward and proclaimed, "Let not Phalanthus put on his helmet." The conspirators perceiving that the plot was disclosed, some fled, and others supplicated mercy. When the chief magistrates had bid them not to fear, they

¹ In the year 213 or 212 B. C.

² B. C. 209.

³ It is said the pictures and statues taken on this occasion were nearly as numerous as those found at Syracuse.

⁴ That which commenced about 743 B. C.

⁵ I have here translated *τοῖς τοῦ δήμου* and *οἱ τοῦ δήμου* by "free citizens." Several notes have been written on the exact meaning of the words, but I am not satisfied that we understand it properly. It might perhaps mean those appointed to the chief rule of the state by the constitution.

⁶ There is little doubt that this passage is corrupt.

⁷ *κυνίη*, a leathern cap or hat, a helmet, &c. See also page 426.

committed them to prison, but sent Phalanthus to inquire after a new settlement. He received from the oracle the following response,

“To thee Satyrium¹ I have given, and the rich country of Tarentum to inhabit, and thou shalt become a scourge to the Iapygians.”

The Partheniæ accordingly accompanied Phalanthus to their destination, and the barbarians and Cretans,² who already possessed the country, received them kindly. They say that these Cretans were the party who sailed with Minos to Sicily, and that after his death, which took place at Camici,³ in the palace of Cocalus, they took ship and set sail from Sicily, but in their voyage they were cast by tempest on this coast, some of whom, afterwards coasting the Adriatic on foot, reached Macedonia, and were called Bottiæi.⁴ They further add, that all the people who reach as far as Daunia were called Iapygians, from Iapyx, who was born to Dædalus by a Cretan woman, and became a chief leader of the Cretans. The city Tarentum was named from a certain hero.⁵

3. Ephorus gives the following account of the foundation. The Lacedæmonians waged war against the Messenians, who had murdered their king, Teleclus,⁶ when he visited Messene to offer sacrifice. They took an oath that they would not return home before they had destroyed Messene, or should be

¹ About eight miles to the east or south-east of Taranto, upon the coast, we find a place named Saturo. In this place the country open to the south presents the most agreeable aspect. Sheltered from the north wind, and watered by numerous running streams, it produces the choicest fruits, oranges, citrons, lemons, pomegranates, figs, and all manner of garden produce, with which Taranto is abundantly supplied. Ant. de Ferrar. Galat. de sit. Iapyg. edit. nell. Raccolt. d' Opusc. sc. et philol. tom. vii. p. 80.

² Mazoch. Prod. ad Heracl. pseph. diatr. ii. cap. 4, sect. 4, page 96, not. 51, considers that we should not make a distinction between these barbarians and Cretans, but that they were identical.

³ According to Sicilian topographers, Camici was the same as the citadel of Acragas [Girgenti].—Cluvier, Sic. Ant. lib. ii. cap. 15, p. 207, is of opinion that Camici occupied the site of Siculiana, on the Fiume delle Canne. D'Anville, Géogr. Anc. tom. i. p. 219, and tom. iii. p. 146, seems to locate Camici at Platanela, on the Fiume di Platani.

⁴ There are various readings of this name.

⁵ There is a tradition that Taras was born to Neptune by Satyræa, daughter of Minos.

⁶ About 745 B. C.

all slain. They left only the youngest and oldest of the citizens to keep their own country. After this, in the tenth [year] of the war, the Lacedæmonian matrons assembled and deputed certain women to remonstrate with the citizens, and show them that they were carrying on the war with the Messenians on very disadvantageous terms, for they, abiding in their own country, procreated children, while the Lacedæmonians, leaving their wives in a state like widowhood, remained away in the war; and to expose the great peril there was of the depopulation of their country. The Lacedæmonians, being both desirous of observing their oath, and taking into consideration the representations of their wives, sent a deputation of the most vigorous, and, at the same time, most juvenile of the army, whom they considered, in a manner, not to have participated in the oath, because they had been but children when they accompanied their elders to the war, and charged them all to company with all the maidens, reckoning that by that means they would bear the more children; which having been accordingly obeyed, the children who were born were denominated Partheniæ. Messene was taken after a war of nineteen years, as Tyrtæus says,

“ The fathers of our fathers, armed for war,
Possessing ever patient courage, fought at Messene
For nineteen years with unremitting toil.
Till on the twentieth, leaving their rich soil,
The enemy forsook the towering heights of Ithome.”¹

Thus then did they destroy Messenia, but returning home, they neglected to honour the Partheniæ like other youths, and treated them as though they had been born out of wedlock. The Partheniæ, leaguings with the Helots, conspired against the Lacedæmonians, and agreed to raise a Laconic felt hat² in the market-place as a signal for the commencement of hostilities. Some of the Helots betrayed the plot, but the government found it difficult to resist them by force, for they were many, and all unanimous, and looked upon each other as brothers; those in authority therefore commanded such as were appointed to raise the signal, to depart out of the market-place; when they therefore perceived that their plot

¹ Statius, lib. 4, Theb., thus mentions Ithome,

‘Planaque Messena, montanaque nutrit Ithome.’

² πῖλος Λακωνικός.

was disclosed they desisted, and the Lacedæmonians persuaded them, through the instrumentality of their fathers, to leave the country and colonize: and advised them, if they should get possession of a convenient place, to abide in it, but if not, they promised that a fifth part of Messenia should be divided amongst them on their return. So they departed and found the Greeks carrying on hostilities against the barbarians, and taking part in the perils of the war, they obtained possession of Tarentum, which they colonized.

4. At one time, when the government of the Tarentines had assumed a democratic form, they rose to great importance; for they possessed the greatest fleet of any state in those parts, and could bring into the field an army of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, exclusive of a select body of 1000 cavalry called Hipparchi.¹ They likewise encouraged the Pythagorean philosophy, and Archytas, who for a long time presided over the government of their state, gave it his special support.² But at a later period their luxury, which was produced by their prosperity, increased to that degree that their general holidays or festivals exceeded in number the days of the year; and hence arose an inefficient government, and as one proof of their unstatesmanlike acts we may adduce their employment of foreign generals; for they sent for Alexander,³ king of the Molossi, to come and assist them against the Messapii and Leucani. They had before that employed Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus;⁴ afterwards they called in Cleonymus⁵ and Agathocles,⁶ and later, when they rose against the Romans, Pyrrhus.⁷ They were not able even to retain the respect of those whom they had invited, but rather merited their disgust. Alexander [of Epirus] was so displeased with them that he endeavoured to remove the seat of the general council of the Greek states in Italy, which was accustomed to assemble at Heraclea, a city of the Tarentines, to a city of the Thurii; and he commanded that some place on the river Acalandrus,⁸

¹ See Heyne, Opusc. Acad. tom. ii. p. 223, not. h.

² He is said to have entertained Plato during his sojourn here. Archytas flourished about the commencement of the fourth century B. C., and was still living in the year 349 B. C.

³ About 332 or 339 B. C. See Heyn. Opusc. Acad. tom. ii. p. 141.

⁴ About 338 B. C. ⁵ About 303 B. C. ⁶ About 330 B. C.

⁷ About 281 B. C.

⁸ Crainer, in his Ancient Italy, has very justly remarked that the name

commodious for their meetings, should be properly fortified for their reception.—And indeed they say that the misfortune¹ of that prince was chiefly due to a want of good feeling on their part. They were deprived of their liberty during the wars² of Hannibal, but have since received a Roman colony,³ and now live in peace and are in a more prosperous state than ever. They also engaged in war with the Messapii concerning Heraclea, when they counted the kings of the Daunii and of the Peucetii as allies.⁴

5. The remainder of the country of the Iapygii is very fair, notwithstanding unfavourable appearances; for although, for the most part, it appears rugged, yet when it is broken up the soil is found to be deep; and although it lacks water, yet it appears well-suited for pasture, and is furnished with trees. At one time it was thickly inhabited throughout its whole extent, and possessed thirteen cities, but now it is so depopulated that, with the exception of Tarentum and Brentesium,⁵ they only deserve the name of hamlets. They say that the Salentini are a colony of Cretans. Here is the temple of Minerva,⁶ which formerly was rich, and the rock called Acra Iapygia,⁷ which juts out far into the sea towards the rising of the sun in winter,⁸ and turning, as it were, towards

of the small river Calandro, which discharges itself into the sea a little below Capo di Roseto, bears some affinity to the river Acalandrus mentioned by Strabo. However, some have thought it identical with the Salandrella and the Fiume di Roseto, while Cluverius was of opinion that we should here read *Κυλίσταρνος* instead of *'Ακάλανδρος*, and identify it with the modern Racanello.

¹ 326 B. C.

² 209 B. C.

³ 124 B. C.

⁴ Some suspect this last sentence to be an interpolation; certain it is that there is great difficulty in finding a time to correspond with all the circumstances contained in it. According to M. Heyne, this war must have taken place 474 B. C., but then Heraclea was not founded till 436 B. C. It seems too that the people of Iapygia had kings as late as 480 B. C.

⁵ Brundisium, now Brindisi.

⁶ Castro. This temple is now changed into the church of Sancta Maria in finibus terræ. See Capmart. de Chaupy, tom. iii. page 529.

⁷ Capo di Leuca. Pliny, lib. iii. cap. 11, says, *Inde promontorium quod Acran Iapygian vocant, quo longissime in maria procurrit Italia.* The Promontorium Iapygium, or Sallentinum, presented a conspicuous landmark to mariners sailing from Greece to Sicily. The fleets of Athens, after passing the Peloponnesus, are represented on this passage as usually making for Corcyra, from whence they steered straight across to the promontory, and then coasted along the south of Italy for the remainder of the voyage.

⁸ The south-east.

Cape Lacinium, which lies opposite to it on the west, it closes the entrance of the Gulf of Tarentum, as on the other side, the Ceraunian Mountains, together with the said Cape, close the entrance of the Ionian Gulf, the run across is about 700 stadia from that,¹ both to the Ceraunian Mountains and to Cape Lacinium.² In coasting along the shore from Tarentum to Brentesium there are 600 stadia as far as the little city of Baris, which is at the present time called Veretum,³ and is situated on the extremities of the Salentine territory; the approach to it from Tarentum is much easier on foot⁴ than by sea. Thence to Leuca are 80 stadia; this too is but a small village, in which there is shown a well of fetid water, and the legend runs, that when Hercules drove out the last of the giants from Phlegra in Campania, who were called Leuternians, some fled and were buried here, and that from their blood a spring issues to supply the well; on this account likewise the coast is called the Leuternian coast.⁵ From Leuca to Hydrus,⁶ a small town, 150 stadia. From thence to Brentesium 400, and the like distance also [from Hydrus] to the island Saso,⁷ which is situated almost in the midst of the course from Epirus to Brentesium; and therefore when vessels are unable to obtain a direct passage they run to the left from Saso to Hydrus, and thence watching for a favourable wind they steer towards the haven of Brentesium, or the passengers disembarking proceed on foot by a shorter way through Rudiaë, a Grecian city, where the poet Ennius was born.⁸ The district which we have followed by sea from

¹ The Acra Iapygia.

² See notes to page 393 of this translation.

³ Cramer remarks that Veretum is still represented by the old church of S. Maria di Vereto.

⁴ That is, on land.

⁵ Scylax, *Peripl.* p. 5, speaks of the Leuterni as a really existing people.

⁶ Now Otranto. Lucan, book v. verse 374, speaking of the little river Idro which runs close to Otranto, says,

Et cunctas revocare rates, quas avius Hydrus,
Antiquisque Taras, secretaque litora Leucæ.
Quas recipit Salapina palus, et subdita Sipus
Montibus.

And Cicero, writing of the town to Tyro, book xvi. epistle 9, says of his voyage from Cassiope, *Inde Austro lenissimo, cœlo sereno, nocte illa et die postero in Italiam ad Hydruntem ludibundi pervenimus.* This place was called Hydruntum by Pliny and other authors.

⁷ Now Saseno, distant 35 minutes from Otranto.

⁸ B. C. 239.

Tarentum to Brentesium is like a peninsula. The road by land from Brentesium to Tarentum is but a day's journey for a light person on foot, it constitutes the isthmus of the said peninsula, which people in general call Messapia, Iapygia, Calabria, or Salentinum, without being at all particular; but some, as we have said before, do make a distinction. Thus have we described the towns on the sea-coast.

6. In the inland are Rudiaë and Lupiaë, and at a short distance from the sea Aletia;¹ about the middle of the isthmus is Uria,² in which is still shown the palace of a certain famous nobleman.³ As Hyria⁴ is described by Herodotus as situated in Iapygia, and as founded by the Cretans who strayed from the fleet of Minos while sailing to Sicily;⁵ we must suppose that he meant either this place [Uria] or Veretum. It is said that a colony of Cretans settled in Brentesium,⁶ but the tradition varies; some say they were those who came with Theseus from Cnossus;⁷ others, that they were some out of Sicily who had come with Iapyx; they agree however in saying that they did not abide there, but went thence to Botiæa. At a later period, when the state was under the government of a monarch, it lost a large portion of its territories, which was taken by the Lacedæmonians who came over under Phalanthus; notwithstanding this the Brundusians received him when he was expelled from Tarentum, and honoured him with a splendid tomb at his death. They possess a district of superior fertility to that of the Tarentines; for its soil is light, still it is fruitful, and its honey and wools are amongst the most esteemed; further, the harbour of Brentesium is superior to that of Tarentum, for many havens are protected by the single entrance,⁸ and rendered perfectly smooth, many

¹ We have followed Kramer's text in calling this place Aletia, several MSS. read Salepia. Cramer, in his description of Ancient Italy, vol ii. p. 316, says, Aletium is naturally supposed to have occupied the site of the church of S. Maria della Lizza.—It was called Ἀλήτριον by Ptolemy.

² We have followed Kramer's reading; some MSS. have Θυρία, some Θυρία, &c.

³ lit. of a certain one of the nobles.

⁴ Ούρια, MSS., but a note in the French translation explains that Strabo was quoting Herodotus from memory. We follow Kramer.

⁵ B. c. 1353.

⁶ Brindisi.

⁷ About B. c. 1323.

⁸ Great changes have taken place in this locality since Strabo's description was drawn.

bays [or reaches] being formed within it, so that it resembles in fashion the antlers of a stag, whence its name, for the place, together with the city, is exceedingly like the head of a stag, and in the Messapian language the stag's head is called Brentesium; while the port of Tarentum is not entirely safe, both on account of its lying very open, and of certain shallows near its head.

7. Further, the course for passengers from Greece and Asia is most direct to Brentesium, and in fact all who are journeying to Rome disembark here. Hence there are two ways to Rome; one, which is only walked by mules, through the Peucetii, who are called Pœdicli, the Daunii, and the Samnites, as far as Beneventum, on which road is the city Egnatia,¹ then Celia,² Netium,³ Canusium,⁴ and Herdonia.⁵ That through Tarentum is a little to the left, it runs about a day's journey round for one traversing the whole distance; it is called the Appian Way, and is more of a carriage road than the other. On it stands the city Uria,⁶ and Venusia;⁷ the one [Uria] between Tarentum and Brentesium, the other on the confines of the Samnites and Lucani. Both the roads from Brentesium run into one near Beneventum and Campania, and thence to Rome it receives the name of Appian, and runs through Caudium,⁸ Calatia,⁹ Capua,¹⁰ and Casilinum,¹¹ to Sinuessa.¹² The way from thence to Rome has been already described.—The whole length of the Appian Way from Rome to Brentesium is 360 miles.

There is a third way from Rhegium, through the Bruttii, Lucani, and Samnites, along the chain of the Apennines, into

¹ Torre d' Agnazzo.

² Ceglie, south of Bari.

³ Now Noja; but the identity of this place has been much canvassed.

⁴ Canosa.

⁵ Now Ortona, about twelve miles to the east of Æca, now Troja. Livy records the defeat of the Roman forces at this place in two successive years. Hannibal removed the inhabitants and fired the town, (Livy xxvii. 1,) but it was subsequently repaired, and is noticed by Frontinus as Ardonia. Ptolemy and Silius Italicus, viii. 568, mention it as Herdonia—

. quosque
Obscura inculsis Herdonia misit ab agris.

⁶ Oria.

⁷ Venosa.

⁸ Paolisi.

⁹ Le Galazze.

¹⁰ S. Maria di Capoa.

¹¹ Capoa Nova.

¹² Monte Dragone, or Mondragone.

Campania, where it joins the Appian Way ;¹ it is longer than those from Brentesium by about three or four days' journey.

8. From Brentesium the sea is traversed by two passages to the opposite coast, one crossing to the Ceraunian² Mountains and the adjacent coasts of the Epirus and Greece, the other to Epidamnus,³ which is the longer⁴ of the two, being 1800⁵ stadia. Still this is habitually traversed, on account of the situation of the city [Epidamnus] being convenient for the nations of Illyria and Macedonia. As we coast along the shore of the Adriatic from Brentesium we come to the city Egnatia,⁶ it is the general place to stop at for those travelling to Barium,⁷ as well by land as by sea. The run is made when the wind blows from the south. The territory of the Peucetii extends as far as this along the coast, in the interior of the land it reaches as far as Silvium.⁸ It is throughout rugged and mountainous, and chiefly occupied by the Apennine mountains. It is thought to have been colonized by a party of Arcadians. The distance from Brentesium to Barium is about 700 stadia. [Tarentum] is about equally distant from both.⁹ The Daunii inhabit the adjoining district, then the Apuli as far as the Phrentani. As the inhabitants of the district, except in ancient times, have never been particular in speaking of the Peucetii or Daunii precisely, and as the whole of this country is now called Apulia, the boundaries of these nations are necessarily but ill defined: wherefore we ourselves shall not be very exact in treating of them.

¹ At Capua, now S. Maria di Capua.

² Eustathius explains that those mountains were called Ceraunian from the frequent falling of thunderbolts upon them. *Τὰ Κεραύνια ὄρη, οὕτω καλούμενα διὰ τὸ συχνοῦς ἐκεῖ πίπτειν κεραυνοῦς.*

³ Durazzo.

⁴ It seems as if some words had been skipped in this place, for we should expect to have the distance of the other passage to the Ceraunian Mountains, but Strabo nowhere mentions it.

⁵ M. Gossellin seems to think we should here read 800 and not 1800 stadia; but Kramer reckons it improbable. Groskurd concurs essentially with the opinion of M. Gossellin, and translates it something as follows: "for it is 1000, while the former is 800 stadia across."

⁶ Now Torre d' Agnazzo.

⁷ Bari.

⁸ Silvium was situated on the Appian Way. Holstenius and Pratilli agree in fixing its position at Garagnone, about 15 miles to the south-west of Venosa. Holsten. Adnot. p. 281. Pratilli, *Via Appia*, l. iv. c. 7.

⁹ About 310 stadia.

9. From Barium to the river Ofanto,¹ on which the Canusitæ have established an emporium, there are 400² stadia. The course up the river to the emporium is 90 [stadia]. Near it is Salapia,³ the port of the Argyrippeni. For the two cities, Canusium and Argyrippa, are situated at no great distance from the sea, and in the midst of a plain; at one time they were the most important cities of the Greeks of Italy, as is manifest from the circumference of their walls, but now they have fallen off. One of them was originally called Argos Hippium, then Argyrippa, and then again Arpi. They are said to have been both founded by Diomed, and both the plain of Diomed and many other things are shown in these districts as evidence of his having possessed them. Such were the ancient offerings in the temple of Minerva, at Luceria.⁴ That was an ancient city of the Daunii, but now it is of no account. Again, in the neighbouring sea there are two islands called the Diomedean islands, one of which is inhabited, but the other, they say, is desert: in the latter it is fabled that Diomed disappeared from the earth, and that his companions were transformed into birds,⁵ and indeed the fable goes so far as to prolong their race to the present time, saying that they are tame, and lead a sort of human life, both in respect of food, and their readiness to approach men of gentle manners, and to shun the evil and wanton. We have already noticed⁶ what is currently reported amongst the Heneti concerning this hero [Diomed] and the honours decreed to him by custom. It is thought also that Sipus⁷ was a settlement founded by Diomed,

¹ The Aufidus, celebrated by Horace, Od. iv. 9,

“Ne forte credas interitura, quæ
Longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum,
Non ante vulgatas per artes
Verba loquor socianda chordis.”

² M. Gossellin considers this rather too much, and supposes 315 stadia would be nearer the truth.

³ Ruins now called Salpi.

⁴ Now Lucera.

⁵ See book v. c. 1, § 9, p. 320. Ptolemy makes these five, which is the number of the isles of Tremiti at present, if we include in the group three barren rocks, which scarce deserve the name of islands. One was called Diomedea by Pliny, and Tremitus by Tacitus, who states that Augustus appointed it as the prison of his grand-daughter Julia; the second was called Teutria. The largest is at present called Isola San Domino, the other Isola San Nicolo.

⁶ Book v. c. i. § 9, p. 320.

⁷ Siponto, a place in ruins near Manfredonia.

it is distant from Salapia about 140 stadia, and was called by the Greeks Sepius, from the numbers of cuttle fish¹ thrown up by the sea along its shore. Between Salapia and Sipus is a navigable river, and a considerable estuary; by both of these channels the merchandise, and wheat especially, of Sipus is conveyed to the sea. Two heroa or shrines are shown on a hill of Daunia, called Drium, one on the very brow of the hill sacred to Calchas, those who are about to inquire of the oracle offer a black ram to him, and sleep upon the fleece, the other below near the foot of the hill is dedicated to Podalirius, it is about a hundred stadia distant from the sea; from this hill also flows a stream,² which is a potent cure for all manner of diseases among cattle.³ The promontory of Garganum⁴ running into the sea, juts out from this bay about 300 stadia.⁵ As you turn the point you perceive the town of Urium,⁶ while off the headland are seen the Diomedean islands. All this coast produces everything in great abundance, it is exceedingly well adapted for horses and sheep, and the wool is finer than that of Tarentum, but less glossy. The district is mild on account of the cup-like situation of the plains. There are some who report that Diomed attempted to cut a canal to the sea, but being sent for to return home, where he died, left it incomplete, as well as other undertakings. This is one account of him: another makes him abide here till the end of his days; a third is the fable I have already noticed, that he vanished in the island [of Teutria], and one might reckon as a fourth that of the Heneti,⁷ for they somehow make out that he finished his career among them, as they

¹ Sestini describes a gold coin belonging to this city, on which the emblem of a cuttle fish in Greek, *σηπία*, is apparent. The legend is *Σιπο*. Sestini descrizione d' una Med. p. 16.

² Lycophron calls this stream by the name of Althænus.

³ Groskurd is of opinion that some words to the following effect have been accidentally lost from this place, viz. "The coast of Daunia forms an extensive bay about these parts."

⁴ Now Punta di Viesti. Strabo seems to have considered the whole of the extensive neck of land lying between the bay of Rodi and that of Manfredonia, as the Garganum Promontorium. Lucan, v. 380, thus describes its prominence,

Apulus Hadracas exit Garganus in undas.

⁵ About 37 miles towards the east.

⁶ Rodi.

⁷ See *Ἰλλυκ* v. c. 1. § 9, p. 320.

assert his apotheosis. The distances I have thus given are laid down in accordance with those of Artemidorus.

10. The chorographer indeed gives only 165 miles from Brentesium¹ to Garganum, but Artemidorus makes them more.² Thence to Ancona, the first says there are 254 miles, whilst Artemidorus has given but 1250 stadia to the Fiumesino,³ near to Ancona, which is much shorter. Polybius says that from Iapygia the distance has been laid down in miles, and that there are 562 miles thence to the town of Sila,⁴ thence to Aquileia 178. These geographers do not agree as to the length to be assigned to the line of the sea-coast of Illyria, run from the Ceraunian Mountains⁵ to the head⁶ of the Adriatic, some of them stating it to be above 6000 [stadia], and making it longer than the opposite coast [of Italy], while it is much shorter.⁷ Indeed they all generally differ among themselves in stating distances, as we often have occasion to remark. Wherever it is possible to discriminate we set forth what appears to us to be correct, but where it is impossible to come to any safe conclusion we think it our duty to publish their several assertions. However, when we have no data furnished by them, it must not be wondered at, if we should leave some points untouched in treating of such and so vast a subject as we have undertaken. We would not indeed omit any of the important particulars, but trifling circumstances, even when they are noted, are of little advantage, and when taken no heed of, are not missed, nor does their omission at all impair the whole work, or, if it does, at most not much.

¹ Brindisi.

² M. Gosselin gives a long note to show that the chorographer and Artemidorus were both correct in the distances they gave, but asserts that Strabo was mistaken as to the length of the stadium used by Artemidorus, and consequently thought he saw a discrepancy between their accounts.

³ The ancient Æsis.

⁴ We think, with Kramer, that Sena Gallica, now Sinigaglia, was the city Strabo intends.

⁵ From the Capo della Linguetta, on the coast of Albania.

⁶ The town of Aquileia.

⁷ M. Gosselin suggests that Strabo omitted the coast of Istria in his calculations, when he made this observation on the length of the Illyrian shore, and refers to what Strabo will himself state in book vii. chap. v. sections 3, 4, and 9, and to his estimate of 6150 stadia from the Ceraunian Mountains to Iapygia in book ii. chap. iv. § 3, p. 159.

11. Immediately beyond the Garganum comes a deep bay.¹ Those who dwell round it call themselves Apuli,² they speak the same language as the Daunii and Peucetii, and at the present time resemble them in every other particular; however it is likely that they were formerly distinct, since their names completely differ from those of the others. In ancient times the whole of this country was flourishing, but Hannibal and the wars which subsequently occurred have wasted it. Here too was fought the battle of Cannæ, where there was so great a slaughter of the Roman forces and their allies.³ Near this gulf there is a lake,⁴ and above the lake in the interior is the Apulian Teanum,⁵ having a like name with that of the Sidicini.⁶ It is between this and the neighbourhood of Dicæarchia⁷ that the breadth of Italy is so contracted as to form an isthmus of less than 1000 stadia from sea to sea.⁸ Leaving the lake we sail next to Buca,⁹ and the country of the Frentani. There are 200 stadia from the lake both to Buca and to the Garganum. The remainder of the towns in the vicinity of Buca have been before described.¹⁰

¹ Doubtless the bight between the shore, adjacent to Peschici, to the north of Viesti, and the Punta d' Asinella.

² A note in the French translation observes that the Apuli, properly so called, could but have occupied the shore of half this bay, for the Fortore falls into it just about the centre, which river was a common boundary between the Apuli and Frentani. ³ B. C. 216.

⁴ Cramer says, the lake which Strabo speaks of as being near Teanum, but without mentioning its name, is called by Pliny Lacus Pontanus, (iii. 11,) now Lago di Lesina.

⁵ The city of Teanum stood on the right bank of the Fortore, the ancient Frento; its ruins are stated to exist on the site of Civitate, about a mile from the right bank of the Fortore, and ten miles from the sea. Cramer, vol. ii. p. 273.

⁶ Now Teano, six miles from Sessa, and fifteen from Capua.

⁷ Pozzuolo.

⁸ M. Gossellin observes that from the head of the bay of Naples to the shores bordering the ancient Teanum, there are 80 minutes, or 933 stadia of 700.

⁹ Romanelli is of opinion that the ruins of Buca exist at the present Penna.

¹⁰ Book v. chap. iv. § 2, p. 359.

CHAPTER IV.

1. So great indeed is Italy, and much as we have described it; we will now advert to the chief of the many things that have been described, which have conduced to raise the Romans to so great a height of prosperity. One point is its insular position, by which it is securely guarded, the seas forming a natural protection around it with the exception of a very inconsiderable frontier, which too is fortified by almost impassable mountains. A second is, that there are but few harbours, and those few capacious and admirably situated. These are of great service both for enterprises against foreign places, and also in case of invasions undertaken against the country, and the reception of abundant merchandise. And a third, that it is situated so as to possess many advantages of atmosphere and temperature of climate, in which both animals and plants, and in fact all things available for sustaining life, may be accommodated with every variety both of mild and severe temperature; its length stretches in a direction north and south. Sicily, which is extensive, may be looked upon as an addition to its length, for we cannot consider it in any other light than as a part of it. The salubrity or severity of the atmosphere of different countries, is estimated by the amount of cold or heat, or the degrees of temperature between those extremes; in this way we shall find that Italy, which is situated in the medium of both the extremes, and having so great a length, largely participates in a salubrious atmosphere, and that in many respects. This advantage is still secured to it in another way, for the chain of the Apennines extending through its whole length, and leaving on each side plains and fruitful hills, there is no district which does not participate in the advantages of the best productions both of hill and plain. We must also enumerate the magnitude and number of its rivers and lakes, and the springs of hot and cold waters supplied by nature in various localities for the restoration of health; and in addition to these, its great wealth in mines of all the metals, abundance of timber, and excellent food both for man and for beasts of all kinds. Italy, likewise, being situated in the very midst of the greatest nations, I allude to Greece and the best provinces of Asia, is naturally in a posi-

tion to gain the ascendancy, since she excels the circumjacent countries both in the valour of her population and in extent of territory, and by being in proximity to them seems to have been ordained to bring them into subjection without difficulty.

2. If, in addition to our description of Italy, a few words should be summarily added about the Romans who have possessed themselves of it, and prepared it as a centre from whence to enforce their universal dominion, we would offer the following.—The Romans, after the foundation of their state, discreetly existed as a kingdom for many years, till Tarquin, the last [Roman king], abused his power, when they expelled him, and established a mixed form of government, being a modification both of the monarchical and aristocratical systems; they admitted both the Sabines¹ and Latins² into their alliance, but as neither they nor the other neighbouring states continued to act with good faith towards them at all times, they were under the necessity of aggrandizing themselves by the dismemberment of their neighbours.³ Having thus, by degrees, arrived at a state of considerable importance, it chanced that they lost their city suddenly, contrary to the expectation of all men, and again recovered the same contrary to all expectation.⁴ This took place, according to Polybius, in the nineteenth year after the naval engagement of *Ægos-potami*,⁵ about the time of the conclusion of the peace of Antalcidas.⁶ Having escaped these misfortunes, the Romans first reduced all the Latins⁷ to complete obedience, they then subdued the Tyrrheni,⁸ and stayed the Kelts, who border the Po, from their too frequent and licentious forays; then the Samnites, and after them they conquered the Tarentines and Pyrrhus,⁹ and presently after the remainder of what is now considered as Italy, with the exception of the districts on the Po. While these still remained a subject of dispute they passed over into Sicily,¹⁰ and having wrested that island from the Carthaginians¹¹ they re-

¹ In the year 747 B. C.

² In the year 594 B. C.

³ The Latins were first subjected in 499 B. C., but not totally subjugated; the Sabines were almost annihilated in the war which happened about 450 B. C.

⁴ See Polyb. Hist. book i. chap. vi. § 1, edit. Schweigh, tom. i. p. 12.

⁵ This battle was fought in the year 405 B. C.

⁶ Concluded 387 B. C.

⁷ About 338 B. C.

⁸ About 310 B. C.

⁹ About 275 B. C.

¹⁰ In the year 264 B. C.

¹¹ In the year 241 B. C.

turned to complete the conquest of the people dwelling along the Po. While this war was still in hand Hannibal entered Italy,¹ thus the second war against the Carthaginians ensued, and after a very short interval the third, in which Carthage was demolished.² At the same time the Romans became masters of Africa,³ and of such portions of Spain as they won from the Carthaginians. Both the Greeks and the Macedonians, and the nations of Asia who dwelt on the hither side of the river Kisil-Irmak⁴ and the Taurus, took part in these struggles with the Carthaginians: over these Antiochus⁵ was king, and Philip and Perseus,⁶ these therefore the Romans found themselves obliged to subdue. The people likewise of Illyria and Thrace, who were next neighbours to the Greeks and Macedonians, at this time commenced the war with the Romans that never ceased, until the subjugation of all the people who inhabit the countries on the hither side of the Danube⁷ and the Kisil-Irmak⁴ had been effected. The Iberians, and Kelts, and all the rest who are subject to the Romans, shared a similar fate, for the Romans never rested in the subjugation of the land to their sway until they had entirely overthrown it: in the first instance they took Numantia,⁸ and subdued Viriathus,⁹ and afterwards vanquished Sertorius,¹⁰ and last of all the Cantabrians,¹¹ who were brought to subjection by Augustus Cæsar.¹² Likewise the whole of Gaul both within and beyond the Alps with Liguria were annexed at first by a partial occupation, but subsequently divus Cæsar and then Augustus subdued them completely in open war, so that now¹³ the Romans direct their expeditions against the Germans from these countries as the most convenient rendezvous, and have already adorned their own country with several triumphs over them. Also in Africa all that did not belong to the Carthaginians has been left to the charge of kings owning dependence on the Roman state, while such as have attempted to assert their independence have been overpowered. At the present moment both Maurusia and much of the rest

¹ 218 B. C. ² 146 B. C. ³ Αιβύη. ⁴ The ancient Halys.

⁵ Antiochus ceded Asia Minor in the year B. C. 189.

⁶ Perseus was taken in the year B. C. 167.

⁷ Ister.

⁸ In the year B. C. 133.

⁹ In the year B. C. 140.

¹⁰ B. C. 72.

¹¹ The inhabitants of Biscay.

¹² B. C. 19

¹³ About A. D. 17 or 18.

of Africa have fallen to the portion of Juba¹ on account of his good will and friendship towards the Romans. The like things have taken place in Asia. At first it was governed by kings who were dependent on the Romans, and afterwards when their several lines of succession failed, as of that of the kings Attalus,² the kings of the Syrians,³ the Paphlagonians,⁴ Cappadocians,⁵ and Egyptians,⁶ [or] when they revolted and were subsequently deposed, as it happened in the case of Mithridates Eupator, and Cleopatra of Egypt, the whole of their territories within the Phasis⁷ and the Euphrates,⁸ with the exception of some tribes of Arabs, were brought completely under the dominion of the Romans and the dynasties set up by them. The Armenians and the people who lie beyond Colchis, both the Albani and Iberians, require nothing more than that Roman governors should be sent among them, and they would be easily ruled; their attempted insurrections are merely the consequence of the want of attention from the Romans, who are so much occupied elsewhere: the like may be asserted of those who dwell beyond the Danube,⁹ and inhabit the banks of the Euxine, excepting only those who dwell on the

¹ From this expression we may gather that Strabo wrote this 6th Book of his Geography during the life-time of Juba, and, as we shall presently see, about A. D. 18; while he did not compile the 17th Book till after Juba's death, which must have taken place before A. D. 21. See M. l' Abbé Sevin, *Rech. sur la Vie, &c., de Juba, Ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. iv. *Mém.* p. 462.

² Attalus III., king of Pergamus, died 133 B. C., and constituted the Roman people his heir.

³ We may here observe that the Seleucidæ ceased to reign in Syria as early as 83 B. C., when that country, wearied of their sad dissensions, willingly submitted to Tigranes the king of Armenia, but their race was not extinct, and even in the year 64 B. C. when Pompey made the kingdom a Roman province, there were two princes of the Seleucidæ, Antiochus Asiaticus and his brother Seleucus-Cybiosactes, who had an hereditary right to the throne; the latter however died about 54 B. C., and in him terminated the race of the Seleucidæ.

⁴ The race of the kings of Paphlagonia became extinct about 7 B. C. See M. l' Abbé Belley, *Diss. sur l'ère de Germanicopolis, &c. Ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xxx. *Mém.* p. 331.

⁵ The royal race of Cappadocia failed about 91 B. C.

⁶ The race of the Lagidæ terminated with Ptolemy Anletes, who died 44 B. C., leaving two daughters, Cleopatra and Arsinoë. Ptolemy Apion died 96 B. C.; he left Cyrene, whereof he was king, to the Roman people.

⁷ Now the Fasz or Rion.

The Forat, Ferat, or Frat.

⁸ The ancient Tster.

Bosphorus¹ and the Nomades;² of these the former are in subjection to the Romans, and the latter are unprofitable for commerce on account of their wandering life, and only require to be watched. The rest of the countries [of Asia] are chiefly inhabited by Scenites³ and Nomades who dwell at a great distance. The Parthians indeed border on them and are very powerful, but they have yielded so far to the superiority of the Romans and our emperors, that they have not only sent back⁴ to Rome the trophies which they had at a still more distant period taken from the Romans, but Phraates has even sent his sons and his sons' sons to Augustus Cæsar, as hostages, assiduously courting his friendship:⁵ indeed the [Parthians] of the present time frequently send for a king from hence,⁶ and are almost on the point of relinquishing all power to the Romans. We now see Italy, which has frequently been torn by civil war even since it came under the dominion of the Romans, nay, even Rome herself, restrained from rushing headlong into confusion and destruction by the excellence of her form of government and the ability of her emperors. Indeed it were hard to administer the affairs of so great an empire otherwise than by committing them to one man as a father.⁷ For it would never have been in the power of the Romans and their allies to attain to a state of such perfect peace, and the enjoyment of such abundant prosperity, as Augustus Cæsar afforded them from the time that he took upon himself the absolute authority; and which his son Tiberius, who has succeeded him, still maintains, who takes his father for a pattern in his government and ordinances. And in their turn his sons, Germanicus and Drusus,⁸ who are exercising the functions of government under their father, take him for their model.

¹ Strabo will relate in book vii. chap. iv. § 4, that after the defeat of Mithridates Eupator they became subject to the Romans.

² See more as to these people in book vii. chap. iii. § 17.

³ Inhabitants of tents. ⁴ In the year 20 B. C. See book xvi. chap. i. § 28.

⁵ Compare Tacitus, *Annales*, lib. ii. § 1.

⁶ As Vonones, mentioned by Tacitus in his second book.

⁷ Compare the words of Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. i. § 9, *Non aliud discordantia patriæ remedium fuisse, quàm ut ab uno regeretur.*

⁸ Germanicus was appointed to take charge of the East in A. D. 17, in 18 he took possession of his government, and died in 19. Drusus was in command of the armies of Germany in A. D. 17. Thus we may safely conclude this 6th book of Strabo's Geography to have been written in A. D. 18.

BOOK VII.

GERMANY.—THE CIMBRI, GETÆ, DACI.—MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE.—THE TAURICA CHERSONESUS, ILLYRICUM, HUNGARY, EPIRUS, DODONA, MACEDONIA, THRACE.—THE HELLESPONT.

SUMMARY.

In the Seventh Book Strabo describes the remaining portions of Europe. That on the east is the country beyond the Rhine, as far as the Don¹ and the mouth of the Sea of Azof;² and on the south, that which the Danube³ bounds, lying between the Adriatic and the left shores of the Euxine, as far as Greece and the Sea of Marmora,⁴ including the whole of Macedonia.

CHAPTER I.

1. WE have described Spain and the Keltic nations, together with Italy and the islands adjacent, and must now speak of the remaining portions of Europe, dividing it in the best way we can. That which remains is, on the east, all the country beyond the Rhine, as far as the Don and the mouth of the Sea of Azof; and, on the south, that which the Danube bounds, lying between the Adriatic and the left shores of the Euxine, as far as Greece and the Sea of Marmora, for the Danube, which is the largest of the rivers of Europe, divides the whole territory of which we have spoken, into two portions. This river from its commencement flows southwards, then, making a sudden turn, continues its course from west to east, which [terminates] in the Euxine Sea. It takes its rise in the western confines of Germany, not far from the head of the Adriatic, being distant from it about 1000 stadia,⁵ and falls into the Euxine near the mouths of the Dniester⁶ and the Dnieper,⁷ inclining a little towards the north. Thus the countries beyond the Rhine and Keltica are situated to the north of the Danube, and are occupied by the

¹ The ancient Tanais. ² Palus Mæotis. ³ The ancient Ister.

⁴ The ancient Propontis.

⁵ Strabo, in a subsequent passage, states that the distance from the Danube to the city Trieste, at the head of the Adriatic, is about 1200 stadia. ⁶ The ancient Tyras. ⁷ The Borysthenes.

Galatic and German tribes, as far as the territory of the Bastarnæ,¹ the Tyregetæ,² and the river Dnieper; so also is the country situated between the Dnieper, the Don, and the mouth of the Sea of Azof, which on one side stretches back as far as the [Northern] Ocean,³ and on another is washed by the Euxine. To the south of the Danube are situated the people of Illyria and Thrace, and mixed with them certain tribes of Kelts and other races, extending as far as Greece.

We will first speak of those nations to the north of the Danube, for their history is less involved than that of the tribes situated on the other side of the river.

2. Next after the Keltic nations come the Germans who inhabit the country to the east beyond the Rhine; and these differ but little from the Keltic race, except in their being more fierce, of a larger stature, and more ruddy in countenance; but in every other respect, their figure, their customs and manners of life, are such as we have related of the Kelts.⁴ The Romans therefore, I think, have very appositely applied to them the name "Germani," as signifying genuine; for in the Latin language Germani signifies genuine.⁵

3. The first division of this country is the land extending along the Rhine from its source to its embouchure. Indeed, the valley of that river extends nearly as far as the whole breadth of Germany on the west. Of the people who occupied this country, some have been transplanted by the Romans into Keltica, the others have retired to the interior, as the Marsi;⁶ there are but few remaining, and some portion of them

¹ The Bastarnæ were a people occupying portions of the modern Moldavia, Podolia, and the Ukraine.

² The Tyregetæ, or the Getæ of the river Tyras, were a people dwelling on the Dniester, to the south of the Bastarnæ.

³ The ancient geographers supposed that the Northern Ocean extended to the 56° of north latitude. Their notions of the existence of the Baltic were vague. They therefore confounded it with the Northern Ocean, thus making the continent of Europe to extend only to the 56° of north latitude.

⁴ See book iv. chap. iv. § 2, pp. 291, 292.

⁵ Strabo's words are, *γνήσιοι γὰρ οἱ Γερμανοὶ κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαίων διάλεκτον*. It is possible he may be endeavouring to explain that the *γερ* in Germani is equivalent to the Latin *verus*, "true," the *wahr* of modern German, and that Germani signifies the true men of the country, the undoubted autochthones of Galatia or Gaul.

⁶ The Marsi were a people dwelling on the banks of the Ems, near Munster.

are Sicambri;¹ next to the inhabitants of this valley succeeds the tribe dwelling between the Rhine and the river Elbe,² which river flows towards the ocean in a direction nearly parallel with the Rhine, and traversing a country of no less extent. There are also between these other navigable rivers, such as the Ems,³ on which Drusus defeated the Bructeri⁴ in a naval engagement; all likewise flowing from south to north, and falling into the ocean; for the whole country rises towards the south, and forms a ridge of mountains near the Alps, which extends eastward as though it were a continuation of the Alps;⁵ and some have even so described it, as well on account of its position as because it produces the same system of vegetation; nevertheless, the altitude of this ridge in no part equals that of the Alps. Here is situated the Hercynian Wood,⁶ and the tribes of the Suevi,⁷ some of whom inhabit the forest, as do likewise some of the Quadi.⁸ Among these latter people is situated Bujæmum, the royal city of Marobodus, whither he has assembled many strangers and many of the Marcomanni, a kindred nation with his own. This Marobodus, from a private station, raised himself to the administration of affairs after his return from Rome. For he went to that city while a youth, and was patronized by Augustus. After he came home, he acquired the sovereignty of his country, and added to the people I have enumerated, the Luji,⁹ a powerful nation, and the Zumi,¹⁰ and the Gutones¹¹

¹ The Sicambri were located near the Menapii. See above, p. 289.

² The Albis. ³ Amasias.

⁴ The name of this tribe is written variously by different authors. They are supposed to have occupied the lands between the Rhine, the Ems, and the Lippe, but their boundaries were very uncertain, on account of their continual wars.

⁵ This refers to the chain of mountains which, running from the north of Switzerland, traverses Wurtemberg, Franconia, Bohemia, Moravia, and joins Mount Krapak.

⁶ The Hercynian Wood, or Black Forest, was either one or a succession of continuous forests, extending from the banks of the Rhine to the confines of Persia and Bactriana.

⁷ The Suevi occupied a considerable portion of Germany, to the north and east of Bohemia.

⁸ Coldui manuscripts. Kramer agrees with Cluverius in this instance, and we have followed Kramer's text. ⁹ The Lugii of Tacitus.

¹⁰ Zeus thinks these were the Burri of Dio Cassius, lxxviii. 8. See Zeus, Die Deutschen, &c., p. 126.

¹¹ Kramer has Γούρωνας, although the MSS. have Βούρωνας. He is

and Mugilonos and Sibini, besides the Semnonos, another considerable tribe of the Suevi. As I have previously stated, a portion of the Suevi dwells within the Forest, while another portion occupies the territory beyond, on the frontiers of the Getæ; wherefore the nation of the Suevi is the most considerable, as it extends from the Rhine as far as the Elbe, and even a part of them, as the Hermonduri and the Langoardi, inhabit the country beyond the Elbe; but at the present time these tribes, having been defeated, have retired entirely beyond the Elbe. All these nations easily change their abode, on account of the scantiness of provisions, and because they neither cultivate the lands nor accumulate wealth, but dwell in miserable huts, and satisfy their wants from day to day, the most part of their food being supplied by the herd, as amongst the nomade races, and in imitation of them they transfer their households in waggons, wandering with their cattle to any place which may appear most advantageous. There are many other smaller German tribes, as the Cherusci, Chatti, Gamabrivi,¹ Chattuarii, and next the ocean the Siccambri, Chaubi,² Bructeri,³ Cimbri, Cauci, Caulci, Campsiani,⁴ and many others.

In the same direction with the Ems,⁵ the Weser⁶ and the river Lippe⁷ take their course, the latter, distant about 600 stadia from the Rhine, flows through the territory of the Lesser Bructeri. And there is also the river Sala,⁸ between which and the Rhine Drusus Germanicus died, whilst in the midst of his victories. He not only subdued the greater part of the German tribes, but also the islands on the coast he passed along, one amongst which is Byrchanis,⁹ which he took by siege.

4. All these nations became known through their wars with

led to this emendation by Cluverius and others. Cluv. Germ. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 34, page 625.

¹ The Gambrivii of Tacitus, Germ. cap. 2.

² Cluverius considers these were the Chamavi.

³ We have followed Kramer's text. MSS. read Bucteri.

⁴ For Caulci, Campsiani, Cluverius would read Cathulci, Campsani. A little further on Strabo calls the Campsiani Ampsani.

⁵ Amasias.

⁶ Visurgis.

⁷ Lupias.

⁸ Salas.

⁹ Borcum. Pliny calls this island Burchana, and adds, that the Romans gave it the name of Fabaria, on account of the beans (in Latin Faba) which grow there.

the Romans, at one time submitting, at another revolting and quitting their habitations; and we should have become acquainted with a greater number of their tribes, if Augustus had permitted his generals to pass the Elbe, in pursuit of those who had fled thither; but he considered the war on hand would be more easily brought to a conclusion, if he left the people on the other side of the Elbe unmolested, and not by attacking provoke them to make common cause with his enemies.

The Sicambri inhabiting the country next the Rhine were the first to commence the war, under the conduct of their leader, Melon; other nations afterwards followed their example, at one time being victorious, at another defeated, and again recommencing hostilities, without regard to hostages or the faith of treaties. Against these people mistrust was the surest defence; for those who were trusted effected the most mischief. For example, the Cherusci, and those who were subject to them, amongst whom three Roman legions with their general, Quintilius Varus, perished by ambush, in violation of the truce; nevertheless all have received punishment for this perfidy, which furnished to Germanicus the Younger the opportunity of a most brilliant triumph, he leading publicly as his captives the most illustrious persons, both men and women, amongst whom were Segimuntus,¹ the son of Segestes, the chief of the Cherusci, and his sister, named Thusnelda, the wife of Armenius, who led on the Cherusci when they treacherously attacked Quintilius Varus, and even to this day continues the war; likewise his son Thumelicus, a boy three years old, as also Sesithacus, the son of Segimerus,² chief of the Cherusci, and his wife Rhamis, the daughter of Uchromirus,³ chief of the Chatti,⁴ and Deudorix, the son of Bætorix, the brother of Melon, of the nation of the Sicambri; but Segestes, the father-in-law of Armenius, from the commencement opposed the designs of his son-in-law, and taking advantage of a favourable opportunity, went over to the Roman camp and witnessed the triumphal procession over

¹ Segimundus in Tacitus, Annal. lib. i. cap. 57.

² Ægimerus in Tacitus, Annal. lib. i. cap. 71.

³ Acrumerus, according to the correction of Cluverius. He is Actumerus in Tacitus, Annal. lib. xi. 16, 17.

⁴ MSS. Batti, which Vossius reckons were the Batavi.

those who were dearest to him, he being held in honour by the Romans. There was also led in triumph Libes the priest of the Chatti, and many other prisoners of the various vanquished nations, the Cathylci and the Ampsani, the Bructeri, the Usipi, the Cherusci, the Chatti, the Chattuarii, the Landi,¹ the Tubattii.²

The Rhine is distant from the Elbe about 3000 stadia, if one could travel in a direct line; but we are compelled to go a circuitous route, on account of the windings of the marshes and the woods.

5. The Hercynian Forest³ is extremely dense, and overgrown with very large trees, covering an immense circuit of country, fortified by nature. In the midst of it is situated the region well suited for habitation, of which we have spoken. Near this forest are the sources of the Danube and the Rhine, and the lake⁴ situated between these, together with the marshes formed by the Rhine. The circuit of the lake is more than 300⁵ stadia, and the distance across about 200. In this lake is an island which served Tiberius as an arsenal, in the naval war with the Vindelici. This lake is south of the sources of the Danube and the Hercynian Forest, so that in passing from Keltica⁶ to the forest, one has first to cross the lake, then the Danube, and afterwards by a more passable country, and over elevated plains, you approach the forest. When Tiberius had proceeded but one day's journey from the lake, he came in sight of the sources of the Danube.⁷

The territory of the Rhæti⁸ borders some portion of this lake, but the greater part of the shores belong to the Helvetii⁹

¹ Cluverius considers these were the Marsi of Tacitus, Annal. lib. ii. cap. 25.

² Called Tubantes by the Roman writers.

³ Schwartz Wald, or Black Forest.

⁴ The Lake Constance.

⁵ Strabo could hardly have intended 300, since the diameter of the lake is given at 200. Velsler conjectures that 500 or 600 would be the proper reading. Its exact circumference is about 550 stadia.

⁶ Gossellin considers that by Keltica we are to understand Cisalpine Gaul, and the neighbourhood of Milan and Mantua.

⁷ Gossellin says that the sources of the Danube are about 14 leagues distant from the western extremity of the Lake Constance.

⁸ The Rhæti possessed the countries of the Grisons and the Tyrol, extending to the eastern shores of the Lake Constance.

⁹ The Helvetii, or Swiss, possessed the southern borders of the Lake Constance.

and Vindelici [the Norici come next after the Vindelici in an easterly direction,]² and the desert of the Boii.³ The nations as far as the Pannonians,⁴ but more especially the Helvetii and Vindelici, inhabit high table lands. The Rhæti and the Norici,⁵ verging towards Italy, extend over the very summits of the Alps; the former confining with the Insubri,⁶ the latter the Carni,⁷ and the districts about Aquileia. There is likewise another great forest, named Gabreta, on this side the territory of the Suevi, while beyond them lies the Hercynian Wood, which also is in their possession.

CHAPTER II.

1. SOME of the accounts which we receive respecting the Cimbri are not worthy of credit, while others seem likely enough: for instance, no one could accept the reason given for their wandering life and piracy, that, dwelling on a peninsula, they were driven out of their settlements by a very high tide;⁸ for they still to this day possess the country which they had in former times, and have sent as a present to Au-

¹ The Vindelici occupied the country on the northern borders of the lake, with the regions of Swabia and Bavaria south of the Danube, and reaching to the Inn. *Gossellin*.

² It is evident that some words have been omitted in this place. The words we have inserted are the conjecture of Cluverius and Groskurd.

³ As far as we can make out from Strabo and Pliny, book iii. cap. 27, the desert of the Boii stretched along the shores of the Danube from the river Inn to the mountains a little west of Vienna, which were the boundary between the Norici and the Pannonians. This strip of land is now called the Wiener-Wald, or Forest of Vienna. Doubtless it took its name of Desert of the Boii on account of its contiguity to the south of the country occupied by those people, and which still bears the name of Bohemia.

⁴ The Pannonians occupied the districts of Hungary west of the Danube.

⁵ The Norici inhabited that part of Austria which lies between the Danube and the Alps.

⁶ The Insubri occupied the Milanese.

⁷ The Carni have left their name to Carniola.

⁸ See also book ii. chap. 3, § 6. Festus relates that the Ambrones abandoned their country on account of this tide. The Ambrones were a tribe of the Helvetii, and more than once joined with the Cimbri.

gustus the caldron held most sacred by them, supplicating his friendship, and an amnesty for past offences; and having obtained their request, they returned home. Indeed, it would have been ridiculous for them to have departed from their country in a pet, on account of a natural and constant phenomenon, which recurs twice every day. It is likewise evidently a fiction, that there ever occurred an overwhelming flood-tide, for the ocean, in the influences of this kind which it experiences, receives a certain settled and periodical increase and decrease.¹ Neither is it true, as has been related,² that the Cimbri take arms against the flood-tides, or that the Kelts, as an exercise of their intrepidity, suffer their houses to be washed away by them, and afterwards rebuild them; and that a greater number of them perish by water than by war, as Ephorus relates. For the regular order the flood-tides observe, and the notoriety of the extent of the country subject to inundation by them, could never have given occasion for such absurd actions. For the tide flowing twice every day, how could any one think for an instant that it was not a natural and harmless phenomenon, and that it occurs not only on their coasts, but on all others bordering on the ocean? Is not this quite incredible? Neither is Clitarchus to be trusted,³ when he says that their cavalry, on seeing the sea flowing in, rode off at full speed, and yet scarcely escaped by flight from being overtaken by the flood; for we know, by experience, that the tide does not come in with such impetuosity, but that the sea advances stealthily by slow degrees. And we should think, besides, that a phenomenon of daily occurrence, which would naturally strike the ear of such as

¹ The French translation has happily paraphrased, not translated, this passage as follows: "For although it is true that the ocean has tides of more or less height, still they occur periodically, and in an order constantly the same."

² Aristotle, *Ethics*, Eudem. lib. iii. cap. 1, Nicolas of Damascus, and Ælian, *Var. Histor.* lib. xii. cap. 23, have attributed the like extravagant proceedings to the Kelts or Gauls. Nicolas of Damascus, *Reliq.* pp. 272, 273, says that the Kelts resist the tides of the ocean with their swords in their hands, till they perish in the waters, in order that they may not seem to fear death by taking the precaution to fly.

³ It is probable that Clitarchus obtained his information from the Gauls. As for the sudden influx of the tide, there are several other examples of the kind, in which the troops surprised were not so successful in getting off.

approached it, before even they could see it with their eyes, could not by any means terrify them so as to put them to flight, as if they had been surprised by some unexpected catastrophe.

2. For such fables as these, Posidonius justly blames these writers, and not inaptly conjectures that the Cimbri, on account of their wandering life and habits of piracy, might have made an expedition as far as the countries around the Palus Mæotis, and that from them has been derived the name of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or what we should more correctly denominate the Cimbrian Bosphorus, for the Greeks call the Cimbri Cimmerii.

He likewise tells us that the Boii formerly inhabited the Hercynian Forest, and that the Cimbri, having made an incursion into those parts, were repulsed by them, and driven towards the Danube, and the country occupied by the Scordisci, a Galatic tribe, and from thence to the Tauristæ, or Taurisci, a people likewise of Galatic origin, and farther to the Helvetii, who were at that time a rich and peaceful people; but, perceiving that the wealth of these freebooters far exceeded their own, the Helvetii, and more especially the Tigurini and the Toygeni, associated themselves with their expeditions. But both the Cimbri and their auxiliaries were vanquished by the Romans, the one part when they crossed the Alps and came down upon Italy, the others on the other side of the Alps.

3. It is reported that the Cimbri had a peculiar custom. They were accompanied in their expeditions by their wives; these were followed by hoary-headed priestesses,¹ clad in white, with cloaks of carbasus² fastened on with clasps, girt with brazen girdles, and bare-footed. These individuals, bearing drawn swords, went to meet the captives throughout the camp, and, having crowned them, led them to a brazen vessel containing about 20 amphoræ, and placed on a raised

¹ Tacitus, *De Morib. Germanor.* cap. viii., says that these priestesses were held in great reputation, and mentions one Veleda as “*diu apud plerosque numinis loco habitam.*”

² Pliny, *lib. xix. cap. 1.*, describes this carbasus as very fine flax, grown in the neighbourhood of Tarragona in Spain. The Père Hardouin considers that the carbasus or fabric manufactured of this flax was similar to the French *batiste*.—The flax and the fabric were alike called carbasus.

platform, which one of the priestesses having ascended, and holding the prisoner above the vessel, cut his throat; then, from the manner in which the blood flowed into the vessel, some drew certain divinations; while others, having opened the corpse, and inspected the entrails, prophesied victory to their army. In battle too they beat skins stretched on the wicker sides of chariots, which produces a stunning noise.

4. As we have before stated, the northernmost of the Germans inhabit a country bordering on the ocean; but we are only acquainted with those situated between the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe, of which the Sicambri¹ and Cimbri² are the most generally known: those dwelling along the coast³ beyond the Elbe are entirely unknown to us; for none of the ancients with whom I am acquainted have prosecuted this voyage towards the east as far as the mouths of the Caspian Sea, neither have the Romans as yet sailed coastwise beyond the Elbe, nor has any one travelling on foot penetrated farther into this country. But it is evident, by the *climates* and the parallels of distances, that in following a longitudinal course towards the east we must come to the countries near the Dnieper, and the regions on the north side of the Euxine. But as for any particulars as to Germany beyond the Elbe, or of the countries which lie beyond it in order, whether we should call them the Bastarnæ, as most geographers suppose, or whether other nations intervene, such as the Jazyges,⁴ or the Roxolani,⁵ or any others of the tribes dwelling in waggons, it is not easy to give any account. Neither can we say whether these nations extend as far as the [Northern] Ocean, along the whole distance, or whether [between them and the Ocean] there are countries rendered unfit for habitation by the cold or by any other cause; or whether men of a different race are situated between the sea and the most eastern of the Germans.

The same uncertainty prevails with regard to the other

¹ The Sicambri, or Sugambri, dwelt to the south of the Lippe.

² The Cimbri occupied Jutland, the ancient Cimbrica Chersonesus.

³ The shores of the Baltic.

⁴ Gossellin places the Jazyges in the southern districts of the Ukraine, between the Dniester and the Sea of Azoff.

⁵ Gossellin considers that the name of Russia is derived from these Roxolani.

nations¹ of the north, for we know neither the Bastarnæ nor the Sauromatæ;² nor, in a word, any of those tribes situate above the Euxine: we are ignorant as to what distance they lie from the Atlantic,³ or even whether they extend as far as that sea.

CHAPTER III.

1. As to the southern part of Germany beyond the Elbe, the country which adjoins the bank of that river is now occupied by the Suevi. Next lies the country of the Getæ, at first narrow, its southern side extends along the Danube, and the opposite side along the mountains of the Hercynian Forest, even including part of those mountains, it then becomes broader towards the north, and extends as far as the Tyregetæ; however, we are unable to declare its boundaries with accuracy; and it is on account of our ignorance of these places that those who relate fables of the Riphæan mountains and the Hyperboreans have received credit; as also that which Pytheas of Marseilles has forged concerning the countries bordering on the Northern Ocean, making use of his acquaintance with astronomy and mathematics to fabricate his false narration: let us therefore pass over them; as also what Sophocles, speaking of Orithya in one of his tragedies, says, that she, being snatched by the north wind, was carried

“Over the whole ocean, to the extremities of the earth,
Even to the place where night received its birth,
Where the opposite side of the heavens is beheld,
And where is situated the ancient garden of Phœbus.”

This is of no value to our present inquiry, but must be omitted, as Socrates has done in the *Phædrus* of Plato. We will relate only what we have learnt from ancient accounts, and the reports made in our times.

¹ The Bastarnæ and Tyregetæ, mentioned in chap. i. § 1, of this book, to whom, in book ii. chap. v. § 30, Strabo adds also the Sauromatæ

² The Sauromatæ, or Sarmatians, living to the east of the Sea of Azoff and along the banks of the Don.

³ The term Atlantic was applied with much more latitude by Strabo and Eratosthenes than by us.

2. The Greeks indeed considered the Getæ to be Thracians. They occupied either bank of the Danube, as also did the Mysians, likewise a Thracian people, now called the Mœsi, from whom are descended the Mysians, settled between the Lydians, the Phrygians, and the inhabitants of the Troad. Even the Phrygians themselves are the same as the Briges, a people of Thrace, as also are the Mygdones, the Bebryces, the Mædobithyni, the Bithyni, the Thyni, and, as I consider, also are the Mariandyni. All these people quitted Europe entirely, the Mysians alone remaining. Posidonius appears to me to have rightly conjectured that it is the Mysians of Europe (or as I should say of Thrace) that Homer designates when he says,

“ and his glorious eyes
Averting, on the land look'd down remote
Of the horse-breeding Thracians, of the bold
Close-fighting Mysian race”¹

For if any one should understand them as the Mysians of Asia, the expression of the poet would not be fitting. For this would be, that having turned his eyes from the Trojans towards the land of the Thracians, he beheld at the same time the land of the Mysians, situated not far off from where he was, but conterminous with the Troad, rather behind it and on either side, but separated from Thrace by the breadth of the Hellespont.² This would be to confound the continents, and at the same time to disregard the form of the poet's expression. For “to turn his eyes again,” is more especially to turn them behind him; but he who extends his vision from the Trojans to the people either behind them, or on either side of them, stretches his sight to a greater distance, but not in the least behind him. And this also is introduced as a proof of this very thing, that Homer classes with these the Hippe-molgi,³ the Galactophagi,⁴ and the Abii,⁵ who are the Scythian Hamaxœci⁶ and Sarmatians; for at this day, all these nations, as well as the Bastarnæ, are mixed with the Thracians, more especially with those beyond the Danube, and some even with

¹ But he himself turned back his shining eyes apart, looking towards the land of the equestrian Thracians and the close-fighting Mysians. *Iliad* xiii. 3.

² The Strait of the Dardanelles.

³ Milkers of mares.

⁴ People who live on milk.

⁵ Devoid of riches.

⁶ Dwelling in waggons.

the Thracians on this side the Danube; also amongst these are the Keltic tribes of the Boii, Scordisci, and Taurisci. Some, indeed, call the Scordisci the Scordistæ, and give to the Taurisci the names of Ligurisci¹ and Tauristæ.

3. Posidonius relates that the Mysians religiously abstain from eating any thing that had life, and consequently, from cattle; but that they lived in a quiet way on honey, milk, and cheese; wherefore they are considered a religious people, and called Capnobatæ.² He adds, that there are amongst the Thracians some who live without wives, and who are known by the name of Ctistæ. These are considered sacred and worthy of honour, and live in great freedom. [He pretends] that the poet comprehends the whole of these people when he says,

“and where abide,
On milk sustain'd, and blest with length of days,
The Hippemolgi, justest of mankind.”³

These he designates as “without life,” more particularly on account of their living without wives, considering their solitary state as but a half life; in the same way as he likewise designates the house of Protesilaus “imperfect,” on account of the bereavement of his widow; in the same manner he applies to the Mysians the epithet of “close-fighting,” on account of their being invincible, like good warriors. [Finally, Posidonius pretends] that in the thirteenth⁴ book of the Iliad we ought to substitute for “the close-fighting Mysians,” [“the close-fighting Mæsi.”]

4. Nevertheless it would perhaps be superfluous to change the text [of Homer], which has stood the test of so many years. For it appears more probable to suppose that the people were anciently called Mysians, but that their name is now altered. Further, any one would suppose that the Abii⁵ were no more so named from being unmarried than from their being houseless,⁶ or their dwelling in waggons.

¹ Perhaps Teurisci.

² A note in the French translation suggests that Capnobatæ has some connexion with the practice of intoxication by inhaling smoke, and of using the vapour of linseed, burned upon red-hot stones, as a bath. See Herodot. book i. chap. 202; book iv. chap. 75.

³ And the illustrious Hippemolgi, milk-nourished, simple in living and most just men. Iliad xiii. 5.

⁴ δέκατῳ, text: but there is no doubt it should be the thirteenth.

⁵ People without life.

⁶ The Greek is ἀνεστῖους, literally “without hearths.”

In fact, as injustice is ordinarily committed in matters relative to bonds for money and the acquisition of wealth; it would be natural that the people living so frugally on such small property should be called [by Homer] the justest of mankind: and the more so as the philosophers who place justice next to moderation, aim at independence of others and frugality as amongst the most desirable objects of attainment; from which however some, having passed the bounds of moderation, have wandered into a cynical mode of life.¹ But [the words of the poet] sanction no such assertion of the Thracians, and the Getæ in particular, that they live without wives. But see what Menander says of these people, not out of his own imagination, as it should seem, but deriving it from history.

“All the Thracians truly, and especially above all others we Getæ, (for I myself glory in being descended from this race,) are not very chaste.”

And a little after he gives examples of their rage for women.

“For there is no one among us who marries fewer than ten or eleven wives, and some have twelve, or even more.² If any one loses his life who has only married four or five wives, he is lamented by us as unfortunate, and one deprived of the pleasures of Hymen.”

Such a one would be accounted as unmarried amongst them. These things are likewise confirmed by the evidence of other historians. And it is not likely that the same people should regard as an unhappy life that which is passed without the enjoyment of many women, and at the same time regard as a dignified and holy life that which is passed in celibacy without any women. But that those living without wives should be considered holy, and termed *Capnobatæ*, is entirely opposed to our received opinions; for all agree in regarding women as the authors of devotion to the gods, and it is they

¹ Strabo does not intend by the word *κυνισμός*, which he here uses, the profession of a Cynic philosopher, which some of the Stoics affected in consequence of their not thoroughly understanding the dogmas of Zeno, the founder of their sect. It was to these ultra-Stoics that the name of Stoaces [*Στόακες*] was given by way of ridicule. Athenæus, book xiii. chap. 2, remarks that a like propensity to overdo the precept of the teacher led the disciples of Aristippus, who recommended rational pleasures, to become mere libertines.

² Heraclides of Pontus, page 215, gives them even as many as thirty wives.

who induce the men by their example to a more attentive worship of the gods, and to the observance of feast-days and supplications; for scarcely is there found a man living by himself who pays any regard to such matters. And again attend to the words of the same poet when he speaks in one of his characters, bringing in a man disgusted with the expenses¹ of the sacrifices of the women.

“The gods weary us indeed, but especially our married men, who are always obliged to celebrate some feast.”

And his Misogynes, complaining of the same things, exclaims, “We sacrificed five times a day, while seven female slaves ranged in a circle played on the cymbals, and others raised their suppliant cries.”

It would therefore seem absurd to suppose that only those among the Getæ who remained without wives were considered pious, but that the care of worshipping the Supreme Being is great among this nation is not to be doubted, after what Posidonius has related, “and they even abstain from animal food from religious motives,” as likewise on account of the testimony of other historians.

5. For it is said that one of the nation of the Getæ, named Zamolxis,² had served Pythagoras, and had acquired with this philosopher some astronomical knowledge, in addition to what he had learned from the Egyptians, amongst whom he had travelled. He returned to his own country, and was highly esteemed both by the chief rulers and the people, on account of his predictions of astronomical phenomena, and eventually persuaded the king to unite him in the government, as an organ of the will of the gods. At first he was chosen a priest of the divinity most revered by the Getæ, but afterwards was esteemed as a god, and having retired into a district of caverns, inaccessible and unfrequented by other

¹ Kramer reads *δαπάναις*, which we have rendered by “expenses,” but all manuscripts have *ἀπάταις*. The French translation gives a note with Koray’s conjecture of *δαπάναις*, which is supported by a very similar passage respecting Alcibiades, where Isocrates (P. I. page 354, ed. Coray) says, “He was so lavish in the sacrifices and other expenses for the feast.” Both the French and German translations adopt the emendation.

² *Ζάλμοξις* is the reading of the Paris manuscript, No. 1393, and we should have preferred it for the text, as more likely to be a Getæan name, but for the circumstance of his being generally written Zamolxis.

men, he there passed his life, rarely communicating with anybody except the king and his ministers. The king himself assisted him to play his part, seeing that his subjects obeyed him more readily than formerly, as promulgating his ordinances with the counsel of the gods. This custom even continues to our time; for there is always found some one of this character who assists the king in his counsels, and is styled a god by the Getæ. The mountain likewise [where Zamolxis retired] is held sacred, and is thus distinguished, being named Cogæonus,¹ as well as the river which flows by it; and at the time when Byrebistus, against whom divus Cæsar prepared an expedition, reigned over the Getæ, Decæneus held that honour: likewise the Pythagorean precept to abstain from animal food, which was originally introduced by Zamolxis, is still observed to a great extent.

6. Any one may well entertain such questions as these touching the localities mentioned by the poet [Homer], and with regard to the Mysians and the illustrious Hippemolgi: but what Apollodorus has advanced in his preface to the Catalogue of Ships in the Second Book [of the Iliad] is by no means to be adopted. For he praises the opinions of Eratosthenes, who says that Homer and the rest of the ancients were well versed in every thing that related to Greece, but were in a state of considerable ignorance as to places at a distance, in consequence of the impossibility of their making long journeys by land or voyages by sea. In support of this he asserts,² that Homer designated Aulis as 'rocky,' as indeed it is; Eteonus as 'mountainous and woody,' Thisbe as 'abounding in doves,' Haliartus as 'grassy;' but that neither Homer nor the others were familiar with localities far off; for although there are forty rivers which discharge themselves into the Black Sea,³ he makes no mention whatever even of the most considerable, as the Danube,⁴ the Don,⁵ the Dnieper,⁶ the Bog,⁷ the Phasz,⁸ the Tèrmeh,⁹ the Kisil-Irmak,¹⁰ nor does

¹ D'Anville imagines that this is the modern mountain Kaszon, and the little river of the same name on the confines of Transylvania and Moldavia.

² See Strabo's former remarks on this identical subject, book i. chap. ii. § 3, page 25.

³ εἰς τὸν Πόντον.

⁴ Ister.

⁵ Tanais.

⁶ Borysthenes.

⁷ Hypanis.

⁸ Phasis.

⁹ Thermodon.

¹⁰ Halys.

he even allude to the Scythians, but makes up fables about certain illustrious Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii. He had become acquainted with the Paphlagonians of the interior from the relations of such as had penetrated into those regions on foot, but he was perfectly unacquainted with the sea-coasts of the country; which indeed was likely enough, for that sea was in his time closed to navigation, and known by the name of Pontus Axenus [or the Inhospitable] on account of the severity of the storms to which it was subject, as well as of the savage disposition of the nations who inhabited its shores, but more especially of the Scythian hordes,¹ who made a practice of sacrificing strangers, devouring their flesh, and using their skulls for drinking-cups; although at a subsequent period, when the Ionians had established cities along its shores, it was called by the name of Pontus Euxinus [or the Hospitable]. He was likewise in ignorance as to the natural peculiarities of Egypt and Libya,² as the risings of the Nile, and the alluvial deposits, which he no where notices, nor yet the isthmus [of Suez] which separates the Red Sea from the Egyptian Sea;³ nor yet does he relate any particulars of Arabia, Ethiopia, or the Ocean, unless we should agree with the philosopher Zeno in altering the Homeric line as follows,

“I came to the Ethiopians, the Sidonians, and the Arabians.”⁴

Indeed we ought not to be surprised at meeting with this in Homer, for those who have lived at a more recent period than he did, have been ignorant of many things, and have told strange tales. Hesiod has talked of *Hemicynnes*,⁵ *Megaloccephali*, and *Pygmies*; Alcman of *Steganopodes*; Æschylus of *Cynocephali*, *Sternophthalmi*, and *Monommati*, (they say it is in his Prometheus,) and ten thousand other absurdities. From these he proceeds to censure the writers who talk of

¹ Gossellin observes, that these must have been the Scythians inhabiting the Taurica Chersonesus, now the Crimea. The people on the opposite or southern shore were less savage. The Ionians had made settlements amongst these as early as the sixth century B. C.

² Africa. ³ The Mediterranean.

⁴ Od. book iv. line 83. See Strabo's remarks on this reading of Zeno, book i. chap. ii. § 34, page 66.

⁵ See the notes on these various monsters, book i. chap. ii. § 35, p. 68.

the Riphæan Mountains¹ and Mount Ogyium,² and the dwelling of the Gorgons³ and the Hesperides,⁴ the land of Merope⁵ mentioned by Theopompus, Cimmeris,⁶ a city mentioned in Hecataeus, the land of Panchæa⁷ mentioned by Euhemerus, and the river-stones formed of sand mentioned by Aristotle,⁸ which were dissolved by rain-showers. Further, that there exists in Africa a city of Bacchus which no one can find twice. He likewise reproves those who assert that the wanderings of Ulysses mentioned in Homer were in the neighbourhood of Sicily, for again, if we should say that the wanderings did take place in those parts, we should have to confess that the poet transferred them to the ocean for the sake of making his account the more romantic. Some allowance might be made for others, but no manner of excuse can be put forward for Callimachus, who pretends to the character of a critic, and yet supposes that Gaudus was the island of Calypso, and identifies Scheria with Corcyra.⁹ Other writers he blames for misstatements as to Gerena,¹⁰ Acacesium,¹¹ and

¹ The Riphæan Mountains were probably the chain of the Ural Mountains, which separate Russia from Siberia.

² This mountain is unknown.

³ The Gorgons were Stheino, Euryalé, and Medusa, the daughters of Phorcys and Ceto. See also book i. chap. ii. § 8, page 29.

⁴ The Hesperides were the daughters of Night. They dwelt on an island on the western edge of the world. See also Apollodorus, book ii. chap. v. § 11.

⁵ Ælian, Var. Histor. book iii. chap. 18, says that Theopompus related an interview between Midas, king of Phrygia, and Silenus, in which Silenus reported the existence of an immense continent, larger than Asia, Europe, and Africa taken together, and that amongst others a race of men called Meropes occupied several extensive cities there.

⁶ Ephorus speaks of the Cimmerii who dwelt round the Lake Avernus. See Strabo, book v. chap. iv. § 5, page 263.

⁷ See Strabo, book ii. chap. iv. § 2, page 158.

⁸ A note in the French translation says that this place has not been identified in the works of Aristotle now remaining, and suggests that there may be some error in the text.

⁹ See what Strabo has said on this subject in book i. chap. ii. § 37, pp. 70, 71.

¹⁰ Strabo will speak further on the subject of Gerena in book viii. chap. iii. § 7, and § 29.

¹¹ Reference is here made to the epithet *ἀκάκητα*, which Homer applies to Mercury, Iliad xvi. 185. The grammarians explain it correctly as "free from evil," or "who neither does nor suffers wrong." However, there were some who interpreted it differently. They maintain that Mercury was so called from a cavern in Arcadia, called Acacesium. (see

the Demus¹ in Ithaca, Pelethronium² in Pelium, and the Glaucopium at Athens.³ With these and a few similar trifling observations, most of which he has drawn from Eratosthenes, whose inaccuracy we have before shown, he breaks off. However, we frankly acknowledge, both with respect to him [Apollodorus] and Eratosthenes, that the moderns are better informed on geography than the ancients: but to strain the subject beyond measure, as they do, especially when they inculcate Homer, seems to me as if it gave a fair occasion to any one to find fault, and to say by way of recrimination, that they reproach the poet for the very things of which they themselves are ignorant. As for the rest of their observations, particular mention is made of some of them in the places where they occur, and of others in the General Introduction.

7. It has been our wish, while discoursing of the Thracians, and

“ the bold
Close-fighting Mysian race, and where abide,
On milk sustain'd, and *blest with length of days*,
The Hippemolgi, justest of mankind,”⁴

Schol. in Homer, edit. Villosis. pag. 382,) which was situated near Cylene, a mountain of Arcadia, where he was born. See Apollodor. Biblioth. lib. iii. cap. x. § 2. Hesiod, however, applies the same epithet to Prometheus, (Theogon. verse 613,) who, according to the scholiast, was thus designated from Acacesium, a mountain, not a cavern, of Arcadia, where he was greatly revered.

¹ Homer, Iliad iii. verse 201, in speaking of Ulysses, says, “Ὁς τράφη ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης. Some writers affirmed that the Δῆμος was the name of a place in Ithaca, while others think it a word, and understand the passage “who was bred in the country of Ithaca.” On comparing this passage with others, Iliad xvi. vss. 437, 514, and with a parallel expression of Hesiod, Theogon. verse 971, one is greatly astonished at the ignorance and eccentricity of those who sought to make a place Demus out of this passage of Homer.

² According to some, Pelethronium was a city of Thessaly; according to others, it was a mountain there, or even a part of Mount Pelion.

³ There is no mention of any Glaucopium throughout the writings of Homer. Eustathius, on the Odyssey, book ii. page 1451, remarks that it was from the epithet γλαυκῶπις, blue-eyed or fierce-eyed, which he so often gives to Minerva, that the citadel at Athens was called the Glaucopium, while Stephen of Byzantium, on Ἀλακομένιον, asserts that both the epithet γλαυκῶπις and the name of the citadel Glaucopium comes from Glaucopus, the son of Alalcomeneus.

⁴ And the close-fighting Mysians, and the illustrious Hippemolgi, milk-

to compare what we have advanced with the remarks of Posidonius and the other critics. Now, in the first place, they have universally proved the very contrary of the allegations which they had undertaken to maintain; for where they undertook to show that amongst the ancients there was a greater amount of ignorance as to places far from Greece than there was among the moderns, they have proved the very contrary, and that not only with regard to the countries more remote, but even with respect to Greece itself; but, as I have said before, let the other matters remain in abeyance while we consider carefully the subject now before us. Thus they say that it was through ignorance Homer and the ancients omitted to speak of the Scythians, and their cruelty to strangers, whom they sacrificed, devoured their flesh, and afterwards made use of their skulls as drinking-cups, for which barbarities the sea was termed the Axine,¹ or inhospitable; but in place of these they imagined fables as to illustrious Hippemolgi, Galactophagi, and Abii, the most just of mankind, who never existed any where in this world. But how came it that they named the sea the Axenus, if they were so ignorant of the barbarism of that region, or of those savages who were the most barbarous on earth? But these undoubtedly are the Scythians! Or in the early times were not those who dwelt beyond the Mysians, and Thracians, and Getæ, Hippemolgi, (or milkers of mares,) Galactophagi, and Abii? Nay rather, they exist at this very day, being called Hamaxœci and Nomades, living on the herd, milk and cheese, and especially on cheese made of mare's milk, and being ignorant how to lay up treasure or deal in merchandise, except the simple barter of one commodity for another. How then can it be said that the poet [Homer] knew nothing of the Scythians, since he doubtless designates some of them by the names of Hippemolgi and Galactophagi? And that the men of that

nourished, *simple in living*, and most just of men. Iliad xiii. 5. The word which Cowper renders "blest with length of days," and Buckley "simple in living," is *ἀβιοί*. Its signification is very uncertain. Some propose to derive it from *α*, privative, and *βίος*, a bow, or bowless; while others regard it as a proper name, Abii. In Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead, xv. 3, it means, without a living, poor, as derived from *α*, privative, and *βίος*, a means of living, livelihood. Cowper's meaning is made up from *α*, intensive, and *βίος*, life.

¹ Pontus Axenus.

time called these people Hippemolgi even Hesiod is a witness in the words which Eratosthenes has quoted :

“ He went and saw the Ethiopians, the Ligurians,¹ and the Scythians, milkers of mares.”

And when we consider the amount of fraud connected with trading speculations even amongst ourselves, what ground have we to wonder that Homer should have designated as the justest and most noble those who had but few commercial and monetary transactions, and with the exception of their swords and drinking-cups, possessed all things in common, and especially their wives and children, who were cared for by the whole community according to the system of Plato. *Æschylus* too seems to plead the poet's cause, when he says,

“ But the Scythians, governed by good laws, and feeding on cheese of mares' milk.”

And this is still the opinion entertained of them by the Greeks; for we esteem them the most sincere, the least deceitful of any people, and much more frugal and self-relying than ourselves. And yet the manner of life customary among us has spread almost every where, and brought about a change for the worse, effeminacy, luxury, and over-great refinement, inducing extortion in ten thousand different ways; and doubtless much of this corruption has penetrated even into the countries of the nomades, as well as those of the other barbarians; for having once learnt how to navigate the sea, they have become depraved, committing piracy and murdering strangers; and holding intercourse with many different nations, they have imitated both their extravagance and their dishonest traffic, which may indeed appear to promote civility of manners, but do doubtless corrupt the morals and lead to dissimulation, in place of the genuine sincerity we have before noticed.

8. Those however who lived before our time, and more especially those who lived near to the times of Homer, were such as he describes them, and so they were esteemed to be by the Greeks. Take for instance what Herodotus relates concerning the king² of the Scythians, against whom Darius waged war, and especially the answer he sent [to the messen-

¹ This word is corrupt in the MSS.

² He was called Idanthysus. See Herodotus, book iv. chap. 127.

ger of Darius]. Take again what Chrysippus relates of the kings of the Bosphorus, [Satyrus¹ and] Leuco. The letters of the Persians are full of the sincerity I have described; so likewise are the memorials of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Indians. It was on this account that both Anacharsis and Abaris, and certain others of the same class, gained so great a reputation among the Greeks; for we may well believe they displayed their national characteristics of affability of manner, simplicity, and love of justice. But what occasion is there for me to speak of such as belonged to the times of old? for Alexander [the Great], the son of Philip, in his campaign against the Thracians beyond Mount Hæmus,² is said to have penetrated as far as this in an incursion into the country of the Triballi, and observed that they occupied the territory as far as the Danube and the island Peuce,³ which is in it, and that the Getæ possessed the country beyond that river; however, he was unable to pass into the island for want of a sufficient number of ships, and because Syrmus, the king of the Triballi, who had taken refuge in that place, resisted the undertaking: but Alexander crossed over into the country of the Getæ and took their city, after which he returned home in haste, carrying with him presents from those nations, and also from Syrmus. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, relates that in this campaign the Kelts who dwell on the Adriatic⁴ came to Alexander for the purpose of making a treaty of friendship and mutual hospitality, and that the king received them in a friendly way, and asked them, while drinking, what might be the chief object of their dread, supposing that they would say it was he; but that they replied, it was no man, only they felt some alarm lest the heavens should on some occasion or other

¹ Satyrus is supplied by Koray. See also chapter iv. of this book, § 4, and book xi. chap. ii. § 7. Groskurd refers also to Diodorus, book xiv. 93, and says that Leuco was the son of Satyrus.

² The mountains in the north of Thrace still bear the name of Emineh-Dag, or Mount Emineh, at their eastern point; but the western portion is called the Balkan.

³ Piczina, at the embouchure of the Danube, between Babadag and Ismail.

⁴ A note in the French translation says, these were the Carni and the Iapodes, who having followed Sigovesus, in the reign of the elder Tarquin, had taken up their abode in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic; and refers to the *Examen Critique des Anciens Historiens d' Alexandre*, by M. de Sainte Croix, page 855.

fall on them, but that they valued the friendship of such a man as him above every thing. These examples sufficiently manifest the open sincerity of the barbarians, both of the one who would not suffer Alexander to land on the island, but nevertheless sent presents and concluded a treaty of friendship with him, and also of those who asserted that they feared no man, but that they valued the friendship of great men above every price.

In like manner Dromichætes, who was king of the Getæ in the times of the successors of Alexander, having taken captive Lysimachus, who had come to wage war against him, showed him his poverty and that of his people, and likewise their great frugality, bade him not to make war on such, but rather seek them as friends; after which he received him as a guest, made a treaty of friendship, and suffered him to depart.¹ [*And Plato, in his Republic,² considers that the neighbourhood of the sea ought to be shunned as being productive of vice, and that those who would enjoy a well-governed city, should plant it very far from the sea, and not near it.*]

9. Ephorus, in the fourth book of his History, which is entitled "Of Europe," having gone over Europe as far as the Scythians, concludes by saying that there is great difference in the manner of life both of the Sauromatæ and the other Scythians, for while some of them are exceedingly morose, and are indeed cannibals, others abstain even from the flesh of animals. Other historians, he observes, descant upon their ferocity, knowing that the terrible and the wonderful always excite attention; but they ought also to relate the better features of these people, and point to them as a pattern; for his part, he declares he will speak of those who excel in the justness of their actions, as there are some of the nomade Scythians who subsist on mares' milk, and excel all

¹ Diodorus Siculus, in Excerpt. Peiresc. pag. 257; Memnon apud Photium, cod. 214, cap. 6; and Plutarch, in Demetrio, § 39 and 52, confirm what Strabo says here of the manner in which Dromichætes treated Lysimachus.

² This is not in Plato's Republic, but in his fourth book of Laws.

** This passage, if it is the writing of Strabo, and not the marginal note of some learned reader, should doubtless be transferred back to the end of § 7 of this chapter.

men in their justice, these are mentioned by the poets: as Homer, where he says that Jupiter beheld the land

“Of the Galactophagi and Abii, justest of mankind;”¹

and Hesiod, in his poem entitled “Travels round the World,” who says that Phineus was taken by the Harpies

“To the land of the Galactophagi, who have their dwellings in waggons.”

Ephorus then proceeds to state the causes of their justice, because they are frugal in their mode of life, not hoarders of wealth, and just towards each other; they possess everything in common, both their women, their children, and the whole of their kin; thus when they come into collision with other nations, they are irresistible and unconquered, having no cause for which they need endure slavery. He then cites Choerilus, who in his “Passage of the Bridge of Boats,” which Darius² had made, says,

“And the sheep-feeding Sacæ, a people of Scythian race, but they inhabited Wheat-producing Asia: truly they were a colony of the nomades, A righteous race.”

And again Ephorus declares of Anacharsis, whom he designates as “The Wise,” that he was sprung from that race; and that he was reckoned as one of the Seven Sages, on account of his pre-eminent moderation and knowledge. He asserts too that he was the inventor of the bellows, the double-fluked anchor, and the potter’s wheel.³ I merely state this, although I know very well that Ephorus is not at all times to be relied on, especially when speaking of Anacharsis; (for how can the wheel be his invention, with which Homer, who is anterior to him, was acquainted; [who says],

“as when, before his wheel
Seated, the potter twirls it with both hands,” &c.;⁴)

¹ Iliad xiii. 5. See note ⁴ to page 460.

² Kramer quotes Nækius in proof that we should here read Xerxes instead of Darius; and Groskurd refers to another passage in Strabo, book xiii chap. i. § 22.

³ Casaubon observes that Diodorus Siculus attributes the invention of the potter’s wheel to Talus, a nephew of Dædalus, and that Theophrastus awards it to one Hyberbius of Corinth.

⁴ Iliad xviii. 600. Posidonius chose to regard this passage as an interpolation, and would not give the praise of the invention to any other than Anacharsis.

for I wish to show by these references, that there was a general impression among both the ancients and moderns with regard to the nomades, that some were very far removed from the rest of mankind, that they subsisted on milk, and were very frugal,¹ and the most just of men, and that all this was not the mere invention of Homer.

10. It is but just too that Apollodorus should give some explanation respecting the Mysians mentioned in the Epic poems of Homer, whether he takes them to be but people of his feigning, when the poet says,

“Of the close-fighting Mysians and the illustrious Hippemolgi,”²

or would he regard them as the Mysians of Asia? Now if he should declare that he considers them to be those of Asia, he will misinterpret the poet, as has been before observed; but if he should say they were but an invention, as there were no Mysians in Thrace, he will be guilty of a palpable misstatement, for even in our own times Ælius Catus has removed from the opposite side of the Danube into Thrace fifty thousand Getæ, who speak a language cognate with the Thracian. They still inhabit the very spot, and pass by the name of Mœsi. Whether those of former times were so designated, and had their name slightly varied in Asia, or, as is more suitable to history and the poet's expression, those in Thrace were at the first called Mysians,³ is not certain. But enough of this; we must now return to our geography.

11. Let us pass over the early history of the Getæ, and occupy ourselves with their actual condition. Bœrebistas, one of the Getæ, having taken the command of his tribe, re-animated the men who were disheartened by frequent wars, and raised them to such a degree of training, sobriety, and a habit of obedience to orders, that he established a powerful dominion within a few years, and brought most of the neighbouring states into subjection to the Getæ. He at length became formidable even to the Romans, fearlessly crossing the Danube, and laying waste Thrace as far as Macedonia and Illyria; he also subdued the Kelts who live among the Thracians and Illyrians, and thoroughly annihilated the Boii who were subject to Critasirus and the Taurisci. In order to

¹ ἀβίους.

² Iliad xiii. 5.

³ See chap. iii. § 3, 4, of this book.

maintain the obedience of his subjects, he availed himself of the assistance of Decæneus a sorcerer,¹ who had travelled in Egypt, and who, by predictions he had learnt to draw from certain natural signs, was enabled to assume the character of an oracle, and was almost held in the veneration of a god, as we have related when noticing Zamolxis.² As an instance of their implicit obedience, we may relate that they were persuaded to root up their vines and live without wine. However, Bœrebistas was murdered in a sedition before the Romans sent an army against him. Those who succeeded to his government divided it into several states. Lately, when Augustus Cæsar sent an army against them, they were divided into five states, at another time they were four, for such divisions are but temporary in duration, and variable in their extent.

12. There was, from ancient times, another division of these people which still exists; thus, some they call Dacians and others Getæ: the Getæ extend towards the Euxine and the east, but the Dacians are situated on the opposite side towards Germany and the sources of the Danube,³ whom I consider to have been called Daci from a very early period. Whence also amongst the Attics the names of Getæ and Davi were customary for slaves. This at least is more probable than to consider them as taken from the Scythians who are named Daæ,⁴ for they live far beyond Hyrcania,⁵ and it is not likely that slaves would be brought all that way into Attica. It was usual with them to call their slaves after the name of the nation from whence they were brought, as Lydus and Syrus,⁶ or else by a name much in use in their own country, as, for a Phrygian, Manes or Midas; for a Paphlagonian, Tibius. The nation which was raised to so much power by Bœrebistas has since been completely reduced by

¹ *ἄνδρα γόητα*, one who used a kind of howling incantation while repeating spells.

² See book vii. chap. iii. § 5, page 456.

³ Gossellin observes that the Dacians did not extend to the sources of the Danube, but to Bohemia, near the middle of the course of the Danube.

⁴ Gossellin seems to think that these Daæ are identical with the inhabitants of Daghistan. Davus is not found as the name of a slave amongst the Greeks till after the conquests of Alexander the Great.

⁵ Hyrcania comprehended the Corcan and Daghistan.

⁶ From Lydia and Syria.

civil dissensions and contests with the Romans; however, they are still able to set out 40,000 men armed for the wars.

13. The river Maros¹ flows through their country into the Danube,² on which the Romans transported their military stores; for thus they termed the upper part of that river from its sources to the cataracts, which flows chiefly through the country of the Dacians, but the part below that point which flows through the country of the Getæ as far as the Black Sea, they call the Ister.³ The Dacians speak the same language as the Getæ. The Getæ are best known among the Greeks on account of the frequent wandering expeditions they make on both sides of the Danube, and their being mixed among the Thræcians and Mysians. The like is the case with regard to the nation of the Triballi, a Thracian people; for they have received many refugees on occasions when their more powerful neighbours have driven out the weaker, for from time to time the Scythians of the opposite side of the river, and the Bastarnæ, and the Sarmatians,⁴ become victorious, and those who are driven out cross over and some of them take up their residence either in the islands of the river or in Thrace, while on the other side the inhabitants are distressed by the Illyrians. At one time when the Getæ and the Dacians had increased to the greatest numbers, they were able to set on foot an army of two hundred thousand men, but now they are reduced to about forty thousand men, and are even likely to become subject to the Romans; still they are not yet quite under their sway on account of their trust in the Germans, who are enemies to the Romans.

14. Between [the Getæ and] the Black Sea, from the Danube to the Dniester,⁵ lies the desert of the Getæ.⁶ It is entirely a plain and destitute of water. It was there that Darius the son of Hystaspes, at the time he crossed the Danube, was in danger of being cut off with his whole army

¹ Μάρισος ποταμός.

² ὁ Δανούσιος.

³ ὁ Ἴστρος. Stephen of Byzantium says that the Ister was called Δάνουβις, and that in very ancient times it was called Matoas. According to Ptolemy the lower part of the Danube was called Ister from Axiopolis, now Rassovat; according to Agathemerus, from Vienna.

⁴ Σαυρομάται.

⁵ The ancient Tyras.

⁶ Bessarabia and the southern part of Moldavia.

for want of water; this he found out before it was too late, and returned. At a subsequent period, when Lysimachus was waging war against the Getæ and their king Dromichætes, he not only incurred the risk,¹ but he fell into the hands of the enemy; but his life was spared by the courtesy of the barbarian, as I have before related.

15. Near the mouths of the Danube is the large island called Peuce.² This the Bastarnæ possessed, and were hence called Peucini. There are also other islands much smaller, some above this, and others nearer the sea. The Danube has seven mouths, the largest is called the Sacred Mouth,³ the passage by which to Peuce is 120 stadia.⁴ At the lower part of this island Darius made his bridge. It might likewise have been constructed at the upper part. This is the first mouth on the left-hand side as you sail into the Black Sea; the rest are passed while sailing along towards the Dniester; the seventh mouth is distant from this first mouth about 300 stadia. These mouths form several islands. The first three mouths next after the Sacred Mouth are but small, the remainder are much less than it, but greater than any of the three. Ephorus states that the Danube has five mouths. From hence to the Dniester,⁵ which is a navigable river, there are 900 stadia.⁶ In the district intervening there are two great lakes; one is open to the sea, and is used as a harbour,⁷ the other has no outlet.

16. At the mouth of the Dniester there is a tower called the Tower of Neoptolemus, and a village called Hermōnax.⁸ As you sail up the river 140 stadia, there are cities on both sides; the one is Niconia,⁹ and that on the left Ophiussa.¹⁰ Those who dwell on the spot say that the city is but 120

¹ Peter the Great, at the beginning of the last century, incurred the risk of falling into the hands of the Turks almost on the same spot where Darius and Lysimachus had been in distress.

² Now Piczina.

³ Ammianus Marcellinus, book xxii. chap. 8, gives the names of these mouths. He calls the Sacred Mouth by the name of the island Peuce.

⁴ There has been much geographical change in this locality since Strabo wrote.

⁵ The Tyras.

⁶ Gossellin supports this distance.

⁷ The Lake Ovidovo.

⁸ Now Akkerman.

⁹ Gossellin could not identify Niconia with any modern town. Groskurd marks it as destroyed.

¹⁰ Groskurd identifies this with Palanka.

stadia up the river. The island of Leuce¹ is distant from the river's mouth a course of 500 stadia; it is quite in the sea, and is sacred to Achilles.

17. Next is the Dnieper,² a river navigable to the distance of 600³ stadia, and near to it another river, the Bog,⁴ and an island⁵ lying before the mouth of the Dnieper, which possesses a haven. After sailing up the Borysthenes⁶ 200 stadia, you come to the city of like name with the river, which is likewise called Olbia;⁷ it is a great emporium and a foundation of the Milesians. Of the region lying inland from the coast we have described between the Dnieper and the Danube, the first portion is the Desert of the Getæ, then comes the Tyregetæ, after them the Jazyges Sarmatæ, and the Basiliï, who are also called Urgi.⁸ Most of these people are nomades. However, a few of them pay attention to agriculture. These are said to inhabit the banks of the Danube, frequently even on both sides of the river. In the inland the Bastarnæ dwell, and confine with the Tyregetæ and the Germans; indeed, they may almost be said to be of the German stock. They are divided into many tribes, as some are called Atmoni, some Sidones, those who inhabit the island Peuce⁹ in the Danube, Peucini, and the most northern, Roxolani.¹⁰ These latter depasture the plains lying between the Don¹¹ and the Dnieper.

¹ Groskurd calls this Ilan-Adassi, or Schlangeninsel. Gossellin likewise translates Ilan-Adassi as "Isle of Serpents."

² The ancient Borysthenes.

³ Gossellin considers that Strabo wrote 1600 stadia, for at that distance from the sea there are cataracts which stop the ships that come from the sea.

⁴ Strabo's word is "Υπανις. Gossellin observes that we should look for the "Υπανις to the east of the Dnieper, while the Bog lies to the west of that river.

⁵ Gossellin identifies this island with the modern Berezan.

⁶ Now the Dnieper.

⁷ Olbia, or Olbiopolis, would, according to this measure, be about the junction of the Bog and Dnieper.

⁸ Mannert has attempted to read Γεωργοί, because Herodotus, book iv. chap. 18, has so termed those Scythians who cultivated their fields. Is it not possible that the Latin Regii was the word Strabo had in his mind?

⁹ Piczina.

¹⁰ Some MSS. read this name 'Ρωξανοί, others 'Ροξανοι, and others 'Ρωξοανοί, but whether there is any distinction to be drawn between these and the 'Ρωξαλανοί of book ii. chap. v. § 7, is not to be ascertained.

¹¹ The Tanais.

Indeed the whole of the northern regions with which we are acquainted, from Germany to the Caspian, is an extended plain. Whether any dwell still farther than the Roxolani is unknown to us. However, the Roxolani fought against the generals of Mithridates Eupator. Their leader was Tasius. They came as allies of Palacus, the son of Scilurus, and were considered good soldiers, but against the serried and well-armed phalanx every barbarous and light-armed tribe is ineffective. Thus they, although numbering fifty thousand men, could not withstand the six thousand arrayed by Diophantus, the general of Mithridates, but were almost all cut to pieces. They make use of helmets and breastplates made of untanned ox-hide. They bear wicker shields; and as weapons, lances, the bow, and the sword, such as most of the other barbarians do. The woollen tents of the nomades are fixed upon their chariots, in which they pass their lives. Their herds are scattered round their tents, and they live on the milk, the cheese, and the meat which they supply. They shift their quarters ever in search of pasture, changing the places they have exhausted for others full of grass. In the winter they encamp in the marshes near the Palus Mæotis,¹ and in the summer on the plains.

18. The whole of this country, which reaches to the sea-coast extending from the Dnieper² to the Palus Mæotis, is subject to severe winters; so also are the most northern of the districts bordering on the sea, as the mouth of the Palus Mæotis, and farther that of the Dnieper and the head of the Gulf of Tamyraca, or Carcinites,³ which washes the isthmus⁴ of the Magna Chersonesus. The intense cold of the districts inhabited, notwithstanding their being plains, is manifest, for they rear no asses, as that animal is too susceptible of cold; some of their oxen are without horns by nature, of the others they file off the horns, as a part most susceptible of injury from cold. Their horses are diminutive and their sheep large. Their brazen vessels are split with the frosts, and their contents frozen into a solid mass. However, the rigour of the frosts may be best illustrated by the phænomena which are

¹ The Sea of Zabache.

² The Borysthenes.

³ The Gulf of Perekop, called also Olou-Degniz. *Gossellin*.

⁴ The Isthmus of Perekop, which connects the Peninsula of Crimea, the ancient Taurica Chersonesus

common in the neighbourhood of the embouchure of the Palus Mæotis;¹ for the passage from Panticapæum,² across to Phanagoria,³ is at times performed in waggons, thus being both a sea passage⁴ and an overland route [as the season may determine]. There are also fish which are taken in the ice by means of a round net called a gangama, and especially a kind of sturgeon called antacæus,⁵ nearly the size of a dolphin. It is related that Neoptolemus, the general of Mithridates,⁶ defeated the barbarians during summer-time in a naval engagement in this very strait, and during the winter in a cavalry action. They say that about the Bosphorus the vine is hidden away in the earth in winter, great mounds of mould being piled over it [to preserve it from the frost]. They also report that the heats are excessive, [this may be accounted for in several ways,] perhaps men's bodies not being accustomed to them, feel them the more; perhaps the plains are at that time unrefreshed by winds; or perhaps the thickness of the air is heated to a great degree, similar to the way in which the misty air is affected in times when a parhelion is observed.

It appears that Ateas,⁷ who carried on war against Philip,⁸ the son of Amyntas, had the rule over most of the barbarians of these parts.

19. After the island⁹ situated opposite the mouth of the Dnieper, in sailing towards the east, we arrive at the cape of the Course of Achilles.¹⁰ The district is quite bare, notwithstanding that it is termed a wood. It is sacred to Achilles. Then we arrive at the Course of Achilles, a low peninsula; for it is a certain tongue of land about a thousand stadia in length, running out towards the east, and its width is but two

¹ The Strait of Zabache, or Iéni-Kalé.

² Panticapæum, now Kertsch or Wospor in Europe.

³ Phanagoria was on the Asiatic coast of the Bosphorus.

⁴ We entirely agree with Kramer in favouring Coray's emendation of *πλοῦν* for *πηλόν*, the reading of MSS.

⁵ Herodotus, book iv. chap. 53, says this fishing was carried on in the Dnieper. Ælian, de Natur. Animal. book xiv. chap. 26, refers it to the Danube.

⁶ Strabo has before alluded to this fact, book ii. chap. i. § 16, p. 114.

⁷ Lucian, in Macrob. § 10, spells his name Anteias, and relates that he was killed in this war when upwards of 90 years of age.

⁸ Father of Alexander the Great.

⁹ The Island of Berezan.

¹⁰ M. Gosselin identifies this as Cape Czile.

stadia¹ in the broadest part, and but four plethra² in the narrowest. It is distant from the main-land, which runs out on both sides of the neck, about 60 stadia. It is sandy, but water is obtainable by digging. About the midst of the Course of Achilles³ is the neck of the isthmus [joining it to the main-land]. It is about 40 stadia in breadth, and terminates in a headland which they call Tamyraca.⁴ This possesses an anchorage opposite the main-land. Next comes the Gulf Carcinites, which is of considerable extent, reaching towards the north⁵ about 1000 stadia. Some affirm that it is three times that distance to the head of the gulf are called Taphrii. They likewise call the Gulf Carcinites the Gulf Tamyraca, the same as the headland.

CHAPTER IV.

I. At the bottom of the bay (Carcinites) commences the isthmus⁶ which separates the lake called Sapra, [or the Putrid Lake,] from the sea; it is 40 stadia in width, and forms the

¹ 190 toises.

² 63½ toises.

³ The Dromos Achillis is pretty well laid down in D'Anville's *Orbis Romani Pars Orientalis*, 1764, but at present it presents a very different appearance.

⁴ There is a note by Gosselin in the French translation to the following effect. The western part of this strip of land is known as the Island of Tendra, because it is separated by a cut. The eastern part of the strip is called Djarilgatch. The entire length of the tongue of land is 800 Olympic stadia, the two extremities are a little farther from the main-land than Strabo says, and the isthmus is about 50 Olympic stadia broad. D'Anville has run this isthmus through the tongue of land, and jutting out into the sea, so as to form a cape, which he also calls Tendra, and which would answer to the Tamyraca of Strabo. In the most recent maps there is no trace of this cape, but we see the port of which Strabo speaks. As these tongues of land are composed of a shifting sand, they may experience alterations of form and variations of extent.

⁵ Gosselin observes that the direction of the Gulf Carcinites, or Gulf of Perecop, is from west to east, with a slight inclination towards the north, on arriving from the south. Its northern shore commences at the isthmus of the Course of Achilles, and would measure about 1000 Olympic stadia if we were to follow all the sinuosities.

⁶ Perekop. The isthmus is about 5½ miles across, according to M. Huot's map, which accompanies Prince Demidoff's Travels in Russia.

Tauric or Scythian Chersonese.¹ This, according to some, is 360 stadia across. The Putrid Lake² is said to extend 4000 stadia (in circumference), and forms part of the [Palus] Mæotis on its western side, with which it communicates by a large opening. It abounds in marshy tracts, and is scarcely navigable with "sewn"³ boats. The shallower parts are soon uncovered, and again covered with water, by the force of the wind; but the marsh will not bear boats of a deeper draught. In the bay are three small islands; and in sailing along the coast, some shallows are met with, and rocks which rise above water.

2. On the left in sailing out of the bay [Carcinites] there is a small town and another harbour⁴ belonging to the people of the Chersonese; for in coasting along the bay, there projects towards the south a large promontory, which is a part of the great Chersonese. Upon it stands a city of the Heraclæotæ, who are a colony from Heraclea⁵ in the Euxine; it bears the same name, Chersonesus, as the territory. It is distant from the Dniester,⁶ in following the coast, 4400 stadia. In this city is a temple of the Virgin, some goddess,⁷ after whom the promontory, which is in front of the city, at the distance of 100 stadia, is called Parthenium. It has a shrine of the goddess and a statue. Between the city⁸ and the promontory are three harbours; next is the Old city Chersonesus in ruins; then follows a harbour with a narrow entrance. It was called Symbolon Limen, or Signal Harbour; and here principally was carried on a system of piracy against those who took

¹ The Crimea.

² The Sivash, or Putrid Lake. It communicates at the present day, not by a large opening, but by the narrow strait of Yenitche, or Tonka, with the Sea of Azof, (the Palus Mæotis,) from which it is separated by the Tonka, or Tongue of Arabat.

³ ῥαπτοῖς πλοίοις. Boats probably composed of frame-work covered with hides.

⁴ Casaubon suggests, and Gossellin adopts, the reading *καλὸς λιμὴν*, Fair Haven, for *ἄλλος λιμὴν*, another harbour. Whatever harbour was meant, its situation is uncertain.

⁵ Terekias.

⁶ The ancient Tyras.

⁷ In speaking of the Virgin as "some goddess," it may be doubted whether Diana is here meant, or some Scythian or Eastern divinity. Parthenium, a village, is mentioned, c. 4, 5. The scene of the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides is laid some where on these shores.

⁸ The New Chersonesus, Cape Cherson, and the three small harbours ear Khut.

refuge in the ports. This, together with another harbour, called Ctenus,¹ forms an isthmus of 40 stadia in extent. This isthmus locks in the Smaller Chersonesus, which we said was a part of the Great Chersonesus, having on it a city of the same name.

3. It was formerly governed by its own laws, but after it was ravaged by barbarous nations, the inhabitants were obliged to elect as their protector, Mithridates Eupator, who was anxious to direct his forces against the barbarians who lived above the isthmus, and occupied the country as far as the Dnieper and the Adriatic, and thus to prepare himself against war with the Romans. Mithridates, with these views, readily despatched an expedition into the Chersonesus, and carried on war at the same time against the Scythians, Scilurus, and the sons of Scilurus, namely, Palacus and his brothers, whom Posidonius reckons to have been fifty, and Apollonides eighty, in number. By the subjugation of these enemies he became at once master of the Bosphorus, which Pairisades, who held the command of it, voluntarily surrendered. From that time to the present the city of the Chersonitæ has been subject to the princes of the Bosphorus.

Ctenus is equally distant from the city of the Chersonitæ, and from Symbolon Limen. From Symbolon Limen the Tauric coast extends 1000 stadia to the city Theodosia.² The coast is rugged and mountainous, and during the prevalence of the north winds, tempestuous. From this coast a promontory projects far into the sea, and stretches out southwards towards Paphlagonia, and the city Amastris. It is called Criu-metopon, or Ram's Head. Opposite to it is Ca-

¹ The Heracleotic Chersonese was comprehended in the triangle formed by Ctenus, (Inkerman,) Parthenium, (Cape Cherson,) and Symbolon Limen (Baluklava). The Gulf of Ctenus is now the Gulf of Sebastopol, a name substituted for that of Akhtiar in the time of Catherine II. of Russia. On the first small bay to the west of the town of Sebastopol, was situated the New city Chersonesus, flourishing in the time of Strabo; the Old Chersonesus, described as in ruins, was situated on the small peninsula, the extreme western point of which is Cape Cherson. Both here and in various parts of the Crimea were very interesting remains of antiquity, but Dr. Clarke complains of their wanton destruction. Ctenus is probably derived from κτενώδης, "like a comb," descriptive of the indented nature of the gulf. Both Gossellin and D'Anville have mistaken the true position of the Heracleotic Chersonese.

² So named after the wife or sister of Leucon. C. Now Kaffa.

rambis,¹ the promontory of the Paphlagonians. Criu-metopon and Carambis together form a strait compressed between them, and divide the Euxine into two parts. Carambis is distant from the city of the Chersonesus 2500 stadia, and from Criu-metopon much less; for many persons who have sailed through the strait say, that they saw both promontories at once.²

In the mountainous district of the Tauri there is a hill called Trapezus,³ of the same name as the city,⁴ which is near Tibarania and Colchis. There is another hill also, the Kimmerium,⁵ in the same mountainous district, for the Kimmerii were once sovereigns of the Bosporus, and hence the whole of the strait at the mouth of the [Palus] Mæotis is called the Kimmerian Bosporus.

4. After leaving the above-mentioned mountainous district, is the city Theodosia, situated on a plain; the soil is fertile, and there is a harbour capable of containing a hundred vessels. This formerly was the boundary of the territory of the Bosporians and of the Tauri. Then follows a fertile country extending to Panticapæum,⁶ the capital of the Bosporians, which is situated at the mouth of the Palus Mæotis.⁷ Between Theodosia⁸ and Panticapæum there is a tract of about 530 stadia in extent. The whole country is corn-producing; there are villages in it, and a city called Nymphæum, with a good harbour.

Panticapæum is a hill inhabited all round for a circuit of 20 stadia. To the east it has a harbour, and docks capable of containing about thirty vessels; there is also an acropolis. It was founded by the Milesians. Both this place and the neighbouring settlements on each side of the mouth of the Palus Mæotis were for a long period under the monarchical dynasty of Leucon, and Satyrus, and Pairisades, till the latter surrendered the sovereignty to Mithridates. They had the

¹ Cape Aia and Cape Keremp.

² The opposite coasts are not visible from the middle passage.

³ The engraving in Pallas shows it to be, as the name implies, a table mountain, now Tchadir-Dagh, or Tent Mountain.

⁴ Trebizond.

⁵ The name seems to be preserved in that of one of the districts near the mountains, Eski-Krim. G. In Prince Demidoff's map it is called Staröi-Krime.

⁶ Kertch.

⁷ The Sea of Azof.

⁸ Caffa.

name of tyrants, although most of them were moderate and just in their government, from the time of Pairisades and Leucon. Pairisades was accounted even a god. The last sovereign, whose name was also Pairisades, being unable to resist the barbarians, by whom great and unusual tributes were exacted, surrendered the kingdom into the hands of Mithridates. After him it became subject to the Romans. The greater portion of it is situated in Europe, but a part of it is also situated in Asia.

5. The mouth of the [Palus] Mæotis is called the Kimmerian Bosphorus. The entrance, which at the broadest part is about 70 stadia across, where there is a passage from the neighbourhood¹ of Panticapæum to Phanagoria, the nearest city in Asia. The [Palus] Mæotis closes in an arm of the sea which is much narrower. This arm of the sea and the Don² separate Europe from Asia. Then the Don flows from the north opposite into the lake, and into the Kimmerian Bosphorus. It discharges itself into the lake by two mouths,³ which are distant from each other about 60 stadia. There is also a city of the same name as the river; and next to Panticapæum it is the largest mart belonging to the barbarians.

On sailing into the Kimmerian Bosphorus,⁴ on the left hand is Myrmecium,⁵ a small city, 20 stadia from Panticapæum, and 40 stadia from Parthenium;⁶ it is a village where is the narrowest entrance into the lake, about 20 stadia in breadth; opposite to it is a village situated in Asia, called Achilleum. Thence to the Don, and to the island at its mouths, is a voyage in a direct line of 2200 stadia. The distance is somewhat greater if the voyage is performed along the coast of Asia, but taking the left-hand side, (in which direction the isthmus of the Chersonese is fallen in with,) the distance is more than tripled. This latter course is along the desert shore of Europe, but the

¹ i. e. from Kertch to Taman, or from Yenikaleh near Kertch to Taman. Prince Gleb, son of Vladimir, A. D. 1065, measured this latter distance on the ice, and found it to be 30.057 Russian fathoms, or nearly 12 miles. Here the battle was fought on the ice. See chap. iii. § 18.

² The Tanais.

³ According to modern maps, the Don separates into two branches, and there again into several others, which form the mouths of the river. The extreme branches are at a considerable distance from each other.

⁴ Azof.

⁵ Yenikaleh.

⁶ Kazandib.

Asiatic side is not without inhabitants. The whole circumference of the lake is 9000 stadia.

The Great Chersonesus resembles Peloponnesus both in figure and size. The kings of the Bosphorus possess it, but the whole country has been devastated by continual wars. They formerly possessed a small tract only at the mouth of the [Palus] Mæotis near Panticapæum, extending as far as Theodosia. The largest part of the territory, as far as the isthmus and the Gulf Carcinites, was in possession of the Tauri, a Scythian nation. The whole of this country, comprehending also a portion on the other side of the isthmus as far as the Dnieper, was called Little Scythia. In consequence of the number of people who passed from thence across the Dniester and the Danube, and settled there, no small part of that country also bore the name of Little Scythia. The Thracians surrendered a part of it to superior force, and a part was abandoned on account of the bad quality of the ground, a large portion of which is marshy.

6. Except the mountainous tract of the Chersonesus on the sea-coast, extending as far as Theodosia, all the rest consist of plains, the soil of which is rich, and remarkably fertile in corn. It yields thirty-fold, when turned up by the most ordinary implements of husbandry. The tribute paid to Mithridates by the inhabitants, including that from the neighbourhood of Sindace in Asia, amounted to 180,000 medimni of corn, and 200 talents of silver. The Greeks in former times imported from this country corn, and the cured fish of Palus Mæotis. Leucon is said to have sent to the Athenians 2,100,000 medimni of corn from Theodosia.¹

¹ The amount is enormous, if it refers to the quantity of corn shipped in a single year. Neither manuscripts nor translations afford any various reading. The abbreviator, however, instead of 2,100,000, (*μυριάδας μεδίμνων διακοσίας και δέκα*.) gives 150,000 (*μεδίμνος ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ ΙΕ*). But instead of correcting Strabo by his abbreviator, it is more probable that the text of the latter should be changed to 2,100,000, or even to 2,150,000 (*ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ ΣΙΕ*). Brequigny, by an oversight, or because he thought proper to change the *ΜΥΡΙΑΔΑΣ* of the text to *ΧΙΛΙΑΔΑΣ*, translates 210,000 medimni. However it may be, we know from Demosthenes, that this same prince of the Bosphorus mentioned by Strabo, sent annually to Athens 400,000 medimni of corn, a quantity far below that mentioned in the text. To reconcile these authors, Mr. Wolf supposes that we ought to understand by 2,100,000 medimni of corn, the shipment made in the year of the great famine, which occurred in the

The name of Georgi, or husbandmen, was appropriately given to these people, to distinguish them from the nations situated above them, who are nomades, and live upon the flesh of horses and other animals, on cheese of mares' milk, milk, and sour milk. The latter, prepared in a peculiar manner, is a delicacy.¹ Hence the poet designates all the nations in that quarter as Galactophagi, milk-eaters.

The nomades are more disposed to war than to robbery. The occasion of their contests was to enforce the payment of tribute. They permit those to have land who are willing to cultivate it. In return for the use of the land, they are satisfied with receiving a settled and moderate tribute, not such as will furnish superfluities, but the daily necessaries of life. If this tribute is not paid, the nomades declare war. Hence the poet calls these people both just, and miserable, (Abii,)² for if the tribute is regularly paid, they do not have recourse to war. Payment is not made by those, who have confidence in their ability to repel attacks with ease, and to prevent the incursion of their enemies. This course was pursued, as Hypsicrates relates, by Ansander, who fortified on the isthmus of the Chersonesus, at the Palus Mæotis, a space of 360 stadia, and erected towers at the distance of every 10 stadia.³

The Georgi (husbandmen) are considered to be more civilized and mild in their manners than the other tribes in this quarter, but they are addicted to gain. They navigate the sea, and do not abstain from piracy, nor from similar acts of injustice and rapacity.

7. Besides the places in the Chersonesus already enumerated, there are the fortresses Palacium, and Chabum, and Neapolis,⁴ which Scilurus and his sons constructed, from which they sallied out against the generals of Mithridates.

There was also a fortress called Eupatorium, built by Diophantus, one of the generals of Mithridates.⁵

105th Olympiad, (about 360 B. C.,) and of which Demosthenes speaks in a manner to give us to understand, that the quantity sent that year by Leucon greatly exceeded that of former years. A very probable conjecture. *F. T.* The medimnus was about $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel.

¹ ὀψημα.

² ἀβίους.

³ I have adopted the reading suggested by the *F. T.*, Πύργους καθ' ἑκάστα στάδια δέκα. The wall of Ansander may still be traced. *Pallas.*

⁴ Places to me unknown. *G.* *Pallas* erroneously supposes Palacium to be the modern Balaklava.

⁵ Named after Mithridates Eupator. *Kostof*, now again Eupatoria.

There is a promontory, distant about 15 stadia from the wall of Chersonesus, which forms a large bay, which bends towards the city. Above this bay is a sea-lake, where there are salt pits. Here was the harbour Ctenus. The generals of the king, in order to strengthen their means of resistance in case of siege, stationed a garrison on the above-mentioned promontory, which was further protected by a fortification. The mouth of the Gulf was closed by an embankment which extended to the city, and was easily traversed on foot. The garrison and the city were thus united. The Scythians were afterwards easily repulsed. They attacked that part of the wall built across the isthmus which touches upon Ctenus, and filled the ditch with straw. The kind of bridge thus formed by day, was burnt at night by the king's generals, who continued their resistance and defeated the enemy. At present the whole country is subject to whomsoever the Romans may appoint as king of the Bosphorus.

8. It is a custom peculiar to all the Scythian and Sarmatian tribes, to castrate their horses, in order to make them more tractable, for although they are small, yet they are spirited, and difficult to manage. Stags and wild boars are hunted in the marshes, and wild asses and roes¹ in the plains. It is a peculiarity of this country, that no eagles are to be found in it. Among the quadrupeds there is an animal called Colus, in size between a deer and a ram; it is white, and swifter in speed than either of those animals. It draws up water into the head through the nostrils; from this store it can supply itself for several days, and live without inconvenience in places destitute of water.

Such is the nature of the whole of the country beyond the Danube, lying between the Rhine and the Don, and extending as far as the Pontic Sea and the Palus Mæotis.

CHAPTER V.

1. THERE remains to be described that part of Europe included between the Danube and the sea which surrounds it,

¹ δροκάδες.

beginning from the inner recess of the Adriatic, and extending to the Sacred mouth of the Danube.

This part contains Greece, Macedonia, Epirus, and the people who live above them, extending to the Danube and to the two seas (the Adriatic and the Euxine Sea) on each side. On the Adriatic are the Illyrians; on the Euxine Sea, as far as the Propontis¹ and Hellespont, are the Thracians, and the Scythian or Keltic tribes intermixed with them. We must begin from the Danube, and treat of the countries which follow next in order to those already described, that is to say, the parts contiguous to Italy, the Alps, the Germans, the Dacians, and the Getæ.

These may be divided into two parts. For the mountains of Illyria, Pæonia, and Thrace, may be considered as forming, as it were, a single line, parallel to the Danube, and extending from the Adriatic to the Euxine. To the north of this line is the country included between the Danube and the mountains. To the south is Greece and the barbarous tract contiguous to these mountains.

Near the Euxine Sea is Mount Hæmus,² the largest and the highest of the mountains in that quarter, and divides Thrace nearly in the middle. According to Polybius, both seas may be seen from this mountain; but he is mistaken, for the distance to the Adriatic is considerable, and many things obstruct the view.

Almost the whole of Ardia³ lies near the Adriatic, Pæonia is in the middle, and all this country consists of elevated ground. On the side towards Thrace, it is bounded by Rhodope,⁴ a mountain next in height to Hæmus; on the other side to the north is Illyria, and the country of the Autariatæ,⁵ and Dardania.⁶

I shall first describe Illyria, which approaches close to the Danube, and to the Alps which lie between Italy and Germany,

¹ Sea of Marmora.

² The Veliki Balkan.

³ The southern part of Dalmatia bounded by the Narenta, which takes its source in the Herzogovina.

⁴ Called Monte Argentaro by the Italians, Basilissa by the Greeks, Rulla by the Turks. *Baudrand*. Despoto Dagh.

⁵ Occupied the neighbourhood of the river Titius, Kerca, which discharges itself near Siberico.

⁶ The mountainous country south of Servia.

taking their commencement from the lake in the territory of the Vindelici, Rhæti, and Helvetii.¹

2. The Daci depopulated a part of this country in their wars with the Boii and Taurisci, Keltic tribes whose chief was Critasirus. The Daci claimed the country, although it was separated from them by the river Parisus,² which flows from the mountains to the Danube, near the Galatæ Scordisci, a people who lived intermixed with the Illyrian and the Thracian tribes. The Illyrians were destroyed by the Daci, while the Scordisci were frequently their allies.

The rest of the country as far as Segestica,³ and the Danube, towards the north and east, is occupied by Pannonii, but they extend farther in an opposite direction. The city Segestica, belonging to the Pannonii, is situated at the confluence of several rivers, all of which are navigable. It is in a convenient situation for carrying on war against the Daci, for it lies at the foot of the Alps, which extend to the Iapodes,⁴ a mixed Keltic and Illyrian tribe. Thence also flow the rivers by which is conveyed to Segestica a great quantity of merchandise, and among the rest, commodities from Italy. The distance from Aquileia to Nauportus,⁵ a settlement of the Taurisci, across the mountain Odra,⁶ is 350, or, according to some writers, 500 stadia. Merchandise is transported to Nauportus in waggons. The Odra is the lowest part of the Alps, which extend from Rhætica to the Iapodes, where the mountains rise again, and are called Albii. From Tergeste,⁷ a village of the Carni,⁸ there is a pass across and through the Odra to a marsh called Lugeum.⁹ A river, the Corcoras, flows near Nauportus, and conveys the merchandise from that place. It discharges itself into the Save, and this latter river into the

¹ The text presents some difficulty; another reading is Tæni. Gossellin supposes the lake to be the Czirknitz-See near Mount Albius, now Alben or Planina.

² The Margus? See chap. v. § 12.

³ At the confluence of the Kalpa and the Save, afterwards Siscia, now Sizek.

⁴ Occupied the coast of Morlacca from the Gulf of Quarnero to Zara.

⁵ According to Pliny, the name of this place is derived from the fable of the ship Argo, which was brought up the Danube and the Save, and thence carried on men's shoulders to the Adriatic. Now Porto Quieto.

⁶ To the north of Trieste.

⁷ Trieste.

⁸ Carniola.

⁹ The Czirknitz-See.

Drave; the Drave again into the Noarus at Segestica. Here the Noarus, having received the Colapis¹ as it descends in its full stream from the mountain Albius through the Iapodes, enters the Danube among the Scordisci. The navigation on the rivers is in general towards the north. The journey from Tergeste to the Danube is about 1200 stadia. Near Segestica is Siscia, a strong-hold, and Sirmium, both situated on the road to Italy.

3. The Breuci, Andizetii, Ditiones, Peirustæ, Mazæi, Daisitiatæ, whose chief was Baton, and other small obscure communities, which extend to Dalmatia, and almost to the Ardiæi to the south, are Pannonians. The whole mountainous tract from the recess of the Adriatic bay to the Rhizonic gulf,² and to the territory of the Ardiæi, intervening between the sea and Pannonia, forms the coast of Illyria.

Here perhaps we ought to begin an uninterrupted account of these places, after a short repetition.

In describing Italy we said, that the Istri were the first nation on the Illyrian coast, contiguous to Italy and to the Carni, and that the present government had advanced the limits of Italy to Pola,³ a city of Istria. These limits are distant about 800 stadia from the recess of the bay. It is the same distance from the promontory in front of Pola to Ancon,⁴ keeping Henetica⁵ on the right hand. The whole voyage along the coast of Istria is 1300 stadia.

4. Next is the voyage along the coast of the Iapodes, 1000 stadia in extent. The Iapodes are situated on Mount Albius, which is the termination of the Alps, and is of very great height. They reach in one direction to the Pannonii and the Danube, and in another to the Adriatic. They are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus. Their cities are Metulum, Arupinum, Monetium, Vendum.⁶ The country is poor, and the inhabitants live chiefly upon spelt and millet.⁷ Their armour is after the Keltic fashion. Their bodies are punctured, like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people.

¹ The Kuipa.

² Gulf of Cataro.

³ Now celebrated for the remains of a Roman amphitheatre.

⁴ Ancona.

⁵ The Venetian territory.

⁶ I am not acquainted with the sites of these places. G.

⁷ Ζειῶ καὶ κέγχρωφ.

After the coast of the Iapodes follows that of Liburnia, exceeding the former by 500 stadia. On this coast is Scardon,¹ a Liburnian city, and a river,² which is navigable for vessels of burden as far as the Dalmatæ.

5. Islands are scattered along the whole of the above-mentioned coast; among them are the Apsyrtides, where Medea is said to have killed her brother Apsyrtus, who was pursuing her.

Near the Iapodes is Cyrictica,³ then the Liburnian islands, about forty in number; other islands follow, of which the best known are Issa, Tragurium, founded by Isseans; Pharos, formerly Paros, founded by Parians, the birth-place of Demetrius, the Pharian; then the coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal, Salon.⁴ This nation was for a long time at war with the Romans. They had fifty considerable settlements, some of which were in the rank of cities, as Salon, Priomon, Ninias, and the old and new Sinotium. Augustus burnt them down. There is also Andetrium, a strong fortress, and Dalmatium, a large city, of the same name as the nation. Scipio Nasica greatly reduced its size, and converted the plain into a pasture for sheep, on account of the disposition of the people to rob and pillage.

It is a custom peculiar to the Dalmatæ to make a partition of their lands every eighth year. They do not use money, which is a peculiarity also when compared with the habits of the other inhabitants of this coast; but this is common among many other tribes of barbarians.

The mountain Adrion divides Dalmatia into two parts, one of which is on the sea, the other forms the opposite side of the mountain. Then follow the river Naron, and the people in the neighbourhood, the Daorizi, Ardiæi, and Pleræi.⁵ Near the former lies the island Black Corcyra,⁶ on which is a city founded by the Cnidians. Near the Ardiæi is Pharos, formerly called Paros, for it was founded by Parians.

6. Later writers call the Ardiæi, Vardæi.⁷ The Romans drove them into the interior from the sea-coast, which

¹ Scardona.

² The Kerka.

³ The modern names of these numerous islands must be matter of conjecture. Issa is Lissa.

⁴ Salona.

⁵ Inhabitants, probably, of the peninsula Sabioncello.

⁶ Corzola.

⁷ Varalii, MSS.; but manifestly wrong.

was infested by their piracies, and compelled them to cultivate the ground; but as the country was rugged and barren, and not adapted to husbandry, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to other neighbouring nations. People formerly very powerful are extinct, or were reduced to the lowest condition, as the Boii and Scordisci among the Galatæ; the Autariatæ, Ardiæi, and Dardanii, among the Illyrians; and the Triballi among the Thracians. They first declined in consequence of disputes amongst themselves, but were finally prostrated by wars with the Macedonians and Romans.

7. After the termination of the coast of the Ardiæi and Pleræi is the bay of the Rhizæi, a city Rhizon,¹ other small towns, and the river Drilon,² which may be navigated up its stream towards the east as far as Dardanica. This country is situated close to the Macedonian and Pæonian nations, towards the south, as also the Autariatæ and the Dasaretii are in parts contiguous to one another [and to the Autariatæ].³ To the Dardaniatæ belong the Galabrii,⁴ in whose territory is an ancient city; and the Thunatæ, who approach on the east close to the Mædi,⁵ a Thracian tribe.

The Dardanii are entirely a savage people, so much so that they dig caves beneath dungheaps, in which they dwell; yet they are fond of music, and are much occupied in playing upon pipes and on stringed instruments. They inhabit the inland parts of the country, and we shall mention them again in another place.

8. After the bay of Rhizon⁶ is Lissus,⁷ a city, Acrolissus,⁸ and Epidamnus, the present Dyrrhachium,⁹ founded by Corcyræans, and bearing the name of the peninsula on which it

¹ Risano in the Gulf of Cataro.

² The river Drin.

³ Kramer suggests the omission of these words, which render the passage obscure.

⁴ Galabrii. The name of this people is unknown. Probably it should be changed to Taulantii, an Illyrian tribe, or considered as a second name of the Taulantii, or that of a tribe belonging to them. The name Galabrus, or Galaurus, king of the Taulantii, has come down to us, which gives some probability to the second conjecture. C.

⁵ The Mædi occupied the mountains which separate Macedonia from Thrace, between the river Strymon and MOUNT Rhodope. G.

⁶ The Gulf of Cataro

⁷ Alesso

⁸ A fortified rock near.

⁹ Durazzo

is situated. Then follow the rivers Apsus¹ and the Aous,² on the banks of which is situated Apollonia,³ a city governed by excellent laws. It was founded by Corinthians and Corcyræans, and is distant from the river 10, and from the sea 60, stadia. Hecataeus calls the Aous, Aias, and says that from the same place, or rather from the same sources about Lacmus,⁴ the Inachus flows southward, to Argos,⁵ and the Aias westward, into the Adriatic.

In the territory of the Apolloniatae there is what is called a Nymphæum. It is a rock which emits fire. Below it are springs flowing with hot water and asphaltus. The earth containing the asphaltus is probably in a state of combustion. The asphaltus is dug out of a neighbouring hill; the parts excavated are replaced by fresh earth, which after a time are converted into asphaltus. This account is given by Posidonius, who says also, that the ampelitis, an asphaltic earth found in the Pierian Seleucia,⁶ is a remedy for the lice which infest the vine. If the vine is smeared with this earth mixed with oil, the insects are killed before they ascend from the root to the branches. This earth, but it required for use a larger quantity of oil, he says was found at Rhodes also, while he held there the office of Prytanes.

Next to Apollonia is Bylliace (Bullis) and Oricum,⁷ with its naval arsenal, Panormus, and the Ceraunian mountains, which form the commencement of the entrance of the Ionian and Adriatic Gulfs.

9. The mouth is common to both; but this difference is to be observed, that the name Ionian⁸ is applied to the first part of the gulf only, and Adriatic to the interior sea up to the farthest end, but the name Adriatic is now applied to the whole

¹ Ergent, or Beratino.

² Lao, or Vousoutza.

³ Polina. Thucydides calls Apollonia a colony of the Corinthians, and not of the Corinthians and Corcyræans. He states it, however, (b. i. c. 24,) to have been the practice for colonies which in their turn founded other colonies, to unite with them, on these occasions, citizens of the mother city.

⁴ One of the peaks of Pindus. ⁵ Amphilochian Argos, now Filochia. G.

⁶ On the boundary of Cilicia and Syria.

⁷ Appear to have been situated on the Gulf of Valona. G.

⁸ The name, Ionian Gulf, appears to have extended from the Acro-ceraunian mountains to the southern part of Dalmatia, near Lissus, now Alessio, to the bottom of the Gulf of Drin. G.

sea. According to Theopompus, the name Ionian was derived from a chief (Ionius) of that country, a native of Issa; and the name Adriatic from a river, *Adrias*.¹

From the Liburni to the Ceraunian mountains is a distance of a little more than 2000 stadia. But Theopompus says, that it is six days' sail from the farthest recess of the bay, but a journey of thirty days by land along the length of Illyria. This appears to me an exaggeration, but he makes many incredible statements. Among other instances, he pretends that there is a subterraneous passage between the Adriatic and the Ægean Seas, grounding his opinion on the discovery of Chian and Thasian pottery in the river Naron.² The two seas, he says, may be seen from some pretended mountain. He describes the Liburnian islands as occupying a position so extensive as to form a circle of 500 stadia. According to him, the Danube discharges itself by one of its mouths into the Adriatic.³ Similar mistakes are to be found in Eratosthenes, which Polybius, when speaking of him and other writers, describes as having their origin in vulgar error.⁴

10. On the coast of Illyria, along its whole extent, and in the neighbouring islands, there are numerous excellent harbours, contrary to what occurs on the opposite Italian coast, where there are none. As in Italy, however, the climate is warm, and the soil productive of fruits; olives also and vines grow readily, except in some few excessively rugged places. Although Illyria possesses these advantages, it was formerly neglected, through ignorance, perhaps, of its fertility; but it was principally avoided on account of the savage manners of the inhabitants, and their piratical habits.

The region situated above the sea-coast is mountainous, cold, and at times covered with snow. The northern part is still colder, so that vines are rarely to be met with either in the hills or in the plains lower down. These mountain-plains are in the possession of the Pannonians, and extend towards the south as far as the Dalmatians and *Ardiæi*. They terminate towards the north at the *Ister*, and approach towards

¹ The word *Ἀδρία* is translated Adriatic. In the version of the New Testament it is translated *Adria*. Acts xxvii. 27.—The *Tartaro*.

² *Narenta*.

³ A common opinion among ancient geographers. See b. i. c. ii. § 39.

⁴ *παρακούσματα λαοδογματικά*.

the east close to the Scordisci, who live near the Macedonian and Thracian mountains.

11. The Autariatæ were the most populous and the bravest tribe of the Illyrians. Formerly, there were continual disputes between them and the Ardiæi respecting the salt which was spontaneously formed on the confines of their respective territories, in the spring season, from water which flows through a valley. The salt concreted five days after the water was drawn and deposited in reservoirs. The right of collecting salt was, by agreement, to be exercised alternately by each party, but the compact was broken and war was the consequence. After the Autariatæ had subdued the Triballi, a people whose territory extended a journey of fifteen days, from the Agrianæ to the Danube, they became masters of the Thracians and Illyrians. The Autariatæ were first conquered by the Scordisci, and afterwards by the Romans, who overpowered the Scordisci, for a long time a powerful nation.

12. This people inhabited the country on the banks of the Danube, and were divided into two tribes, the Great and the Little Scordisci.¹ The former occupied the space between two rivers, which empty themselves into the Danube, the Noarus,² which runs beside Segestica, and the Margus, or, as some call it, Bargus. The Little Scordisci lived beyond this river close to the Triballi and Mysi.³ The Scordisci possessed some of the islands also. They increased so much in strength and numbers as to advance even to the Illyrian, Pæonian, and Thracian confines. Most of the islands on the Danube fell into their hands, and they possessed the cities Heorta and Capedunum.⁴

Next to the territory of the Scordisci, lying along the banks of the Danube, is the country of the Triballi and Mysi, whom we have before mentioned; we have also spoken of the

¹ The Agrianæ occupied the neighbourhood of Mount Pangæus on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. The Triballi, at the time alluded to by Strabo, possessed nearly the whole of the country included between the Adriatic and the Euxine. The Scordisci, who were at first confined to the territory situated between the Drave and the Save, in their turn took possession of all this country. It is not possible, in consequence of the continual wars which existed amongst these people, to determine with exactness the places which they successively occupied. G.

² Probably the Save. G.

³ Mædi.

⁴ Cities not identified.

marshes¹ of the Lesser Scythia on this side the Danube. This nation, and the Crobyzi, and the nation called Troglodytæ, live above the districts in which are situated Callatis, Tomis, and Ister.² Next are the people about the Mount Hæmus, and those who live at its foot, extending as far as the Pontus, Coralli, and Bessi, and some tribes of Mædi and of Danthelætæ. All these nations are very much addicted to robbery. The Bessi possess far the greatest part of Mount Hæmus, and are called Robbers from their mode of life as free-booters. Some of them live in huts and lead a life of hardship. They extend close to Rhodope, the Pæones, and to the Illyrian nations; to the Autariatæ also, and the Dardanians. Between these and the Ardiæi are the Dasaretii, Hybrianes, and other obscure nations, whose numbers the Scordisci were continually reducing, until they had made the country a desert, full of impassable forests, which extended several days' journey.

CHAPTER VI.

1. OF the country situated between the Danube and the mountains on each side of Pæonia, there remains to be described the Pontic coast, which reaches from the Sacred mouth of the Danube to the mountainous district about Hæmus, and to the mouth of the Pontus at Byzantium. As in describing the Illyrian coast we had proceeded as far as the Ceraunian mountains, which, although they stretch beyond the mountainous district of Illyria, yet constitute a sort of proper boundary, we determined by means of these mountains the limits of the nations in the inland parts, considering, that such separating lines would be better marks both for our present and future use; so here also the coast, although it may fall beyond the mountainous line, will still end at a proper kind of limit, the mouth of the Pontus, which will be useful both for our present and our future descriptions.

If we set out from the Sacred mouth of the Danube, having on the right hand the continuous line of coast, we find at the

¹ The Dobrudscha.

² Mangalia, Tomesvar, the place of Ovid's exile, Kara-Herman.

distance of 500 stadia, Ister,¹ a small town founded by Milesians; then Tomis,² another small town, at the distance of 250 stadia; then Callatis,³ a city, a colony of the Heracleotæ, at 280 stadia; then, at 1300 stadia, Apollonia,⁴ a colony of Milesians, having the greater part of the buildings upon a small island, where is a temple of Apollo, whence Marcus Lucullus took the Colossus of Apollo, the work of Calamides, and dedicated it as a sacred offering in the Capitol. In the intermediate distance between Callatis and Apollonia, is Bizone, a great part of which was swallowed up by an earthquake; Cruni;⁵ Odessus,⁶ a colony of Milesians; and Naulochus, a small town of the Mesembriani. Next follows the mountain Hæmus,⁷ extending to the sea in this quarter; then Mesembria,⁸ a colony of the Megarenses, formerly called Menabria, or city of Mena, Menas being the name of the founder, and bria,⁹ signifying in the Thracian tongue, city. Thus the city of Selys is called Selybria, and Ænus once had the name of Poltyobria. Then follows Anchiale,¹⁰ a small town of the Apolloniataë, and Apollonia itself.

On this coast is the promontory Tirizis, a place naturally strong, which Lysimachus formerly used as a treasury. Again, from Apollonia to the Cyaneæ are about 1500 stadia. In this interval are Thynias, a tract belonging to the Apolloniataë, Phinopolis, and Andriace,¹¹ which are contiguous to Salmydessus. This coast is without inhabitants and rocky, without harbours, stretching far towards the north, and extending as far as the Cyaneæ, about 700 stadia. Those who are wrecked on this coast are plundered by the Asti, a Thracian tribe who live above it.

The Cyaneæ¹² are two small islands at the mouth of the Pontus, one lying near Europe, the other near Asia, and are separated by a channel of about 20 stadia. This is the mea-

¹ Istropolis or Kara-Herman.

² Tomesvar.

³ Mangalia.

⁴ Sizepoli.

⁵ Baltchik, near Kavarna.

⁶ Varna.

⁷ Cape Emineh—in the English charts Emona, but there is no fixed system of spelling for names of places in this part of the world. Emineh is probably a corruption of Hæmus.

⁸ Missemvria.

⁹ Or Meneburgh, we should say. The Thracian was a language cognate with that of the Getæ; see Strabo, book vii. chap. iii. § 10; and the Getæ were Gothic. We have the Liber Aureus in the Moeso Gothic language still.

¹⁰ Ahiolou.

¹¹ Places no longer known. G.

¹² In the English charts Kyanees. They do not correspond to the description here given. The well-known poetical name is Symplegades.

sure of the distance between the temple of the Byzantines and the temple of the Chalcedonians, where is the narrowest part of the mouth of the Euxine Sea. For proceeding onwards 10 stadia there is a promontory, which reduces the strait to 5 stadia; the strait afterwards opens to a greater width, and begins to form the Propontis.

2. From the promontory, then, that reduces the strait to 5 stadia, to the Port under the Fig-tree, as it is called, are 35 stadia; thence to the Horn of the Byzantines, 5 stadia. This Horn, close to the walls of Byzantium, is a bay, extending westwards 60 stadia, and resembling a stag's horn, for it is divided into a great many bays, like so many branches. The Pelamides¹ resort to these bays, and are easily taken, on account of their great number, and the force of the current, which drives them together in a body; and also on account of the narrowness of the bays, which is such that they are caught even by the hand. These fish are bred in the marshes of the Mæotis. When they have attained a little size and strength, they rush through the mouth in shoals, and are carried along the Asiatic coast as far as Trapezus and Pharnacia. It is here that the fishery begins, but it is not carried on to any considerable extent, because the fish are not of a proper size at this place. When they get as far as Sinope, they are in better season for the fishery, and for the purpose of salting. But when they have reached and passed the Cyanææ, a white rock projects from the Chalcedonian shore, which alarms the fish, so that they immediately turn away to the opposite coast. There they are caught by the stream, and the nature of the places being such as to divert the current of the sea in that part towards Byzantium, and the Horn near it, the fish are impelled thither in a body, and afford to the Byzantines, and to the Roman people, a large revenue. The Chalcedonians, however, although situated near, and on the opposite side, have no share of this supply, because the Pelamides do not approach their harbours.

After the foundation of Chalcedon, Apollo is said to have

¹ In Italian, Pelamide, or Palamide, well known in the Mediterranean. It is not to be compared in size to the Thunny, but is much larger than the Mackerel, of a dark blue and streaked. Like the Thunny, it is migratory. Aristotle erroneously conjectures the Pelamide to be the young of the Thunny.

enjoined the founders of Byzantium, in answer to their inquiries, to build their city opposite to the Blind, applying this name to the Chalcedonians, who, although they were the first persons to arrive in these parts, had omitted to take possession of the opposite side, which afforded such great resources of wealth, and chose the barren coast.

We have continued our description to Byzantium, because this celebrated city,¹ by its proximity to the mouth of the Euxine Sea, forms a better-known and more remarkable termination of an account of the coast from the Danube than any other.

Above Byzantium is the nation of the Asti, in whose territory is the city Calybe, which Philip the son of Amyntas made a settlement for criminals.

CHAPTER VII.

1. THESE are the nations, bounded by the Danube and by the Illyrian and Thracian mountains, which are worthy of record. They occupy the whole coast of the Adriatic Sea, beginning from the recess of the gulf, and the left side, as it is called, of the Euxine Sea, from the river Danube to Byzantium.

The southern parts of the above-mentioned mountainous tract, and the countries which follow, lying below it, remain to be described. Among these are Greece, and the contiguous barbarous country extending to the mountains.

Hecataeus of Miletus says of the Peloponnesus, that, before the time of the Greeks, it was inhabited by barbarians. Perhaps even the whole of Greece was, anciently, a settlement of barbarians, if we judge from former accounts. For Pelops brought colonists from Phrygia into the Peloponnesus, which

¹ The ancient Byzantium, there are grounds for believing, was marked by the present walls of the Seraglio. The enlarged city was founded by the emperor Constantine, A. D. 328, who gave it his name, and made it the rival of Rome itself. It was taken from the Greeks in 1204, by the Venetians under Dandolo; retaken by the Greeks in 1261 under the emperor Michael Palæologus, and conquered by the Turks in 1453. The crescent found on some of the ancient Byzantine coins was adopted as a symbol by the Turks.

took his name; Danaus¹ brought colonists from Egypt; Dryopes, Caucones, Pelasgi, Leleges, and other barbarous nations, partitioned among themselves the country on this side of the isthmus.² The case was the same on the other side of the isthmus; for Thracians, under their leader Eumolpus,³ took possession of Attica; Tereus of Daulis in Phocæa; the Phœnicians, with their leader Cadmus,⁴ occupied the Cadmeian district; Aones, and Temmices, and Hyantes, Bœotia. Pindar says, "there was a time when the Bœotian people were called Syes."⁵ Some names show their barbarous origin, as Cecrops, Codrus, Cœclus, Cothus, Drymas, and Crinacus.⁶ Thracians, Illyrians, and Epirotæ are settled even at present on the sides of Greece. Formerly the territory they possessed was more extensive, although even now the barbarians possess a large part of the country, which, without dispute, is Greece. Macedonia is occupied by Thracians, as well as some parts of Thessaly; the country above Acarnania and Ætolia, by Thesproti, Cassopæi, Amphiloichi, Molotti, and Athamanes, Epirotic tribes.

2. We have already spoken of the Pelasgi.⁷ Some writers conjecture that the Leleges and Carians are the same people; others, that they were only joint settlers, and comrades in war, because there are said to be some settlements called Settlements of the Leleges in the Milesian territory, and in many parts of Caria there are burial-places of the Leleges, and deserted fortresses, called Lelegia.

The whole country called Ionia was formerly inhabited by Carians and Leleges; these were expelled by the Ionians, who themselves took possession of the country. In still ear-

¹ B. c. 1570. He was king of Argos.

² The Peloponnesus, which before the arrival of Pelops was called Apia.

³ Eumolpus took possession of Eleusis B. c. 1400. He is said to have there instituted the mysteries of Ceres.

⁴ Cadmus, son of Agenor, king of Tyre, arrived in Bœotia B. c. 1550. The citadel of Thebes was named after him.

⁵ Sues, Σύας, swine, in allusion to their ignorance.

⁶ There were two kings of Athens named Cecrops. The first of this name, first king of Attica and Bœotia, came from Egypt. Cecrops II. was the 7th, and Codrus the 17th and last king of Attica. Strabo informs us, B. x. c. i. § 3, that Cœclus and Cothus were brothers of Ellops, who founded Ellopia in Eubœa, and gave the name to the whole island.

⁷ B. v. c. ii. § 4.

lier times, the captors of Troy¹ had driven out the Leleges from the places about Ida near the rivers Pedasus and Satnioeis.

The fact of the association of these people with the Carians may be regarded as a proof of their being barbarians, and Aristotle, in his Politics, shows that they were a wandering nation, sometimes in company with the Carians, sometimes alone, and that from ancient times; for, in speaking of the polity of the Acarnanians, he says that the Curetes occupied a part of the country, and the Leleges (and after them the Teleboæ) the western side. On the subject of the Ætolian polity, he calls the present Locri, Leleges, and observes that they occupy Bœotia. He repeats the same remark on the subject of the polity of the Opuntians and Megareans. In speaking of the polity of the Leucadians, he mentions an aboriginal by name, Leleges, and a grandson by his daughter of the name of Teleboas, and besides two and twenty of his sons of the name of Teleboas, some of whom inhabited Lucas. But we should chiefly rely upon Hesiod, who thus speaks of them:

“For Locrus was the leader of the nation of the Leleges, whom Jupiter, the son of Saturn, in his infinite wisdom, once gave as subjects to Deucalion, a people gathered from among the nations of the earth.”

For it seems to me to be obscurely intimated by the etymology of the name, Leleges, that they were a mixed people anciently collected together, which had become extinct. And this may be said of the Caucones, who exist no where at present, yet were formerly settled in several places.

3. Although Greece was formerly composed of small nations, many in number, and obscure; nevertheless their valour, and their separate government by kings, prevented any difficulty in defining their boundaries. As the greatest part of the country, however, is at present uninhabited, and the settlements, especially the cities, have been destroyed, it would be of no service, even if it were possible, to ascertain the names of cities and regions occupied by obscure and extinct people. This destruction, which began a long time since, still continues in many parts in consequence of rebellion. It has been checked by the Romans, who accepted the supreme authority from the inhabitants and lodged soldiers in their houses.

¹ The capture of Troy by Hercules. See Grote i. 388.

Polybius says that Paulus [Emilius], after the defeat of the Macedonians¹ and their king Perseus, destroyed 70 cities of the Epirotæ (most of which belonged to the Molotti) and reduced to slavery 150,000 of the inhabitants. Still, however, I shall endeavour, as far as it is compatible with the design of this work, to describe, as far as I am able, these places in detail, beginning from the sea-coast near the Ionian Gulf, where the navigation out of the Adriatic terminates.

4. The first parts of this coast are those about Epidamnus and Apollonia. From Apollonia to Macedonia is the Egnatian Way; its direction is towards the east, and the distance is measured by pillars at every mile, as far as Cypselus² and the river Hebrus.³ The whole distance is 535 miles. But reckoning, as the generality of persons reckon, a mile at eight stadia, there may be 4280 stadia. And according to Polybius, who adds two plethra, that is, the third of a stadium, to every eight stadia, we must add 178 stadia more, a third part of the number of miles.⁴ A traveller from Apollonia,⁵ and a traveller from Epidamnus,⁶ on the same road, meet midway between the two cities. The whole is called the Egnatian Way. The first part of it is called the road to Candavia, which is an Illyrian mountain. It passes through Lychnidus,⁷ a city, and Pylon, a place which separates Illyria from Macedonia. Thence its direction is beside Barnus through Heracleia, the Lyncestæ, and the Eordi, to Edessa⁸ and Pella,⁹ as far as Thessalonica.¹⁰ Polybius says, that this is a distance of 267 miles. In travelling this road from the neighbourhood of Epidamnus and Apollonia, on the right hand are the Epirotic nations situated on the coast of the Sicilian Sea, and extending as far as the Gulf of Ambracia;¹¹ on the left are the Illyrian mountains, which we have before described, and the nations that live near them, extending as far as Macedonia and the Pæones.

¹ B. c. 168.² Ipsala.³ Maritza.

⁴ D'Anville (Mesures Itinéraires) conjectures the difference between Polybius and Strabo to arise from the Greek foot being less than the Roman foot in the ratio of 24 to 25; or 24 Roman stadia = 25 Greek stadia containing the same number of feet.

⁵ Polina.⁶ Durazzo.⁷ Lago d' Ochrida.⁸ Vodina.

⁹ The ruins of Pella are at a little distance on the east of the lake Tenidschek.

¹⁰ Saloniki.¹¹ Gulf of Arta.

From the Gulf of Ambracia the places next in order, inclining to the east, and extending opposite to Peloponnesus, belong to Greece; they terminate at the Ægean Sea, leaving the whole of Peloponnesus on the right hand.

The country, from the commencement of the Macedonian and Pæonian mountains, as far as the river Strymon,¹ is inhabited by Macedonians, and Pæones, and some of the Thracian mountain tribes. But all the country on the other side the Strymon, as far as the mouth of the Euxine Sea, and Mount Hæmus,² belong to the Thracians, except the coast, which is occupied by Greeks, some of whom are settled on the Propontis,³ others on the Hellespont and on the Gulf Melas,⁴ and others on the Ægean Sea.

The Ægean Sea waters two sides of Greece; first, the eastern side, extending from the promontory Sunium⁵ to the north as far as the Thermæan Gulf, and Thessalonica, a Macedonian city, which has, at present, the largest population in these parts. Then the southern side, which is a part of Macedonia, extending from Thessalonica to the Strymon. Some writers assign the coast from the Strymon as far as Nestus⁶ to Macedonia. For Philip showed the greatest solicitude to obtain, and at length appropriated it to himself. He raised a very large revenue from the mines, and from other sources which the richness of the country afforded.

From Sunium to the Peloponnesus are the Myrtoan, the Cretan, and the Libyan Seas, together with the Gulfs, as far as the Sicilian Sea, which consist of the Gulfs of Ambracia, of Corinth, and of Crissa.

5. Theopompus says, that there are fourteen Epirotic nations. Of these, the most celebrated are the Chaones and Molotti, because the whole of Epirus was at one time subject, first to Chaones, afterwards to Molotti. Their power was greatly strengthened by the family of their kings being descended from the Æacidæ, and because the ancient and famous oracle of Dodona⁷ was in their country. Chaones, Thesproti, and next after these Cassopæi, (who are Thes-

¹ Iemboli.

² Balkan applies to the whole mountainous range of Hæmus; Emineh to the part bordering on the Black Sea.

³ Sea of Marmora.

⁴ Gulf of Saros.

⁵ Cape Colonna.

⁶ Karasu, or Mesta.

⁷ The site of Dodona is unknown.

proti,) occupy the coast, a fertile tract reaching from the Ceraunian mountains to the Ambracian Gulf.

The voyage commencing from the Chaones eastward towards the Gulfs of Ambracia and Corinth, and having the Ausonian Sea on the right, and Epirus on the left, comprises 1300 stadia to the mouth of the Ambracian Gulf. In this interval is Panormus,¹ a large port in the middle of the Ceraunian mountains. Next to this is Onchesmus,² another harbour, opposite to which are the western extremities of Corcyra,³ and then again another port, Cassiope,⁴ (Cassope?) whence to Brundisium⁵ are 1700 stadia. It is the same distance to Tarentum from another promontory more to the south than Cassiope, which is called Phalacrum. Next after Onchesmus are Posidium, and Buthrotum,⁶ (which is situated upon the mouth of the lake Pelodes, in a spot of a peninsula form, and has a Roman colony,) and the Sybota. The Sybota⁷ are small islands at a little distance from Epirus, lying near Leucimme,⁸ the eastern promontory of Corcyra. There are also other small islands, not worthy of notice, which are met with along the coast.

Next is the promontory Chimerium, and a harbour called Glycys-Limen, [or Sweet Harbour,] where the river Acheron, which receives several other rivers, empties itself and renders fresh the water of the gulf. The Thyamus⁹ flows near it. Above this gulf is situated Cichyrus, formerly Ephyra, a city of the Thesproti, and above the gulf at Buthrotum, Phœnice.¹⁰ Near Cichyrus is Buchetium, a small city of the Cassopæi, situated at a little distance from the sea; Elatria, Pandosia, and Batiaë are in the inland parts. Their territory extends as far as the gulf. Next after the harbour Glycys-Limen are two others, Comarus,¹¹ the nearest and smallest, forming an isthmus of 60 stadia, near the Ambracian Gulf and Nicopolis,¹² founded by Augustus Cæsar; the other, the more distant and larger, and better harbour, is near the mouth of the gulf, and distant from Nicopolis about 12 stadia.

6. Then follows the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf,

¹ Panormo. ² Santi Quaranta. ³ Corfu. ⁴ Cassiopo.

⁵ Brindisi. ⁶ Butrinto. ⁷ Syvota. ⁸ C. Bianco.

⁹ The Thyamus, or Thyamis, is now called Glycys, and the Acheron, Calamas.

¹⁰ Sopoto.

¹¹ Porto Fanari.

¹² The ruins of Nicopolis are to the north of Prevesa.

which is a little more than four stadia in width. The circuit of the gulf is 400 stadia, and the whole has good harbours. On sailing into it, on the right hand are the Acarnanes, who are Grecks; and here near the entrance of the gulf is a temple of Apollo Actius, situated on an eminence; in the plain below is a sacred grove, and a naval station. Here Augustus Cæsar¹ dedicated as offerings one-tenth of the vessels taken in war, from vessels of one bank to vessels of ten banks of oars. The vessels, and the buildings destined for their reception, were destroyed, it is said, by fire.

On the left hand are Nicopolis,² and the Cassopæi, a tribe of the Epirotæ, extending as far as the recess of the gulf at Ambracia. Ambracia³ is situated a little above the recess of the bay, and was founded by Gorgus, (Torgus, Tolgus,) the son of Cypselus. The river Arathus flows beside it, which may be navigated up the stream to the city, a distance of a few stadia. It rises in Mount Tymphe, and the Paroræa. This city was formerly in a very flourishing condition, and hence the gulf received its name from the city. Pyrrhus, however, embellished it more than any other person, and made it a royal residence. In later times,⁴ the Macedonians and Romans harassed this and other cities by continual wars, caused by the refractory disposition of the inhabitants, so that Augustus, at length perceiving that these cities were entirely deserted, collected their remaining inhabitants into one city, which he called Nicopolis, situated upon the gulf. He called it after the victory which he obtained in front of

¹ Cæsar Augustus (then Cæsar Octavianus) obtained the celebrated victory of Actium over Marcus Antonius, B. C. 31. The latter, after his defeat, fled into Egypt with Cleopatra. The battle would appear to have taken place at the entrance into the Gulf of Arta, and therefore probably off La Punta, opposite Prevesa, and not off the modern town of Azio.

² In the Austrian map a ground-plan of the ruins of Nicopolis are given, at about one mile to the north of Prevesa.

³ The Gulf of Ambracia, and the rivers which flow into it, are much distorted in D'Anville. According to more modern maps, the Arathus is the most western of the streams which flow into the gulf, and the ancient city was situated at about 15 miles from the mouth. The Loru (the Arathus); the Mauro Potamo or Glykys (the Acheron); the Zagura (the Selleis?) which falls into it; and the Tercino, which falls into the Kalamas, (the Thyamis or Thyamus,) all rise in the mountain ridge Olyt-kiza, about 10 miles to the west of Ianina.

⁴ Livy xxxviii. c. 3.

the gulf, over Antony, and Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, who was present in the engagement.

Nicopolis is well peopled, and is improving every day. It has a large territory, and is adorned with the spoils of war. In the suburbs is a sacred enclosure; part of it is a grove, containing a gymnasium and a stadium, intended for the celebration of quinquennial games; the other part, on a rising ground overhanging the grove, is sacred to Apollo. The Olympian game, called the Actia,¹ is instituted there in honour of Apollo Actius. It is under the superintendence of the Lacedæmonians. The other surrounding settlements are dependent on Nicopolis. The Actian games¹ were formerly celebrated in honour of the god by the neighbouring people; it was a contest in which the victor was crowned; but Cæsar has conferred on it greater honours.

7. After Ambracia follows the Amphilochian Argos, founded by Alcæon and his sons. According to Ephorus, Alcæon, after the expedition of the Epigoni² against Thebes, upon the solicitation of Diomed, accompanied him in his invasion of Ætolia, and obtained joint possession of this country and of Acarnania. When Agamemnon invited them to come to the siege of Troy, Diomed went, but Alcæon remained in Acarnania, founded Argos, and gave it the name Amphilochian, after his brother Amphilochus. On the same authority the river Inachus, which flows through the country and empties itself into the bay, received its name from the river in the Argive territory. Thucydides, however, says that Amphilochus himself, upon his return from Troy, dissatisfied with the state of things at Argos, passed over into Acarnania, and having succeeded to the dynasty of his brother, founded the city which is called after his name.

8. The Amphilochians are Epirotæ, as also are those nations who inhabit a rugged country situated above and close to the Illyrian mountains, the Molotti, Athamanes, Æthices, Tymphæi, Orestæ Paroræi, and Atintanes, some of whom approach nearer to Macedonia, others to the Ionian Gulf. It is said that Orestes possessed the territory Orestias at the time of his flight, after the murder of his mother, and left the country

¹ Virg. Æn. iii. 280.

² Descendants of the seven chiefs who fought and perished before Thebes.

bearing his name, where also he had built a city called Orestic Argos. With these people are intermixed Illyrian nations, some of whom are situated on the southern part of the mountainous district, and others above the Ionian Gulf. For above Epidamnus and Apollonia, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, live the Bulliones, Taulantii, Parthini, and Brygi.¹

Somewhere near are the silver mines of Damastium. Here the Perisadyes had established their sway, and Enchelii, who are also called Sesarethii. Then come the Lyncestæ, the territory Deuriopus, Pelagonia-Tripolitis, the Eordi, Elimia, and Eratyra. Formerly each of these nations was under its own prince. The chiefs of the Enchelii were descendants of Cadmus and Harmonia, and scenes of the fables respecting these persons are shown in the territory. This nation, therefore, was not governed by native princes. The Lyncestæ were under Arrhabæus, who was of the race of the Bacchiadæ. Irra was his daughter, and his grand-daughter was Eurydice, the mother of Philip Amyntas.

The Molotti also were Epirotæ, and were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and of his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually endeavouring to obtain the mastery over the others, but all were finally subdued by the Macedonians, except a few situated above the Ionian Gulf. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country about Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. Later writers called it Macedonia the Free, and some extend the name of Macedonia to all the country as far as Corcyra, at the same time assigning as their reasons, the mode of cutting their hair, their language, the use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians; some of them, however, speak two languages. On the dissolution of the Macedonian empire, they fell under the power of the Romans.

The Egnatian Way, from Epidamnus and Apollonia, passes through the territory of these people. Near the road to Candavia are the lakes about Lychnidus, which furnish large supplies of fish for salting, and rivers, some of which empty

¹ These nations are mentioned by other authors; they were probably separated by the numerous mountain ridges to the west of Pindus. See below, § 9. But compare D Anville and the Austrian military map.

themselves into the Ionian Gulf. Some flow towards the south, as the Inachus, the Arathus, (Ratoüs,) the Achelous, and the Evenus, formerly called Lycormas. The Ratoüs discharges its waters into the Ambracian Gulf, the Inachus into the Achelous, the Achelous itself into the sea, as also the Evenus; the former traverses Acarnania, the latter Ætolia. The Erigon, after having received many streams which flow from the Illyrian mountains, and through the territories of Lyncestæ, Brygi, Deuriopes, and Pelagonians, empties itself into the Axis.

9. There were formerly cities among these nations. The district Pelagonia-Tripolitis contained (as the name signifies) three cities, of which Azorus was one. All the cities of the Deuriopes were situated on the banks of the Erigon; among which were Bryanium, Alalcomenæ,¹ and Stymbara.² Cydriæ belonged to the Brygi, and Æginium on the confines of Æthiopia, and Tricca, to the Tymphæi. Near Macedonia and Thessalia, about the mountains Pœus and Pindus, are the Æthices, and the sources of the Peneus, which are a subject of dispute between the Tymphæi and the Thessalians, who are situated below Pindus.

On the banks of the river Ion is Oxynia, a city distant from Azorus in the Tripolitis 120 stadia. Near Oxynia are Alalcomenæ, Æginium, Europus, and the confluence of the Ion with the Peneus.

At that time then, as I said before, the whole of Epirus and Illyria were well peopled, although the country is rugged and full of mountains, such as Tomarus, and Polyanus, and many others. At present the greater part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are left in the state of villages, or in ruins. Even the oracle at Dodona has almost been deserted, like the rest.

10. This oracle, according to Ephorus, was established by Pelasgi, who are said to be the most ancient people that were sovereigns in Greece. Thus the poet speaks,

“O great Pelasgic Dodonæan Jove;”³

and Hesiod,

“He went to Dodona, the dwelling of the Pelasgi, and to the beech tree.”

¹ Alcomenæ.

² Styberra, *Polyb.*; Stubera, *Liv.*; Stobera, *Suid.*

³ *Iliad*, book xvi. 233.

I have spoken of the Pelasgi in the account of Tyrhænia.

With respect to Dodona, Homer clearly intimates that the people who lived about the temple were barbarians, from their mode of life, describing them as persons who do not wash their feet, and who sleep on the ground. Whether we should read Helli, with Pindar, or Selli, as it is conjectured the word existed in Homer, the ambiguity of the writing does not permit us to affirm confidently. Philochorus says, that the country about Dodona was called, like Eubœa, Hellopia; for these are the words of Hesiod,

“There is a country Hellopia, rich in corn-fields and pastures; at its extremity is built Dodona.”

It is supposed, says Apollodorus, that it had this name from the “hele,” or marshes about the temple. He is of opinion that the poet did not call the people about the temple Helli, but Selli, adding, that Homer mentions a certain river (near of the name of Selleis. He specifies the name in this line,

“At a distance far from Ephyra, from the river Selleis.”

[Demetrius of Skepsis contends that] Ephyra of Thesprotiæ is not here meant, but Ephyra of Elis. For the river Selleis is in Elis, and there is no river of this name either in Thesprotia or among the Molotti. The fable of the oak and the doves, and other similar things, like the stories connected with Delphi, although they are subjects more adapted to engage the attention of a poet, yet are appropriate to the description of the country with which we are now occupied.

Dodona was formerly subject to the Thesproti, as was the mountain Tomarus, or Tmarus, (both names are in use,) below which the temple is situated. The tragic writers and Pindar give the epithet of Thesprotis to Dodona. It was said to be subject, in later times, to the Molotti. Those called by the poet Jove’s interpreters,¹ and described by him as men with unwashed feet, who slept on the ground, were, it is said called Tomuri² from Mount Tomarus, and the passage in the Odyssey containing the advice of Amphinomus to the suitors

¹ ὑποφῆται.

² τομοῦροι.

not to attack Telemachus before they had inquired of Jupiter is as follows,

“If the Tomuri of great Jove approve, I myself will kill him, and I will order all to join in the deed; but if the god forbid it, I command to withhold.”¹

For it is better, it is asserted, to write Tomuri² than Themistæ,³ because in no passage whatever are oracles called by the poet Themistæ, this term being applied to decrees,⁴ or statutes and rules of civil government; and the persons are called Tomuri,⁵ which is the contracted form of Tomaruri,⁶ or guardians of Tomarus.

In Homer, however, we must understand *θέμιστες* in a more simple sense, and, like *βουλαί*, by the figure Catachresis, as meaning commands and oracular injunctions as well as laws; for such is the import of this line:

“To listen to⁷ the will of Jove, which comes forth from the lofty and verdant oak.”

12. The first prophets were men, and this the poet perhaps indicates, for he calls the persons interpreters,⁸ among whom the prophets⁹ might be classed. In after-times three old women were appointed to this office, after even Dione had a common temple with Jupiter.

Suidas, in order to court the favour of the Thessalians by fabulous stories, says, that the temple was transported from Scotussa of the Thessalian Pelasgiotis, accompanied by a great multitude, chiefly of women, whose descendants are the present prophetesses, and that hence Jupiter had the epithet Pelasgic. Cineas relates what is still more fabulous * * * *

[With the exception of the following Fragments, the rest of this book is lost.]

¹ Odys. xvi. 403.

² *τομούρους.*

³ *θέμιστας.*

⁴ *βουλαί.*

⁵ *τομούρους.*

⁶ *τομαρούρους.*

⁷ *βουλήν.*

⁸ *ὑποφῆται.*

⁹ *προφῆται.*

FRAGMENTS.¹

1. THE oracle was formerly at Scotussa, a city of Pelasgiotis, but was transferred to Dodona by the command of Apollo, after some persons had burnt down the tree. The oracular answers were not conveyed by words, but by certain signs, as at the oracle of Ammon in Libya. Probably the three doves made some peculiar flight, which, observed by the priestesses, suggested the oracular answer. Some say that, in the language of the Molotti and Thesprotæ, old women are called "pelix," and old men "pelii," so that the celebrated doves were probably not birds, but three old women who passed an idle time about the temple. EPIT.

2. Among the Thesprotæ and Molotti old women are called "pelix," and old men "pelii," as among the Macedonians. Persons at least who hold office are called "peligones," as among the Laconians and Massilienses they are called "gerontes." Hence it is asserted that the story of the doves in the oak at Dodona is a fable. E.

3. The proverb, "The brazen vessel of Dodona," thus arose. In the temple was a brazen vessel, having over it a statue of a man (an offering of the Corcyræans) grasping in the hand a brazen scourge of three thongs, woven in chains, from which were suspended small bones. The bones striking continually upon the brazen vessel, whenever they were agitated by the wind, produced a long protracted sound, so that a person from the beginning to the end of the vibrations might proceed to count as far as four hundred. Whence also came the proverb, "The Corcyræan scourge."² EPIT.

4. Pæonia is to the east of these nations, and to the west of the Thracian mountains; on the north it lies above Macedonia. Through the city Gortynium and Stobi it admits of a passage to * * * (through which the Axius flows, and renders the access difficult from Pæonia into Macedonia, as

¹ The Fragments are collected from the Palatine (EPIT.) and Vatican (E.) Epitomes; and, in the opinion of Kramer, much is not lost. By the diligence and research of Kramer, the former length of these Fragments is more than doubled; but for a more particular account of his labours, the reader is referred to his preface and notes.

² This proverb is quoted in Plutarch's Life of Lycurgus.

the Peneus flowing through Tempe protects it on the side of Greece.) On the south, Pæonia borders on the Autariatæ, the Dardanii, and the Ardiæi; it extends also as far as the Strymon. E.

5. The Haliacmon¹ flows into the Thermæan Gulf. E.

6. Orestis is of considerable extent; there is in it a large mountain which reaches to Corax² of Ætolia and to Parnassus. It is inhabited by the Orestæ themselves, by the Tymphæans, and by Greeks without the isthmus, namely, those who also occupy Parnassus, Cæta, and Pindus. As a whole, the mountain is called by one name, Boion, (Pœum?) but the separate divisions bear various names. The Ægean, Ambracian, and Ionian Seas are said to be distinguishable from the highest elevations, but this appears to me to be an extravagant assertion; for Pteleum rises to a considerable height, and is situated near the Ambracian Gulf, stretching on one side to the Corcyræan and on the other to the Leucadian Seas. E.

7. Corcyra, humbled by many wars, became a subject of ridicule, and passed into a proverb. E.

8. Corcyra was formerly a flourishing place, and possessed a considerable naval force, but went into decay through war and the oppression of its rulers. In later times, although restored to liberty by the Romans, it acquired no renown, but the taunting proverb was applied to it, "Corcyra the Free, ease yourself where you please." EPIT.

9. Of Europe, there remains Macedonia, and the parts of Thrace contiguous to it, extending to Byzantium, Greece also, and the adjacent islands: indeed, Macedonia is a part of Greece. Following, however, the natural character of the country and its form, we have determined to separate it from Greece, and to unite it with Thrace, which borders upon it.—Strabo, after a few remarks, mentions Cypsela³ and the river Hebrus.⁴ He also describes a parallelogram in which is placed the whole of Macedonia. E.

10. Macedonia is bounded on the west by the sea-coast of the Adriatic; on the east by a meridian line parallel to this coast, passing through the mouth of the river Hebrus, and the city Cypsela; on the north by an imaginary straight line passing through the mountains Bertiscus, Scardus,⁵ Orbelus,⁶

Indesche Karasu. ² Oxas.

³ Ipsala.

⁴ The Maritza.

⁵ Schardagh.

⁶ Egrisdouagh.

Rhodope,¹ and Hæmus.² For these mountains extend in a straight line, beginning from the Adriatic, to the Euxine, forming towards the south a great peninsula, which comprehends Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Achaia. On the south, Macedonia is bounded by the Egnatian Way, which goes from Dyrrachium eastwards to Thessalonica, and thus has very nearly the form of a parallelogram. EPIT.

11. The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia. It acquired this name from Macedon, one of its ancient princes. There was also a city Emathia near the sea. The country was occupied by some of the Epirotæ and Illyrians, but the greatest part by Bottiæi and Thracians. The Bottiæi were of Cretan origin, and came under the command of Botton; the Pieres, who were Thracians, inhabited Pieria and the parts about Olympus; the Pæonians, the borders of the river Axius, from whence the region was called Amphaxitis; the Edoni and Bisalti, the rest of the country as far as the Strymon. The Bisalti retained their name, but the Edoni went under the various names of Mygdones, Edoni, (Odones?) and Sithones. Of all these people, the Argeadæ and the Chalcidenses of Eubœa became the chief. The Chalcidenses came from Eubœa into the territory of the Sithones, and there founded about thirty cities. They were subsequently driven out by the Sithones, but the greater part of them collected together into a single city, namely, Olynthus.³ They had the name of Chalcidenses-in-Thrace. E.

12. The Peneus separates Lower Macedonia and the seaboard from Thessaly and Magnesia. The Haliacmon is the boundary of Upper Macedonia; and the Haliacmon, the Eri-gon, the Axius, and other rivers, form the boundary between Macedonia and the Epirotæ and the Pæonians. E.

13. If a line is drawn from the recess of the Thermaic Gulf, on the sea-coast of Macedonia, and from Thessalonica, southwards, to Sunium, and another eastwards, towards the Thracian Chersonese, an angle will be made in the recess. Macedonia extends in both directions, and we must begin with the line first mentioned. The first part of it has beyond it Attica with Megaris to the Crissæan Bay. Next succeeds the sea-coast of Bœotia near Eubœa. Above Eubœa on the

¹ Despotodagh.

² Velikidagh.

³ Above Agios-Mamas, in the Bay of Cassandra.

west lies the rest of Bœotia, parallel with Attica. Strabo says that the Egnatian Way begins from the Ionian Gulf and ends at Thessalonica. E.

14. From these reefs, says Strabo, we shall first mark the boundaries of those who live about the river Peneus and Haliacmon near the sea. The Peneus flows from Mount Pindus through the middle of Thrace eastwards; passing through the cities of the Lapithæ and some of the cities of the Perrhæbi, it arrives at the vale of Tempe, having in its course received the waters of several rivers: of these, the Europus (Eurotas) is one, called by the poet Titaresius. It rises from Titarius, (Titarus,) a mountain continuous with Olympus, which at this point first begins to mark the boundary between Macedonia and Thessaly. Tempe is a narrow valley between Olympus and Ossa. The Peneus continues its course from this narrow pass 40 stadia, having Olympus, the highest of the Macedonian mountains, on the left, [and Ossa on the right, near] the mouth of the river. At the mouth of the Peneus on the right is situated Gyrton, a city of the Perrhæbi, and Magnetis, where Pirithous and Ixion were kings. The city Crannon is 100 stadia distant from Gyrton. Some assert, that in the lines of Homer, "These two from Thrace," and what follows, for Ephyri we are to understand Crannonii, and for Phlegyes, the people of Gyrton. Pieria is on the other side. E.

15. The Peneus, rising in Mount Pindus, flows through Tempe, the middle of Thessaly, the Lapithæ, and the Perrhæbi. It receives the Europus, (Eurotas,) which Homer calls Titaresius, in its course, and forms on the north the boundary of Macedonia, and on the south that of Thessaly. The sources of the river Europus are in Mount Titarius, which is contiguous to Olympus. Olympus itself is in Macedonia; Ossa and Pelion in Thessaly. EPIT.

16. At the roots of Olympus, and on the banks of the Peneus, is Gyrton, a Perrhæbic city, and Magnetis, where Pirithous and Ixion ruled. [The city] Crannon is [100 stadia] distant [from Gyrton]; and it is said that when the poet writes "Both from Thrace," we are to understand by Ephyri, the Crannonians, and by Phlegyes, the Gyrtonii. EPIT.

17. The city Dium is not on the sea-shore of the Thermoëan Gulf, at the roots of Olympus, but is about 7 stadia

distant. Near Dium is a village Pimplea, where Orpheus lived. EPIT.

18. Beneath Olympus is Dium; near it is a village, Pimplea, where it is said Orpheus lived. He was a Cicon (of the tribe of the Cicones) and was a diviner. At first he drew people about him by the practice of music and witchcraft, and by the introduction of mysterious ceremonies in religious worship. After a time, obtaining a greater degree of self-importance, he collected a multitude of followers, and acquired influence. He had many willing followers, but becoming suspected by a few of entertaining secret designs, and of an intention of taking forcible possession of power, he was attacked by them and put to death. Near this place is Libethra. E.

19. Anciently diviners practised the art of music. EPIT.

20. After Dium follow the mouths of the Haliacmon; then Pydna, Methone, Alorus, and the rivers Erigon and Ludias. The Ludias flows from Triclari, through the Oresti and the Pellæan country (Pelagonia): leaving the city on the left it falls into the Axios. The Ludias is navigable up the stream to Pella 120 stadia. Methone is situated in the middle, about 40 stadia distant from Pydna, and 70 stadia from Alorus. Alorus is situated in the farthest recess of the Thermæan Gulf. It was called Thessalonica on account of the splendid [victory obtained over the Thessalians]. Alorus is considered as belonging to Bottiæa and Pydna to Pieria. Pella is in Lower Macedonia, which was in possession of the Bottiæi. Here was formerly the Macedonian Treasury. Philip, who was brought up in this place, raised it from an inconsiderable city to some importance. It has a citadel situated on a lake called Ludias. From this lake issues the river Ludias, which is filled by a branch of the Axios. The Axios discharges itself between Chalastra and Therma. Near this river is a fortified place, now called Abydos; Homer calls it Amydon, and says that the Pæonians came from hence to assist the Trojans during the siege of Troy.

“From afar, from Amydon, from Axios’ wide stream.”

It was razed by the Argeadæ. E.

21. The water of the Axios is turbid. Homer, however, says that the water is “most beautiful,” probably on account

of a spring called *Æa* which runs into it, the water of which is of surpassing clearness. This is sufficient to prove that the present reading in the poem is erroneous. After the *Axius* is the *Echedorus*,¹ 20 stadia distant. Then *Thessalonica*, founded by *Cassander*, 40 stadia farther on, and the *Egnatian Way*. He named the city after his wife *Thessalonice*, the daughter of *Philip Amyntas*, and pulled down nearly 26 cities in the district of *Crucis*, and on the *Thermæan Gulf*, collecting the inhabitants into one city. It is the metropolis of the present *Macedonia*. The cities transferred to *Thessalonica* were *Apollonia*, *Chalastra*, *Therma*, *Garescus*, *Ænea*, and *Cissus*. *Cissus*, it is probable, belonged to *Cisseus*, who is mentioned by the poet. "Cisseus educated him," meaning *Iphidamas*. E.

22. After the city *Drium* is the river *Haliacmon*, which discharges itself into the *Thermæan Gulf*. From hence to the river *Axius* the sea-coast on the north of the gulf bears the name of *Pieria*, on which is situated the city *Pydna*, now called *Citrum*. Then follow *Methone* and the river *Alorus*; then the rivers *Erigon* and *Ludias*. From *Ludias* to the city *Pella* the river is navigated upwards to the distance of 20 stadia. *Methone* is distant from *Pydna* 40 stadia, and 70 stadia from *Alorus*. *Pydna* is a *Pierian*, *Alorus* a *Bottixæan* city. In the plain of *Pydna* the Romans defeated *Perseus*, and put an end to the *Macedonian empire*. In the plain of *Methone*, during the siege of the city, *Philip Amyntas* accidentally lost his right eye by an arrow discharged from a catapult. EPIT.

23. *Philip*, who was brought up at *Pella*, formerly a small city, much improved it. In front of the city is a lake, out of which flows the river *Ludias*. The lake is supplied by a branch of the river *Axius*. Next follows the *Axius*, which separates the territory of *Bottixæa* and *Amphaxitis*, and after receiving the river *Erigon*, issues out between *Chalestra* and *Therme*. On the river *Axius* is a place which *Homer* calls *Amydon*, and says that the *Pæones* set out thence as auxiliaries to *Troy*:

"From afar, from *Amydon*, from *Axius*' wide stream."

¹ The Gallico.

The Axius is a turbid river, but as a spring of clearest water rises in Amydon, and mingles with the Axius, some have altered the line

Ἄξειοῦ, οὗ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδνεται Αἴαν,

“Axius, whose fairest water o’erspreads Æa,”

to

Ἄξειοῦ, ᾧ κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδνεται Αἴης.

“Axius, o’er whom spreads Æa’s fairest water.”

For it is not the “fairest water” which is diffused over the spring, but the “fairest water” of the spring which is diffused over the Axius.¹ EPIT.

24. After the river Axius is the city Thessalonica, formerly called Therma. It was founded by Cassander, who called it after the name of his wife, a daughter of Philip Amyntas. He transferred to it the small surrounding cities, Chalastra, Ænea, Cissus, and some others. Probably from this Cissus came Iphidamas, mentioned in Homer, “whose grandfather Cisseus educated him,” he says, “in Thrace,” which is now called Macedonia. EPIT.

25. Somewhere in this neighbourhood is the mountain Bermius,² which was formerly in the possession of the Briges, a Thracian nation, some of whom passed over to Asia and were called by another name, Phrygians (Phryges). After Thessalonica follows the remaining part of the Thermæan Gulf,³ extending to Canastræum.⁴ This is a promontory of a peninsula form, and is opposite to Magnesia. Pallene is the name of the peninsula. It has an isthmus 5 stadia in width, with a ditch cut across it. There is a city on the peninsula, formerly

¹ Kramer quotes the following passage from Eustathius: “In the passage ἐπικίδνεται αἴη, or αἴαν, (for there are two readings,) some have understood αἴαν not to mean the earth, but a spring, as is evident from the words of the geographer, where he says that the Amydon of Homer was afterwards called Abydos, but was razed. For there is a spring of clearest water near Amydon, called Æa, running into the Axius, which is itself turbid, in consequence of the numerous rivers which flow into it. There is, therefore, he says, an error in the quotation, Ἄξειον κάλλιστον ὕδωρ ἐπικίδνεται αἴη, as it is clearly not the Axius which diffuses its water over the spring, but the contrary. The geographer rather intemperately finds fault with the supposition of αἴαν meaning the earth, and seems anxious to reject altogether this reading in the Homeric poem.”

² Bureus.

³ Gulf of Salonica.

⁴ Cape Pailuri.

called Potidæa,¹ founded by the Corinthians, but afterwards it was called Cassandria, from king Cassander, who restored it after it was demolished. It is a circuit of 570 stadia round the peninsula by sea. Here giants were said to have lived, and the region to have been called Phlegra. Some consider this to be a mere fable, but others, with greater probability on their side, see implied in it the existence of a barbarous and lawless race of people who once occupied the country, but who were destroyed by Hercules on his return home, after the capture of Troy. Here also the Trojan women are said to have committed the destructive act of burning the ships, to avoid becoming the slaves of their captors' wives. E.

26. The city Berœa² lies at the roots of Mount Bermius. EPIT.

27. Pallene is a peninsula. On the isthmus of Pallene lies what was once Potidæa, but now Cassandra. It was formerly called Phlegra, and was inhabited by the fabulous giants, an impious and lawless race, who were destroyed by Hercules. It has upon it four cities, Aphytis, Mende, Scione, and Sana. EPIT.

28. Olynthus is distant from Potidæa 70 stadia. E.

29. The arsenal of Olynthus is Meczyberna, on the Toronæan Gulf. EPIT.

30. Near Olynthus is a hollow tract called Cantharolethron, from an accidental circumstance. The Cantharus, (the beetle,) which is bred in the surrounding country, dies as soon as it touches this tract. EPIT.

31. Next after Cassandria is the remaining part of the sea-coast of the Toronæan Gulf, as far as Derris. It is a promontory opposite the district of Canastrum, and forms a gulf. Opposite to Derris, to the east, are the promontories of Athos; between them is the Singitic Gulf, which receives its name from an ancient city in it, Singus, now destroyed. Next is the city Acanthus, situated on the isthmus of Athos,³ founded by the Andrii; whence, by many, it is called the Acanthian Gulf. E.

32. Opposite to Canastrum, a promontory of Pallene, is the promontory Derris, near Cophus-Limen [or Deaf Harbour]:

¹ The ruins of Potidæa, or Cassandria, are near Pinako.

² Karafaja.

³ Monte Santo.

these form the boundaries of the Toronæan Gulf. Again, towards the east lies the promontory of Athos, [Nymphæum,] which bounds the Singitic Gulf. Then follow one another the gulfs of the Ægean Sea, towards the north, in this order: the Maliac,¹ the Pagasitic,² the Thermæan,³ the Toronæan,⁴ the Singitic,⁵ and the Strymonic.⁶ The promontories are these: Posidium,⁷ situated between the Maliac and Pagasitic Gulfs; next in order, towards the north, Sepias;⁸ then Canastrum⁹ in Pallene; then Derris;¹⁰ next Nymphæum¹¹ in Athos, on the Singitic Gulf; Acrathos,¹² the promontory on the Strymonic Gulf; between them is Athos, to the east of which is Lemnos. Neapolis¹³ bounds the Strymonic Gulf towards the north. EPIT.

33. The city Acanthus, on the Singitic Gulf, is a maritime city near the Canal of Xerxes. There are five cities in Athos; Dium, Cleonæ, Thyssos, Olophysis, Acrothoi, which is situated near the summit of Athos. Mount Athos is pap-shaped, very pointed, and of very great height. Those who live upon the summit see the sun rise three hours before it is visible on the sea-shore. The voyage round the peninsula, from the city Acanthus to the city Stagirus, the birth-place of Aristotle, is 400 stadia. It has a harbour called Caprus, and a small island of the same name. Then follow the mouths of the Strymon; then Phagres, Galepsus, and Apollonia, all of them cities; then the mouth of the Nestus, which is the boundary of Macedonia and Thrace, as settled, in their own times, by Philip and Alexander his son. There are about the Strymonic Gulf other cities also, as Myrcinus, Argilus, Drabescus, and Datum, which has an excellent and most productive soil, dock-yards for ship-building, and gold mines; whence the proverb, "A Datum of good things," like to the proverb, "Piles of plenty."¹⁴ EPIT.

34. There are numerous gold mines among the Crenides, where the city of Philip now stands, near Mount Pangæus. Pangæus itself, and the country on the east of the Strymon, and on the west as far as Pæonia, contains gold and silver

¹ Gulf of Zeitun.

² G. of Volo.

³ G. of Salonica.

⁴ G. of Cassandra.

⁵ G. of Monte Santo.

⁶ G. of Orfanc

⁷ Cape Stauros.

⁸ C. Demitri.

⁹ C. Pailuri.

¹⁰ C. Drepano

¹¹ C. St. George.

¹² C. Monte Santo.

¹³ Kavala.

¹⁴ Δάρου ἀγαθῶν. Ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθίδες.

mines. Particles of gold, it is said, are found in Pæonia in ploughing the land. EPIT.

35. Mount Athos is pap-shaped, and so lofty that the husbandmen on the summit are already weary of their labour, the sun having long since risen to them, when to the inhabitants of the shore it is the beginning of cockcrowing. Thamyris, the Thracian, was king of this coast, and followed the same practices as Orpheus. Here also, at Acanthus, is seen the canal, which Xerxes is said to have made, and through which he is said to have brought the sea from the Strymonic Gulf, across the isthmus. Demetrius of Skepsis is of opinion that this canal was not navigable; for, says he, the ground is composed of deep earth, and admits of being dug for a distance of 10 stadia only: the canal is a plethrum in width; then follows a high, broad, and flat rock, nearly a stadium in length, which prevents excavation throughout the whole distance to the sea. And even if the work could be carried on so far across, yet it could not be continued to a sufficient depth, so as to present a navigable passage. Here Alexarchus, the son of Antipater, built the city Uranopolis, 30 stadia in circumference.

This peninsula was inhabited by Pelasgi from Lemnos; they were distributed into five small cities, Cleonæ, Olophyxis, Acrothoi, Diu, Thyssos. After Athos comes the Strymonic Gulf, extending to the river Nestus, which forms the boundary of Macedonia, as settled by Philip and Alexander. Accurately speaking, there is a promontory forming a gulf with Athos, on which is the city Apollonia. First in the gulf, after the harbour of Acanthus, is Stagira, now deserted: it was one of the Chalcidic cities, and the birth-place of Aristotle. Caprus was the harbour, and there is a small island of the same name. Then comes the Strymon, and Amphipolis, at the distance of 20 stadia up the river. In this part is situated an Athenian colony, called Ennea-Odoi (the Nine-Ways). Then Galepsus and Apollonia, which were destroyed by Philip. E.

36. He says, it is 120 stadia (300?) from the Peneus to Pydna. On the sea-coast of the Strymon and of the Dateni is Neapolis, and Datum also, which has fruitful plains, a lake, rivers, dockyards, and valuable gold mines. Hence the proverb, "A Datum of good things," like "Piles of plenty."

The country beyond the Strymon, which borders upon the sea and includes the parts about Datum, is occupied by Odomantes, Edoni, and Bisaltæ, some of whom are an indigenous people, the others came from Macedonia and were under the government of Rhesus. Above Amphipolis live the Bisaltæ, extending to the city Heraclea (Sintica); they occupy a fertile valley, through which passes the Strymon, which rises among the Agrianes near Rhodope. Near the Agrianes is situated Parorbelia of Macedonia. In the interior, in a valley, which commences at Idomene, are situated Callipolis, Orthopolis, Philipopolis, and Garescus. Among the Bisaltæ, proceeding up the river Strymon, is situated Berga, a village, distant from Amphipolis about 200 stadia. Proceeding northwards from Heraclea, and to the narrows, through which the Strymon flows, keeping the river on the right, first on the left are Pæonia and the parts about Dobera; then on the right are the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope, with the adjacent parts. On this side of the Strymon, close upon the river, is Scotussa; near the lake Bolbe is Arethusa; the inhabitants above the lake are chiefly Mygdones. Not only is the course of the Axius through Pæonia, but that of the Strymon also; for it rises among the Agrianes, passes through the territory of the Mædi and Sinti, and discharges itself between the Bisaltæ and Odomantes. E.

37. The source of the river Strymon is among the Agrianes near Rhodope. EPIT.

38. The Pæonians, according to some, were a dependent colony of the Phrygians; according to others, they were an independent settlement. Pæonia, it is said, extended to Pelagonia and Pieria; Pelagonia is said to have been formerly called Orestia; and Asteropæus, one of the chiefs from Pæonia who went to Troy, to have been called, with great probability, the son of Pelagon, and the Pæonians themselves to have been called Pelagones. E.

39. The Asteropæus in Homer, son of Pelegon, we are told, was of Pæonia in Macedonia: whence "Son of Pelegon;" for the Pæonians were called Pelagones. EPIT.

40. As the *pæanismus*, or singing of the Thracian Pæan, was called *titanusmus* by the Greeks, in imitation of a well-known note in the pæan, so the Pelagones were called Titanes. E.

41. Anciently, as at present, the Pæonians appear to have been masters of so much of what is now called Macedonia as to be able to besiege Perinthus, and subject to their power Crestonia, the whole of Mygdonia, and the territory of the Agrianes as far as Mount Pangæus. Above the sea-coast of the Strymonic Gulf, extending from Galepsus to Nestus, are situated Philippi and the surrounding country. Philippi was formerly called Crenides; it was a small settlement, but increased after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius. E.

43.¹ The present city Philippi was anciently called Crenides. EPIT.

44. In front of this coast lie two islands, Lemnos and Thasos. Beyond the strait at Thasos is Abdera, with its fables. It was inhabited by Bistones, over whom ruled Diomed. The Nestus does not always keep within its banks, but frequently inundates the country. Then Dicæa, a city on the gulf, with a harbour. Above it is the lake Bistonis, 200 stadia in circumference. They say that Hercules, when he came to seize upon the horses of Diomed, cut a canal through the sea-shore and turned the water of the sea upon the plain, which is situated in a hollow, and is lower than the level of the sea, and thus vanquished his opponents. The royal residence of Diomed is shown, called, from a local peculiarity, its natural strength, Cartera-Come [Strong-Village]. Beyond the inland lake are Xanthia, Maronia, and Ismarus, cities of the Cicones. Ismarus is now called Ismara-near-Maronia. Near it is the outlet of the lake Ismaris. The stream is called sweet * * * * * At this place are what are called the heads of the Thasii. The Sapæi are situated above. E.

45. Topeira is situated near Abdera and Maronia. E.

46. The Sinti, a Thracian tribe, inhabit the island of Lemnos; whence Homer calls them Sinties, thus, "There are the Sinties." EPIT.

47. After the river Nestus to the west is the city Abdera, named after Abderus, who was eaten by the horses of Diomed; then, near, Dicæa, a city, above which is situated a large lake, the Bistonis; then the city Maronia. EPIT.

48. The whole of Thrace is composed of twenty-two nations. Although greatly exhausted, it is capable of equipping

¹ This extract should be numbered 42, and not 43. As the error in Kramer continues to the end of the book, it has not been corrected.

15,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry. After Maronia are Orthagoria, a city, and the district of Serrium (the navigation along the coast is difficult); the small city Tempyra belonging to the Samothracians, and another Caracoma, (the Stockade,) in front of which lies the island Samothrace. Imbros is at no great distance from Samothrace; Thasos is double the distance from it. After Caracoma is Doriscus, where Xerxes counted the number of his army. Then the Hebrus, with a navigation up the stream for 100 stadia to Cypsela. Strabo says that this was the boundary of Macedonia when wrested by the Romans, first from Perseus, and afterwards from Pseudophilip. Paulus, who overthrew Perseus, united the Epirotic nations to Macedonia, and divided the country into four parts; one he assigned to Amphipolis, a second to Thessalonica, a third to Pella, and a fourth to Pelagonia. Along the Hebrus dwell the Corpili, the Brenæ still higher up, above them, and lastly the Bessi, for the Hebrus is navigable up to this point. All these nations are addicted to plunder, particularly the Bessi, whom, he says, border upon the Odryse and Sapæi. Bizya is the capital of the Astæ (?). Some give the name of Odryse to all those people who live on the mountains overhanging the coast, from the Hebrus and Cypsela to Odessus. They were under the kingly government of Amadocus, Khersobleptes, Berisades, Seuthes, (Theseus?) and Cotys. E.

49. The river in Thrace now called Rhiginia (Rhegina?) was formerly called Erigon (Erginus?). EPIR.

50. Samothrace was inhabited by the brothers Jasion and Dardanus. Jasion was killed by lightning, for his crime against Ceres; Dardanus moved away from Samothrace, and built a city, to which he gave the name of Dardania, at the foot of Mount Ida. He taught the Trojans the Samothracian mysteries. Samothrace was formerly called Samos. EPIR.

51. The gods worshipped in Samothrace, the Curbantes and Corybantes, the Curetes and the Idæan Dactyli, are said by many persons to be the same as the Cabiri, although they are unable to explain who the Cabiri were. E.

52. At the mouth of the Hebrus, which discharges itself by two channels, in the Gulf of Melas, is a city Ænos, founded by the Mitylenæans and Cumæans; its first founders, however, were Alopeconnesi; then the promontory Sarpedon;

then the Chersonesus, called the Thracian Chersonesus, forming the Propontis, the Gulf of Melas, and the Hellespont. It stretches forwards to the south-east, like a promontory, bringing Europe and Asia together, with only a strait between them of 7 stadia in width, the Strait of Sestos and Abydos. On the left is the Propontis, on the right the Gulf Melas,¹ so called from the river Melas,² which discharges itself into it, according to Herodotus and Eudoxus. It is stated (says Strabo) by Herodotus, that the stream of this river was not sufficient to supply the army of Xerxes. The above promontory is closed in by an isthmus 40 stadia across. In the middle of the isthmus is situated the city Lysimachia, named after king Lysimachus, its founder. On one side of the isthmus, on the Gulf Melas, lies Cardia; its first founders were Milesians and Clazomenæans, its second founders Athenians. It is the largest of the cities in the Chersonesus. Pactya is on the Propontis. After Cardia are Drabus and Limnæ; then Alopeconnesus, where the Gulf Melas principally ends; then the great promontory Mazusia; then, in the gulf, Eleus, where is Protesilaum, from whence Sigeum, a promontory of Troas, is 40 stadia distant; this is about the most southern extremity of the Chersonesus, distant from Cardia rather more than 400 stadia; if the circuit is made by sea to the other side of the isthmus, the distance is a little greater. E.

53. The Thracian Chersonesus forms three seas, the Propontis to the north, the Hellespont to the east, and the Gulf Melas to the south, where the river Melas, of the same name as the gulf, discharges itself. EPIT.

54. In the isthmus of the Chersonesus are three cities, Cardia on the Gulf of Melas, Pactya on the Propontis, Lysimachia in the interior; the breadth of the isthmus is 40 stadia. EPIT.

55. The name of the city Eleus is of the masculine gender, perhaps that of Trapezus is also masculine. EPIT.

56. In the voyage round of which we have been speaking; beyond Eleus, first, is the entrance into the Propontis through the straits, where they say the Hellespont begins. There is a promontory here by some called Dog's Monument, by others the Monument of Hecuba, for on doubling the pro-

¹ Gulf of Saros.² Kavaktshai.

montory, the place of her burial is to be seen. Then Madytus and the promontory of Sestos, where was the Bridge of Xerxes; after these places comes Sestos. From Eleus to the Bridge it is 170 stadia; after Sestos it is 280 stadia to Ægospotamos: it is a small city in ruins. At this place a stone is said to have fallen from heaven during the Persian war. Then Callipolis, from whence to Lampsacus in Asia is a passage across of 40 stadia; then a small city Crithote in ruins; then Pactya; next Macron-Tichos, and Leuce-Acte, and Hieron-Oros, and Perinthus, a colony of the Samians; then Selybria. Above these places is situated Silta. Sacred rites are performed in honour of Hieron-Oros by the natives, which is as it were the citadel of the country. It discharges asphaltus into the sea. Proconnesus here approaches nearest the continent, being 120 stadia distant; there is a quarry of white marble in it, which is plentiful and of good quality; after Selybria the rivers Athyras and [Bathynias]; then Byzantium and the parts reaching to the Cyanean rocks. E.

57. From Perinthus to Byzantium it is 630 stadia; from the Hebrus and Cypseli to Byzantium and the Cyanean rocks it is, according to Artemidorus, 3100 stadia. The whole distance from Apollonia on the Ionian Gulf to Byzantium is 7320 stadia; Polybius makes this distance 180 stadia more, by the addition of a third of a stadium to the sum of 8 stadia, which compose a mile. Demetrius of Skepsis, in his account of the disposition of the Trojan forces, says that it is 700 stadia from Perinthus to Byzantium, and the same distance to Parium. He makes the length of the Propontis to be 1400 and the breadth 500 stadia; the narrowest part also of the Hellespont to be 7 stadia, and the length 400. E.

58. All writers do not agree in their description of the Hellespont, and many opinions are advanced on the subject. Some describe the Propontis to be the Hellespont; others, that part of the Propontis which is to the south of Perinthus; others include a part of the exterior sea which opens to the Ægæan and the Gulf Melas, each assigning different limits. Some make their measurement from Sigeum to Lampsacus, and Cyzicus, and Parium, and Priapus; and one is to be found who measures from Singrium, a promontory of Lesbos. Some do not hesitate to give the name of Hellespont to the whole distance as far as the Myrtoan Sea, because (as in the Odes

of Pindar) when Hercules sailed from Troy through the virgin strait of Hella, and arrived at the Myrtoan Sea, he returned back to Cos, in consequence of the wind Zephyrus blowing contrary to his course. Thus some consider it correct to apply the name Hellespont to the whole of the Ægæan Sea, and the sea along the coast of Thessaly and Macedonia, invoking the testimony of Homer, who says,

“Thou shalt see, if such thy will, in spring,
My ships shall sail to Hellespont.”

But the argument is contradicted in the following lines,

“Piros, Imbracius’ son, who came from Ænos.”

Piros commanded the Thracians,

“Whose limits are the quick-flowing Hellespont.”

So that he would consider all people settled next to the Thracians as excluded from the Hellespont. For Ænos is situated in the district formerly called Apsynthis, but now Corpilice. The territory of the Cicones is next towards the west. E.

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SUMMARY.

The remaining parts of Macedonia are considered, and the whole of Greece; on this the author dwells some time on account of the great reputation of the country. He corrects minutely, and clears up, the confused and vague accounts respecting the cities contained therein, given by poets and historians, and especially in the Catalogue and in many other parts of the Poem.

CHAPTER I.

1. AFTER having described as much of the western parts of Europe as is comprised within the interior and exterior seas, and surveyed all the barbarous nations which it contains, as far as the Don¹ and a small part of Greece, [namely, Macedonia,]² we propose to give an account of the remainder of the Helladic geography. Homer was the first writer on the subject of geography, and was followed by many others, some of whom composed particular treatises, and entitled them "Harbours," "Voyages," "Circuits of the Earth,"³ or gave them some name of this kind, and these comprised the description of the Helladic country. Some, as Ephorus and Polybius, included in their general history a separate topography of the continents; others, as Posidonius and Hipparchus, introduced matter relating to geography in their writings on physical and mathematical subjects.

It is easy to form an opinion of the other writers, but the poems of Homer require critical consideration, both because he speaks as a poet, and because he describes things not as

¹ The ancient Tanais. ² These words are interpolated. *Casaubon.*

³ λιμένες, περίπλοι, περιόδοι γῆς.

they exist at present, but as they existed anciently, and the greater part of which have been rendered obscure by time.

We must however undertake this inquiry as far as we are able, beginning from the point where our description ended.

It ended with an account of the Epirotic and Illyrian nations on the west and north, and of Macedonia as far as Byzantium on the east.

After the Epirotæ and Illyrii follow the Acarnanes,¹ the Ætoli, the Locri-Ozolæ, then the Phocæenses and Bœoti, Grecian nations. Opposite to these on the other side of the strait is Peloponnesus, which comprises the Gulf of Corinth,² interposed between, and determining the figure of the latter, from which it also receives its own. Next to Macedonia³ are the Thessalians,⁴ extending as far as the Malienses,⁵ and the other nations, situated on both sides of the isthmus.

2. There are many Greek tribes, but the chief people are equal in number to the Greek dialects with which we are acquainted, namely, four. Of these, the Ionic is the same as the ancient Attic; (for Iones was the former name of the inhabitants of Attica; from thence came the Iones who settled in Asia,⁶ and use the dialect now called Ionic;) the Doric was the same as the Æolic dialect, for all the people on the other side of the isthmus except the Athenians, the Megareans, and the Dorians about Parnassus, are even now called Æolians; it is probable that the Dorians, from their being a small nation, and occupying a most rugged country, and from want of intercourse [with the Æolians], no longer resemble that people either in language or customs, and, although of the same race, have lost all appearance of affinity. It was the same with the Athenians, who inhabiting a rugged country with a light soil, escaped the ravages of invaders. As they always occupied the same territory, and no enemy attempted to expel them, nor had any desire to take possession of it themselves, on this account they were, according to Thucydides, regarded as Autochthones, or an indigenous race. This was

¹ The territory of the Acarnanes is still called Carnia, south of the Gulf of Arta. The rest of the countries mentioned by Strabo no longer retain the ancient divisions, Bœotia is the modern Livadhia. G.

² The Gulf of Lepanto.

³ Makedunea.

⁴ The ancient Thessaly is the modern Vlakea.

⁵ The neighbourhood of the Gulf of Zeitun—the ancient Maliac Gulf.

⁶ In Asia Minor, and founded the cities Miletus, Smyrna, Phocæa, &c.

probably the reason, although they were a small nation, why they remained a distinct people with a distinct dialect.

It was not in the parts only on the other side of the isthmus, that the Æolian nation was powerful, but those on this side also were formerly Æolians. They were afterwards intermixed first with Ionians who came from Attica, and got possession of Ægialus,¹ and secondly with Dorians, who under the conduct of the Heracleidæ founded Megara and many of the cities in the Peloponnesus. The Iones were soon expelled by the Achæi, an Æolian tribe; and there remained in Peloponnesus the two nations, the Æolic and the Doric. Those nations then that had little intercourse with the Dorians used the Æolian dialect. (This was the case with the Arcadians and Eleians, the former of whom were altogether a mountain tribe, and did not share in the partition of the Peloponnesus; the latter were considered as dedicated to the service of the Olympian Jupiter, and lived for a long period in peace, principally because they were of Æolian descent, and had admitted into their country the army of Oxylus, about the time of the return of the Heracleidæ.²) The rest used a kind of dialect composed of both, some of them having more, others less, of the Æolic dialect. Even at present the inhabitants of different cities use different dialects, but all seem to Dorize, or use the Doric dialect, on account of the ascendancy of that nation.

Such then is the number of the Grecian nations, and thus in general are they distinguished from each other.

I shall resume my account of them, and describe each nation in their proper order.

3. According to Ephorus, Acarnania is the commencement of Greece on the west, for it is the first country which lies contiguous to the Epirotic nations. As this author follows the coast in his measurements, and begins from thence, considering the sea the most important guide of topographical description, (for otherwise he might have placed the beginning of Greece in Macedonia and Thessaly,) so ought I, observing

¹ The word Ægialus (*Αἰγιαλός*) signifies sea-shore. The name was given to this part of the Peloponnesus (afterwards called Achaia) from the towns being situated generally along the coast. Others, however, give a different explanation to the word.

² 1113 before the Christian era. G.

the natural character of places, to keep in view the sea as a mark by which I should direct the course of my description.

The sea coming from Sicily spreads itself on one side towards the Corinthian Gulf, and on the other forms a large peninsula, the Peloponnesus, united to the main-land by a narrow isthmus.

The two largest bodies of country in Greece are that within the isthmus, and that without the isthmus, [extending to the mouths of the river Peneius]. That within the isthmus is however larger, and more celebrated. The Peloponnesus is, as it were, the acropolis or citadel of all Greece; and all Greece in a manner holds the chief or leading position in Europe. For independently of the fame and power of the nations which inhabited it, the position itself of the places in it suggests this superiority. One site succeeds another diversified with numerous most remarkable bays, and large peninsulas. The first of these peninsulas is the Peloponnesus, closed in by an isthmus of forty stadia in extent. The second comprehends the first, and has an isthmus reaching from Pagæ in Megaris to Nisæa, which is the naval arsenal of the Megareans; the passage across the isthmus from sea to sea is 120 stadia.

The third peninsula also comprises the latter. Its isthmus extends from the farthest recess of the Crissæan Gulf to Thermopylæ. The line supposed to be drawn between these is about 508 stadia in length, including within it the whole of Bœotia, and cutting Phocis and the country of the Epicnemidii obliquely. The fourth peninsula has the isthmus extending from the Ambracian Gulf through Mount Cæta and Traclina to the Maliac Gulf and Thermopylæ, about 800 stadia.

There is another isthmus of more than 1000 stadia reaching from the same Gulf of Ambracia, and passing through the country of the Thessalians and Macedonians to the recess of the Thermæan Gulf.

The succession of peninsulas furnishes a convenient order to be followed in describing the country.

We must begin from the smallest, as being also the most famous of these peninsulas.¹

¹ Taking the reverse order in which these peninsulas are described, the fifth and last contains all the rest, the fourth all but the difference

CHAPTER II.

1. THE Peloponnesus resembles in figure the leaf of a plane tree.¹ Its length and breadth are nearly equal, each about 1400 stadia. The former is reckoned from west to east, that is, from the promontory Chelonatas through Olympia and the territory Megalopolitis to the isthmus; the latter from south to north, or from Maliaë though Arcadia to Ægium.

The circumference, according to Polybius, exclusive of the circuit of the bays, is 4000 stadia. Artemidorus however adds to this 400 stadia, and if we include the measure of the bays, it exceeds 5600 stadia. We have already said that the isthmus at the road where they draw vessels over-land from one sea to the other is 40 stadia across.

2. Eleians and Messenians occupy the western side of this peninsula. Their territory is washed by the Sicilian Sea. They possess the coast also on each side. Elis bends towards the north and the commencement of the Corinthian Gulf as far as the promontory Araxus,² opposite to which across the strait is Acarnania; the islands Zacynthus,³ Cephallenia,⁴ Ithaca,⁵ and the Echinades, to which belongs Dulichium, lie in front of it. The greater part of Messenia is open to the south and to the Libyan Sea as far as the islands Thyrides near Tænarum.⁶

Next to Elis, is the nation of the Achæi looking towards the north, and stretching along the Corinthian Gulf they terminate at Sicyonia. Then follow Sicyon⁷ and Corinth, extending as far as the isthmus. Next after Messenia are

between the fourth and fifth, and so on in order until we come to the Peloponnesus, properly so called, which is thus the least of the peninsulas. Strabo himself seems to admit the term peninsula to be improperly applied to these subdivisions, by first describing Greece to be divided into two great bodies, viz. that within and that without the Isthmus of Corinth.

¹ For the same reason, at a subsequent period, it obtained the name of Morea, in Greek (Μορέα) which signifies mulberry, a species or variety of which tree bears leaves divided into five lobes—equal in number to the five principal capes of the Peloponnesus. See book ii. ch. i. 30.

² Cape Papa.

³ Zante.

⁴ Cephalonia.

⁵ Theaki.

⁶ Cape Matapan.

⁷ Basilico.

Laconia and Argeia, which latter country also reaches as far as the isthmus.

The bays of the Peloponnesus are the Messeniatic,¹ the Laconian,² a third the Argolic,³ and a fourth the Hermionic,⁴ or the Saronic,⁵ which some writers call the Salaminiatic bay. Some of these bays are supplied by the Libyan, others by the Cretan and Myrtoan Seas. Some call even the Saronic Gulf a sea. In the middle of Peloponnesus is Arcadia, lying contiguous to all the other nations.

3. The Corinthian Gulf begins from the mouths of the Evenus,⁶ (some say from the mouths of the Achelous,⁷ which is the boundary between the Acarnanes and Ætoli,) and from the promontory Araxus. For there the shores on both sides first begin to contract, and have a considerable inclination towards each other; as they advance farther onwards they nearly meet at Rhium⁸ and Antirrhium,⁹ leaving a channel of only about 5 stadia between them.

Rhium is a promontory of Achaia, it is low, and bends inwards like a sickle, (indeed it has the name of Drepanum, or the Sickle,) and lies between Patræ¹⁰ and Ægium,¹¹ on it there is a temple of Neptune. Antirrhium is situated on the confines of Ætolia and Locris. It is called Rhium Molycrium. From this point the sea-shore again parts in a moderate degree on each side, and advancing into the Crissæan Gulf, terminates there, being shut in by the western boundaries of Bœotia and Megaris.

The Corinthian Gulf is 2230 stadia in circuit from the river Evenus to the promontory Araxus; and if we reckon from the Achelous, it would be increased by about 100 stadia.

The tract from the Achelous to the Evenus is occupied by Acarnanians; next are the Ætoli, reaching to the Cape Antirrhium. The remainder of the country, as far as the isthmus, is occupied by Phocis, Bœotia, and by Megaris, it extends 1118 stadia.

The sea from Cape Antirrhium as far as the isthmus is [the Crissæan Gulf, but from the city Creusa it is called the Sea of] Alcyonis, and is a portion of the Crissæan Gulf.¹²

¹ Gulf of Coron.

² Gulf of Colochina.

³ Gulf of Napoli.

⁴ Gulf of Castri.

⁵ Gulf of Egina.

⁶ Fidari.

⁷ Aspropotamo.

⁸ Drepano.

⁹ Castle of Roumelia.

¹⁰ Patræ.

¹¹ Vostitza.

¹² The words in brackets are inserted according to the suggestion of

From the isthmus to the promontory Araxus is a distance of 1030 stadia.

Such in general then is the nature and extent of the Peloponnesus, and of the country on the other side of the strait up to the farther recess of the gulf. Such also is the nature of the gulf between both.

We shall next describe each country in particular, beginning with Elis.

CHAPTER III.

1. At present the whole sea-coast lying between the Achæi and Messenii is called Eleia, it stretches into the inland parts towards Arcadia at Pholoe, and the Azanes, and Parrhasii. Anciently it was divided into several states; afterwards into two, Elis of the Epeii, and Elis under Nestor, the son of Neleus. As Homer says, who mentions Elis of the Epeii by name,

“Sacred Elis, where the Epeii rule.”

The other he calls Pylus subject to Nestor, through which, he says, the Alpheius flows:

“Alpheius, that flows in a straight line through the land of the Pylians.”²

The poet was also acquainted with a city Pylus;

“They arrived at Pylus, the well-built city of Neleus.”³

The Alpheius however does not flow through nor beside the city, but another river flows beside it, which some call Pamisus, others Amathus, from which Pylus seems to be termed Emathœis, but the Alpheius flows through the Eleian territory.

2. Elis, the present city, was not yet founded in the time of Homer, but the inhabitants of the country lived in villages. It was called Cœle [or Hollow] Elis, from the accident of its locality, for the largest and best part of it is situated in a hollow. It was at a late period, and after the Persian war, that the people collected together out of many demi, or

Groskurd. The Gulf of Corinth is, in other passages, called by Strabo the Crissæan Gulf.

¹ Od. xv. 298.

² Il. v. 545.

³ Od. iii. 4.

burghs, into one city. And, with the exception of a few, the other places in the Peloponnesus which the poet enumerates are not to be called cities, but districts. Each contained several assemblages of demi or burghs, out of which the famous cities were afterwards formed, as Mantinea in Arcadia, which was furnished with inhabitants from five burghs by Argives; Tegea from nine; Heræa from as many during the reign of Cleombrotus, or Cleonymus; Ægium out of seven, or eight; Patræ out of seven; Dyme out of eight; thus Elis also was formed out of the surrounding burghs. The demus of the Agriades was one of those added to it. The Peneius¹ flows through the city by the Gymnasium, which the Eleii constructed long after the countries which were subject to Nestor had passed into their possession.

3. These were the Pisatis, of which Olympia is a part, and Triphylia, and the territory of the Caucones. The Triphylii had their name from the accident of the union of three tribes; of the Epeii, the original inhabitants; of the Minyæ, who afterwards settled there; and last of all of the Eleii, who made themselves masters of the country. Instead of the Minyæ some writers substitute Arcadians, who had frequently disputed the possession of the territory, whence Pylus had the epithet Arcadian as well as Triphylian. Homer calls all this tract as far as Messene by the name of Pylus, the name of the city. The names of the chiefs, and of their abodes in the Catalogue of the Ships, show that Cœle Elis, or the Hollow Elis, was distinct from the country subject to Nestor.

I say this on comparing the present places with Homer's description of them, for we must compare one with the other in consideration of the fame of the poet, and our being bred up in an acquaintance with his writings; and every one will conclude that our present inquiry is rightly conducted, if nothing is found repugnant to his accounts of places, which have been received with the fullest reliance on their credibility and his veracity.

We must describe these places as they exist at present, and as they are represented by the poet, comparing them together as far as is required by the design of this work.

4. The Araxus is a promontory of Eleia situated on the north, 60 stadia from Dyme, an Achæan city. This promontory

¹ Igliao.

we consider the commencement of the coast of Eleia. Proceeding thence towards the west is Cyllene,¹ the naval arsenal of the Eleii, from whence is an ascent of 120 stadia to the present city. This Cyllene Homer mentions in these words,

“Cyllenian Otus, chief of the Epeii,”

for he would not have given the title of chief of Epeii to one who came from the Arcadian mountain of this name. It is a village of moderate size, in which is preserved the Æsculapius of Colotes, a statue of ivory, of admirable workmanship.

Next to Cyllene is the promontory Chelonatas,² the most westerly point of the Peloponnesus. In front of it there is a small island and shoals on the confines of Hollow Elis, and the territory of the Pisatæ. From hence [Cyllene] to Cephallenia is a voyage of not more than 80 stadia. Somewhere on the above-mentioned confines is the river Elisson, or Elissa.

5. Between the Chelonatas and Cyllene the river Peneius empties itself, and that also called by the poet Selleis, which flows from the mountain Pholoe. On this river is situated Ephyra, a city to be distinguished from the Thesprotian, Thessalian, and Corinthian Ephyras; being a fourth city of this name, situated on the road leading to the Lasion sea-coast, and which may be either the same place as Bœonoa, (for it is the custom to call Cœnoe by this name,) or a city near this, distant from Elis 120 stadia. This Ephyra seems to be the reputed birth-place of Astyochea, the mother of Telemachus, the son of Hercules;

“Whom Hercules brought from Ephyra, from the river Selleis;”³

(for this was the principal scene of the adventures of Hercules; at the other places called Ephyra, there is no river Selleis;) hence came the armour of Meges,

“Which Phyleus formerly brought from Ephyra, from the river Selleis;”⁴

from this Ephyra came also mortal poisons. For Minerva says, that Ulysses went to Ephyra

“In search of a mortal poison wherewith to anoint his arrows;”⁵

And the suitors say of Telemachus;

“Or he will go to the rich country of Ephyra to bring back poison destructive of our lives.”⁶

¹ Chiarenza, in ruins.

² Cape Tornese.

³ Il. ii. 650.

⁴ Il. xv. 531.

⁵ Od. i. 261.

⁶ Od. ii. 328.

And Nestor introduces the daughter of Augeas, king of the Epeii, in his account of the war with that people, as one who administered poisons:

“I first slew a man,¹ Mulius, a brave soldier. He was son-in-law of Augeas; he had married his eldest daughter; she was acquainted with all the poisons which the earth brings forth.”

There is also near Sicyon a river, Selleis, and a village of the name of Ephyra near it; and a village Ephyra in the territory of Agræa in Ætolia, the people of which are called Ephyri. There are also other Ephyri among the Perrhæbi near Macedonia, who are Crannonians,² and the Thesprotic Ephyri of Cichyrus, which was formerly called Ephyra.

6. Apollodorus, when he informs us in what manner the poet usually distinguishes places with the same names, as Orchomenus for instance, designating that in Arcadia by the epithet, “abounding with sheep;” the Bœotian Orchomenus, as “Minyeïus;” by applying to Samos the term Thracian, and adds,

“Between Samos and Imbros,”³

to distinguish it from Ionian Samos; so he says the Thesprotic Ephyra is distinguished from others by the words, “at a distance,” and “from the river Selleis.” This does not agree with what Demetrius of Scepsis says, from whom he borrows most of his information. For Demetrius does not say that there is a river Selleis in Thesprotia, but in Elis, near the Thesprotic Ephyra, as I have said before.

What he says also about Œchalia requires examination, where he asserts that the city of Eurytus of Œchalia is the only city, when there is more than one city of that name. It is therefore evident that he means the Thessalian city mentioned by Homer:

“And they who occupied Œchalia, the city of Eurytus, the Œchalian.”⁴

What city, then, is that on the road from which “Thamyris

¹ Il. xi. 738.

² I read *οἱ καὶ*, as Meineke suggests, but the whole passage from “there is” to “Ephyra,” is, as he also remarks, probably an interpolation. Strabo has already enumerated four cities of the name of Ephyra, viz. the Eliac, the Thesprotic, the Corinthian, and the Thessalian; yet here two others are presented to our notice, the Sicyonian and the Ætolian, of which Strabo makes no mention in his account of Ætolia and Sicyonia.

³ Il. xxiv. 78.

⁴ Il. ii. 730.

the Thracian was met by the Muses, and deprived of the power of song," for he says,

"Coming from Œchalia, from the dwelling of Eurytus, the Œchalian."¹

If this were the city in Thessaly, the Scepasian is mistaken in mentioning some city in Arcadia, which is now called Andania. If he is not mistaken, still the Arcadian Œchalia is said to be the city of Eurytus, so that there is not one city only of that name, although Apollodorus asserts that there is but one.

7. There existed between the mouths of the Peneius and the Selleis near Scollis, a Pylus, not the city of Nestor, but another of that name, having nothing in common with that on the Alpheius, nor even with that on the Pamisus, or, if we must so call it, the Amathus. Some writers, through their solicitude for the fame and noble descent of Nestor, give a forced meaning to these words. Since there are three places in Peloponnesus of the name of Pylus, (whence the saying originated,

"There is a Pylus in front of Pylus, and still there is another Pylus,") namely, this and the Lepreatic Pylus in Triphylia, and a third, the Messeniatic near Coryphasium,² the advocates for each place endeavour to show that the river in his own country is (Emathois) ἡμαθόεις, or sandy, and declare that to be the country of Nestor.

The greater number of other writers, both historians and poets, say, that Nestor was a Messenian, assigning as his birth-place the Pylus, which continued to exist to their times. Those, however, who adhere to Homer and follow his poem as their guide, say, that the Pylus of Nestor is where the territory is traversed by the Alpheius. Now this river passes through the Pisatis and Triphylia. The inhabitants of the Hollow Elis were emulous of the same honour respecting the Pylus in their own country, and point out distinctive marks, as a place called Gerenus, and a river Geron, and another river Geranius, and endeavour to confirm this opinion by pretending that Nestor had the epithet Gerenius from these places.

The Messenians argue in the very same manner, but ap-

¹ Il. ii. 591.

² This is supposed to be the modern Navarino. The Coryphasium is Mount St. Nicholas. G.

parently with more probability on their side. For they say, that in their territory there is a place better known, called Gerena, and once well inhabited.

Such then is the present state of the Hollow Elis.¹

8. The poet however, after having divided the country into four parts, and mentioned the four chiefs, does not clearly express himself, when he says :

“those who inhabit Buprasium and the sacred Elis, all whom Hyrminē and Myrsinus, situated at the extremity of the territory and the Olenian rock, and Aleisium contain, these were led by four chiefs; ten swift vessels accompanied each, and multitudes of Epeii were embarked in them.”²

For, by applying the name Epeii to both people, the Buprasians and the Eleii, and by never applying the name Eleii to the Buprasians, he may seem to divide, not Eleia, but the country of the Epeii, into four parts, which he had before divided into two; nor would Buprasium then be a part of Elis, but rather of the country of the Epeii. For that he terms the Buprasians Epeii, is evident from these words :

“As when the Epeii were burying King Amarynces at Buprasium.”³

Again, by enumerating together “Buprasium and sacred Elis,” and then by making a fourfold division, he seems to arrange these very four divisions in common under both Buprasium and Elis.

Buprasium, it is probable, was a considerable settlement in Eleia, which does not exist at present. But the territory only has this name, which lies on the road to Dyme from Elis the present city. It might be supposed that Buprasium had at that time some superiority over Elis, as the Epeii had over the Eleii, but afterwards they had the name of Eleii instead of Epeii.

Buprasium then was a part of Elis, and they say, that Homer, by a poetical figure, speaks of the whole and of the part together, as in these lines :

“through Greece and the middle of Argos;”⁴ “through Greece and Pthia;”⁵ “the Curetes and the Ætoli were fighting;”⁶ “those from Dulichium and the sacred Echinades;”⁷

for Dulichium is one of the Echinades. Modern writers also use this figure, as Hipponax,

¹ Κοίλη Ἥλις, or Cœle-Elis.

² Il. ii. 615.

³ Il. xxiii. 630.

⁴ Od. i. 344.

⁵ Od. ii. 496.

⁶ Il. ix. 529.

⁷ Il. ii. 625.

“they eat the bread of the Cyprians and the wheat of the Amathusii;”
for the Amathusii are Cyprians: and Alcman;

“leaving the beloved Cyprus, and Paphos, washed on all sides by the sea:”
and Æschylus;

“possessing as your share by lot the whole of Cyprus and Paphos.”

If Homer has not called the Buprasii by the name of Eleii, we shall reply, nor has he mentioned many other places and things which exist. For this is not a proof that they did not exist, but only that he has not mentioned them.

9. But Hecataeus of Miletus says, that the Epeii are a different people from the Eleii; that the Epeii accompanied Hercules in his expedition against Augeas, and joined him in destroying Elis, and defeating Augeas. He also says, that Dyme was both an Epeian and an Achæan city.

The ancient historians, accustomed from childhood to falsehood through the tales of mythologists, speak of many things that never existed. Hence they do not even agree with one another, in their accounts of the same things. Not that it is improbable that the Epeii, although a different people and at variance with the Eleii, when they had gained the ascendancy, united together, forming a common state, and their power extended even as far as Dyme. The poet does not mention Dyme, but it is not improbable that at that time it was subject to the Epeii, and afterwards to the Iones, or perhaps not even to this people, but to the Achæi, who were in possession of the country of the Iones.

Of the four portions, which include Buprasium, Hyrminê and Myrsinus belong to the territory of Eleia. The rest, according to the opinion of some writers, are situated close on the borders of the Pisatis.

10. Hyrminê was a small town, which exists no longer, but there is a mountainous promontory near Cyllene, called Hormina or Hyrmina.

Myrsinus is the present Myrtuntium, a settlement extending to the sea, and situated on the road from Dyme to Elis, at the distance of 70 stadia from the city of the Eleii.

It is conjectured that the Olenian rock is the present Scollis. For we might mention probable conjectures, since both places and names have undergone changes, and the poet himself does not explain his meaning clearly in many passages.

Scollis is a rocky mountain, common to the Dymæi, and Tritæenses, and Eleii, situated close to Lampeia, another mountain in Arcadia, which is distant from Elis 130 stadia, from Tritæa 100, and an equal number [from Dyme] Achæan cities.

Aleisium is the present Alesiaëum, a place near Amphidolis, where the neighbouring people hold a market every month. It is situated upon the mountain road leading from Elis to Olympia. Formerly, it was a city of the Pisatis, the boundaries of the country being different at different times on account of the change of masters. The poet also calls Aleisium, the hill of Aleisius, when he says,

“Till we brought our horses to Buprasium rich in grain, and to the Olenian rock, and to the place which is called the hill of Aleisium,”¹

for we must understand the words by the figure hyperbaton. Some also point out a river Aleisius.

11. Since a tribe of Caucones is mentioned in Triphylia near Messenia, and as Dyme is called by some writers Cauconis, and since between Dyme and Tritæa in the Dymæan district there is also a river called Caucon, a question arises respecting the Caucones, whether there are two nations of this name, one situate about Triphylia, and another about Dyme, Elis, and Caucon. This river empties itself into another which is called Teutheas, in the masculine gender, and is the name of a small town that was one of those that composed Dyme; except that the town is of the feminine gender, and is pronounced Teuthea, without the s, and the last syllable is long.

There is a temple of Diana Nemydia (Nemeæa?). The Teutheas discharges itself into the Achelous, which runs by Dyme, and has the same name as that in Acarnania, and the name also of Peirus. In the lines of Hesiod,

“he lived near the Olenian rock on the banks of the broad Peirus,” some change the last word Πείριον to Πύριον, but improperly.

² [But it is the opinion of some writers, who make the Caucones a subject of inquiry, that when Minerva in the Odyssey, who has assumed the form of Mentor, says to Nestor; “At sun-rise I go to the magnanimous Caucones, where a debt neither of a late date nor of small amount is owing to me.”³ When Telemachus comes to thy house send him with thy son, thy chariot, and thy horses;”

¹ Il. ii. 756.

²—³ This passage in brackets is an interpolation to explain the subsequent inquiry who the Caucones were. *Kramer.* ³ Il. iii. 636.

a certain district in the territory of the Epeii appears to be designated, which the Caucones, a different nation from that in Triphylia, possessed, and who perhaps extended even as far as the Dymeian territory.] But it was not proper to omit, whence Dyme had the name Cauconitis, nor why the river was called Caucon, because the question is, who the Caucones¹ were, to whom Minerva says, she is going to recover a debt. For if we understand the poet to mean those in Triphylia about Lepreum, I know not how this is probable; whence some persons even write the passage,

“where a large debt is owing to me in the sacred Elis.”

This will appear more clearly, when we describe the Pisatis, and after it Triphylia as far as the confines of Messenia.

12. Next to the Chelonatas is the long tract of coast of the Pisatæ; then follows a promontory, Pheia; there was also a small town of this name;

“by the walls of Pheia about the stream of the Jardanes,”²

for there is a small river near it.

Some writers say, that Pheia is the commencement of the Pisatis. In front of Pheia is a small island and a harbour; thence to Olympia by sea, which is the shortest way, is 120 stadia. Then immediately follows another promontory, [Icthus,] projecting very far towards the west, like the Chelonatas; from this promontory to Cephallenia are 120 stadia. Next the Alpheius discharges itself, at the distance from the Chelonatas of 280, and from the Araxus of 545, stadia. It flows from the same places as the Eurotas. There is a village of the name of Asea in the Megalopolitis, where the two sources, whence the above-mentioned rivers issue, are near to one another. After running under the earth the distance of many stadia, they then rise to the surface, when one takes its course to Laconia, the other to the Pisatis. The Eurotas reappears at the commencement of the district Bleminates, flowing close beside Sparta, and passing through a long valley near Helos, which the poet mentions, empties itself between Gythium, the naval arsenal of Sparta, and Acræa. But the Alpheius, after receiving the Celadon, (Ladon?) and Erymanthus, and other obscure streams, pursues its course through Phrixa, and the Pisatis, and Triphylia, close to Olympia,

¹ Book vii. ch. vii. 2.

² Il. vii. 135.

and discharges itself into the Sicilian Sea between Pheia and Epitalium. At its mouth, and at the distance of 80 stadia from Olympia, is situated the grove of Artemis Alpheionia, or Alpheiusa, for both words are in use. At Olympia an annual festival, to which multitudes resort, is celebrated in honour of this goddess, as well as of Diana Elaphia and Diana Daphnia. The whole country is full of temples dedicated to Diana, and Aphrodite, and the Nymphs, which are situated amidst flowery groves, and generally where there is abundance of water. Hermeia, or images of Mercury, are frequently met with on the road, and on the sea-shore, temples dedicated to Neptune. In the temple of Diana Alpheionia are pictures by Cleanthes and Aregon, Corinthian painters; the former has depicted the taking of Troy, and the birth of Minerva; the latter, Diana borne upon a griffin; which are highly esteemed.

13. Next is the mountain, which separates Macistia in Triphylia from the Pisatis; then follows another river Chalcis, and a spring called Cruni, and Chalcis a village, and next to these the Samicum, where is the temple of the Samian Neptune, which is held in the highest honour. There is also a grove full of wild olive trees. It was intrusted to the care of the Macistii, whose business it was to announce the Samian truce as it is called. All the Triphylia contribute to the temple.

[The temple of the Scilluntian Minerva at Scillus in the neighbourhood of Olympia, opposite the Phellon, is among the celebrated temples.]¹

14. Near these temples, at the distance of 30 stadia, or a little more, above the sea-coast, is situated the Triphyliac, or Lepreatic, Pylus, which the poet calls Emathoeis, or Sandy, and transmits to us as the native country of Nestor, as may be collected from his poetry. It had the epithet Emathoeis either from the river, which flows by the city towards the north, and was formerly called Amathus, but now Mamaus, or Arcadicus; or because this river was called Pamisus, the same name as that of two rivers in Messenia, while with respect to the city, the epithet Emathoeis, or sandy, is of uncertain origin, since it is not the fact, it is said, that either the river or the country abounds with sand.

¹ This passage is transposed from the following section, as proposed by Groskurd.

Towards the east is a mountain near Pylus, named after Minthe, who, according to the fable, was the mistress of Hades, and being deluded by Proserpine, was transformed into the garden mint, which some call hedyosmus, or the sweet-smelling mint. There is also near the mountain an enclosure, sacred to Hades, held in great veneration by the Macistii; and a grove dedicated to Ceres, situated above the Pyliaic plain. This plain is fertile, and situated close to the sea-coast; it extends along the interval between the Samicum and the river Neda. The sea-shore is sandy and narrow, so that no one could be censured for asserting that Pylus was called "sandy" from this tract.

15. Towards the north there were two small Triphyliac towns, Hypana and Typaneæ, bordering upon Pylus; the former of which was incorporated with Elis, the other remained separate. Two rivers flow near, the Dalion and the Acheron, and empty themselves into the Alpheius. The Acheron has its name from its relation to Hades. For at that place were held in extraordinary reverence the temples of Ceres, Proserpine, and Hades, perhaps on account of the contrariety of the properties of the country, which Demetrius of Scepsis mentions. For Triphylia is fertile, but the soil is subject to mildew, and produces rushes,¹ whence in these places, instead of the product being large, there is frequently no crop whatever.

16. Towards the south of Pylus is Lepreum. This also was a city, situated 40 stadia above the sea-coast. Between the Lepreum and the Annus (Anigrus? Alphæus?) is the temple of the Samian Neptune. These places are distant 100 stadia from each other. This is the temple in which the poet says that the Pylii were found by Telemachus engaged in offering sacrifice:

"They came to Pylus, the well-built city of Neleus; the people were sacrificing on the sea-shore bulls, entirely black, to Neptune, the god of the dark locks, who shakes the earth."²

For the poet was at liberty to feign things which did not exist, but when it is possible to adapt poetry to reality, and

¹ *θρόνον*, the meaning of this word is uncertain; Meyer in his "Botanische erklärung" of Strabo does not attempt to explain it.

² Od. iii. 4.

preserve the narrative it is better to abstain from fiction.

The Lepreatæ possessed a fertile country, on the confines of which were situated the Cyparissenses. But Caucones were masters of both these tracts, and even of the Macistus, which some call Platanistus. The town has the same name as the territory. It is said, that in the Lepreatis there is even a monument of a Caucon, who had the name of the nation, either because he was a chief, or for some other reason.

17. There are many accounts respecting the Caucones. They are said to be an Arcadian tribe, like the Pelasgi, and also, like them, a wandering people. Thus the poet relates, that they came as auxiliaries to the Trojans, but from what country he does not mention, but it is supposed from Paphlagonia. For in that country there is a tribe of the name of Cauconiatæ, that border upon the Mariandyni, who are themselves Paphlagonians. We shall say more of them when we describe that country.¹

At present I must add some remarks concerning the Caucones in Triphylia. For some writers say, that the whole of the present Elis, from Messenia to Dyme, was called Cauconia. Antimachus calls them all Epeii and Caucones. But some writers say that they did not possess the whole country, but inhabited it when they were divided into two bodies, one of which settled in Triphylia towards Messenia, the other in the Buprasian district towards Dyme, and in the Hollow Elis. And there, and not in any other place, Aristotle considered them to be situated. The last opinion agrees better with the language of Homer, and the preceding question is resolved. For Nestor is supposed to have lived at the Triphylia Pylus, the parts of which towards the south and the east (and these coincide towards Messenia and Laconia) was the country subject to Nestor, but the Caucones now occupy it, so that those who are going from Pylus to Lacedæmon must necessarily take the road through the Caucones. The temple of the Samian Neptune, and the naval station near it, where Telemachus landed, incline to the west and to the north. If then the Caucones lived there only, the account of the poet must be erroneous.

¹ Book xii. c. 3, 4. Little, however, can be obtained of their history, which is buried in the same obscurity as the Pelasgi and Leleges.

[For, according to Sotades, Minerva enjoins Nestor to send his son with Telemachus in a chariot to Lacedæmon towards the east, while she herself returns back to the west, to pass the night in the vessel;

“but at sun-rise she sets out to the magnanimous Caucones,”

to obtain payment of the debt, in a forward direction. How then are we to reconcile these opinions? for Nestor might say, “The Caucones are my subjects, and lie directly in the road of persons who are going to Lacedæmon; why then do you not accompany Telemachus and his friends on his journey, but take a road in an opposite direction?” Besides, it was natural for one, who was going to recover payment of a debt, and that a considerable sum, as she says, from a people under the command of Nestor, to request some assistance from him in case they should be so unjust, as usually happens, as to refuse to discharge it. But she did not do this.

If therefore the Caucones are to be found in one situation only, these absurdities would follow. But if one division of this tribe occupied the places in Elis near Dymē, Minerva might be said to direct her journey thither, and even the return to the ship would not be absurd, nor the separation from the company of Telemachus, when her road was in an opposite direction.

The question respecting Pylus may perhaps be resolved in a similar manner, when we come, as we proceed, to the description of the Messenian Pylus.¹

18. There is also, it is said, a nation, the Paroreatæ, who occupy, in the hilly district of Triphylia, the mountains, which extend from about Lepreum and Macistum to the sea near the Samian grove sacred to Neptune.

19. Below these people on the coast are two caves; one, of the nymphs Anigriades; the other, the scene of the adventures of the Atlantides,² and of the birth of Dardanus. There also are the groves, both the Ionæum and Eurycydeium.

Samicum is a fortress. Formerly there was a city of the name of Samos, which perhaps had its designation from its

¹ This passage is an interpolation by the same hand probably as that in s. 11. *Cramer*.

² Dardanus was the son of Jupiter and Electra, one of the seven daughters of Atlas, surnamed Atlantides.

height, since they called heights Sami; perhaps also this was the acropolis of Arēnē, which the poet mentions in the Catalogue of the Ships;

“who inhabited Pylus, and the pleasant Arene;”¹

for as the position of Arēnē has not been clearly discovered anywhere, it is conjectured, that it was most probably situated where the adjoining river Anigrus, formerly called Minyeius, empties itself. As no inconsiderable proof of this, Homer says,

“There is a river Minyeius, which empties itself into the sea, near Arene.”²

Now near the cave of the nymphs Anigriades is a fountain, by which the subjacent country is rendered marshy, and filled with pools of water. The Anigrus however receives the greater part of the water, being deep, but with so little current that it stagnates. The place is full of mud, emits an offensive smell perceptible at a distance of 26 stadia, and renders the fish unfit for food. Some writers give this fabulous account of these waters, and attribute the latter effect to the venom of the Hydra, which some of the Centaurs³ washed from their wounds; others say, that Melampus used these cleansing waters for the purification of the Proetades.⁴ They are a cure for alphi, or leprous eruptions, and the white tetter, and the leichen. They say also that the Alpheus had its name from its property of curing the disease alphi.⁵

Since then the sluggishness of the Anigrus, and the recoil of the waters of the sea, produce a state of rest rather than a current, they say, that its former name was Minyeius, but that some persons perverted the name and altered it to Minteiūs. The etymology of the name may be derived from other sources; either from those who accompanied Chloris, the mother of Nestor, from the Minyeian Orchomenus; or,

¹ Il. ii. 591.

² Il. ii. 721.

³ Hercules, after killing the Hydra, dipped the arrows which he afterwards made use of against the Centaurs, in gall of this monster. Pausanias, however, speaks of one Centaur only, Chiron, or, according to others, Polenor, who washed his wounds in the Anigrus.

⁴ The daughters of Proetus. According to Apollodorus, Melampus cured them of madness, probably the effect of a disease of the skin.

⁵ Alphi, Lepra alphoides. Leuce, white tetter or common leprosy. Leichen, a cutaneous disease tending to leprosy.

from the Minyæ descendants of the Argonauts, who were banished from Lemnos, and went to Lacedæmon, and thence to Triphylia, and settled about Arēnē, in the country now called Hypæsia, which however no longer contains places built by the Minyæ.

Some of these people, with Theras the son of Autesion, who was a descendant of Polynices, having set sail to the country between Cyrenæa and the island of Crete, "formerly Calliste, but afterwards called Thera," according to Callimachus, founded Thera, the capital of Cyrene, and gave the same name to the city, and to the island.

20. Between the Anigrus and the mountain from which the Jardanes rises, a meadow and a sepulchre are shown, and the Achææ, which are rocks broken off from the same mountain, above which was situated, as I have said, the city Samos. Samos is not mentioned by any of the authors of Peripli, or Circumnavigations; because perhaps it had been long since destroyed, and perhaps also on account of its position. For the Poseidium is a grove, as I have said, near the sea, a lofty eminence rises above it, situated in front of the present Samicum, where Samos once stood, so that it cannot be seen from the sea.

Here also is the plain called Samicus, from which we may further conjecture that there was once a city Samos.

According to the poem Rhadinē, of which Stesichorus seems to have been the author, and which begins in this manner,

"Come, tuneful Muse, Erato, begin the melodious song, in praise of the lovely Samian youths, sounding the strings of the delightful lyre:"

these youths were natives of this Samos. For he says that Rhadinē being given in marriage to the tyrant, set sail from Samos to Corinth with a westerly wind, and therefore certainly not from the Ionian Samos. By the same wind her brother, who was archi-theorus, arrived at Delphi. Her cousin, who was in love with her, set out after her in a chariot to Corinth. The tyrant put both of them to death, and sent away the bodies in a chariot, but changing his mind, he recalled the chariot, and buried them.

21. From this Pylus and the Lepreum to the Messenian Pylus¹ and the Coryphasium, fortresses situated upon the sea,

¹ The position of Pylus of Messenia is uncertain. D'Anville places it

and to the adjoining island Sphagia, is a distance of about 400 stadia, and from the Alpheius a distance of 750, and from the promontory Chelonatas 1030 stadia. In the intervening distance are the temple of the Macistian Hercules, and the river Acidon, which flows beside the tomb of Jardanus, and Chaa, a city which was once near Lepreum, where also is the Æpasian plain. It was for this Chaa, it is said, that the Arcadians and Pyliaus went to war with each other, which war Homer has mentioned, and it is thought that the verse ought to be written,

“Oh that I were young as when multitudes of Pylia, and of Arcades, handling the spear, fought together at the swift-flowing Acidon near the walls of Chaa,”¹

not Celadon, nor Pheia, for this place is nearer the tomb of Jardanus and the Arcades than the other.

22. On the Triphylian Sea are situated Cyparissia, and Pyrgi, and the rivers Acidon and Neda. At present the boundary of Triphylia towards Messenia is the impetuous stream of the Neda descending from the Lycæus, a mountain of Arcadia, and rising from a source which, according to the fable, burst forth to furnish water in which Rhea was to wash herself after the birth of Jupiter. It flows near Phigalia, and empties itself into the sea where the Pyrgitæ, the extreme tribe of the Triphylia, approach the Cyparissenses, the first of the Messenian nation. But, anciently, the country had other boundaries, so that the dominions of Nestor included some places on the other side of the Neda, as the Cyparisseis, and some others beyond that tract, in the same manner as the poet extends the Pylia sea as far as the seven cities, which Agamemnon promised to Achilles,

“All near the sea bordering upon the sandy Pylus,”²

which is equivalent to, near the Pylia sea.

23. Next in order to the Cyparisseis in traversing the coast towards the Messenian Pylus and the Coryphasium, we meet with Erana, (Eranna,) which some writers incorrectly suppose was formerly called Arene, by the same name as the Pylia city, and the promontory Platamodes, from which to the Coryphasium, and to the place at present called Pylus, are

at New Navarino. Barbié de Bocage at Old Navarino. See also Ernst Curtius, Peloponnesus.

¹ Il. vii. 133.

² Il. ix. 153.

100 stadia.¹ There is also a cenotaph and a small town in it both of the same name—Protē.

We ought not perhaps to carry our inquiries so far into antiquity, and it might be sufficient to describe the present state of each place, if certain reports about them had not been delivered down to us in childhood; but as different writers give different accounts, it is necessary to examine them. The most famous and the most ancient writers being the first in point of personal knowledge of the places, are, in general, persons of the most credit. Now as Homer surpasses all others in these respects, we must examine what he says, and compare his descriptions with the present state of places, as we have just said. We have already considered his description of the Hollow Elis and of Buprasium.

24. He describes the dominions of Nestor in these words:

“And they who inhabited Pylus, and the beautiful Arene, and Thryum, a passage across the Alpheius, and the well-built Æpy, and Cyparisseis, and Amphigeneia, and Pteleum, and Helos, and Dorium, where the Muses having met with Thamyris the Thracian, deprived him of the power of song, as he was coming from Œchalia, from the house of Enrytus the Œchalian.”²

It is Pylus, therefore, to which the question relates, and we shall soon treat of it. We have already spoken of Arene. The places, which he here calls Thryum, in another passage he calls Thryoessa,

“There is a city Thryoessa, lofty, situated on a hill,
Far off, on the banks of the Alpheius.”³

He calls it the ford or passage of the Alpheius, because, according to these verses, it seems as if it could be crossed at this place on foot. Thryum is at present called Epitalium, a village of Macistia.

With respect to *εὐκτιτον Αἶπυ*, “Æpy the well-built,” some writers ask which of these words is the epithet of the other, and what is the city, and whether it is the present Margalæ of Amphidolia, but this Margalæ is not a natural fortress, but another is meant, a natural strong-hold in Macistia. Writers who suppose this place to be meant, say, that Æpy is the name of the city, and infer it from its natural properties, as in the example of Helos,⁴ Ægialos,⁵ and many others:

¹ Some MSS. have 120 stadia.

² Il. ii. 591.

³ Il. xi. 710.

⁴ A marsh.

⁵ The sea-shore.

those who suppose Margalæ to be meant here, will assert the contrary.

Thryum, or Thryoessa, they say, is Epitalium, because all the country is *θρυώδης*, or sedgy, and particularly the banks of the rivers, but this appears more clearly at the fordable places of the stream. Perhaps Thryum is meant by the ford, and by "the well-built Æpy," Epitalium, which is naturally strong, and in the other part of the passage he mentions a lofty hill ;

"The city Thryoessa, a lofty hill,
Far away by the Alpheus."¹

25. Cyparisseis is near the old Macistia, which then extended even to the other side of the Neda, but it is not inhabited, as neither is Macistum. There is also another, the Messenian Cyparissia, not having quite the same name, but one like it. The city of Macistia is at present called Cyparissia, in the singular number, and feminine gender, but the name of the river is Cyparisseis.

Amphigeneia, also belonging to Macistia, is near Hypsoeis, where is the temple of Latona.

Pteleum was founded by the colony that came from Pteleum in Thessaly, for it is mentioned in this line,

"Antron on the sea-coast, and the grassy Pteleum."²

It is a woody place, uninhabited, called Pteleasimum.

Some writers say, that Helos was some spot near the Alpheius ; others, that it was a city like that in Laconia,

"and Helos, a small city on the sea ;"³

others say that it is the marsh near Alorium, where is a temple of the Eleian Artemis, (Diana of the Marsh,) belonging to the Arcadians, for this people had the priesthood.

Dorium is said by some authors to be a mountain, by others a plain, but nothing is now to be seen ; yet it is alleged, that the present Oluris, or Olura, situated in the Aulon, as it is called, of Messenia, is Dorium. Somewhere there also is Œchalia of Eurytus, the present Andania, a small Arcadian town of the same name as those in Thessaly and Eubœa, whence the poet says, Thamyris, the Thracian, came to Dorium, and was deprived by the Muses of the power of song.

26. Hence it is evident that the country under the command of Nestor is on each side of the Alpheius, all of which tract

¹ Il. xi. 710.

² Il. ii. 697.

³ Il. ii. 584.

he calls the country of the Pyliaus, but nowhere does the Alpheius touch Messenia, nor the Hollow Elis.¹

It is in this district that we have the native country of Nestor, which we call the Triphylian, the Arcadian, and the Lepreatic Pylus. For we know that other places of the name of Pylus are pointed out, situated upon the sea, but this is distant more than 30 stadia from it, as appears from the poem. A messenger is sent to the vessel, to the companions of Telemachus,—to invite them to a hospitable entertainment. Telemachus, upon his return from Sparta, does not permit Peisistratus to go to the city, but diverts him from it, and prevails upon him to hasten to the ship, whence it appears that the same road did not lead both to the city and to the haven. The departure of Telemachus may in this manner be aptly understood :

“ they went past Cruni, and the beautiful streams of Chalcis ; the sun set, and all the villages were in shade and darkness ; but the ship, exulting in the gales of Jove, arrived at Pheæ. She passed also the divine Elis, where the Epeii rule ;”²

for to this place the direction of the vessel was towards the north, and thence it turns to the east. The vessel leaves its first and straight course in the direction of Ithaca, because the suitors had placed an ambush there,

“ In the strait between Ithaca and Samos,

And from thence he directed the vessel to the sharp-pointed islands,
νήσοισι θογαί ;”³

the sharp-pointed (*ὄξεῖαι*) he calls *θοαί*. They belong to the Echinades, and are near the commencement of the Corinthian Gulf and the mouths of the Achelous. After having sailed past Ithaca so as to leave the island behind him, he turns to the proper course between Acarnania and Ithaca, and disembarks on the other side of the island, not at the strait of Cephallenia, where the suitors were on the watch.

27. If any one therefore should suppose that the Eleian Pylus is the Pylus of Nestor, the ship would not properly be said, after setting off thence, to take its course along Cruni and Chalcis, as far as the west, then to arrive by night at Pheæ, and afterwards to sail along the territory of Eleia, for

¹ In the discussion which follows, Strabo endeavours to prove, that the Pylus of Nestor is the Pylus of Triphylia, and not the Pylus of Messenia.

² Od. xv. 295.

³ Od. iv. 671 ; xv. 298.

these places are to the south of Eleia, first Pheæ, then Chalcis, then Cruni, then the Triphylian Pylus, and the Samicum. In sailing then to the south from the Eleian Pylus this would be the course. In sailing to the north, where Ithaca lies, all these places are left behind, but they must sail along Eleia itself, and before, although he says after, sun-set. Again, on the other side, if any one should suppose the Messenian Pylus and the Coryphasium to be the commencement of the voyage after leaving the country of Nestor, the distance would be great, and would occupy more time. For the distance only to the Triphylian Pylus and the Samian Poseidium is 400 stadia, and the voyage would not be along Cruni, and Chalcis, and Pheæ, the names of obscure places and rivers, or rather of streams, but first along the Neda, then Acidon, next Alpheius, and the places and countries lying between these rivers, and lastly, if we must mention them, along the former, because the voyage was along the former places and rivers also.

28. Besides, Nestor's account of the war between the Pyliaus and Eleians, which he relates to Patroclus, agrees with our arguments, if any one examines the lines. For he says there, that Hercules laid waste Pylus, and that all the youth were exterminated; that out of twelve sons of Neleus, he himself alone survived, and was a very young man, and that the Epeii, despising Neleus on account of his old age and destitute state, treated the Pyliaus with haughtiness and insult. Nestor therefore, in order to avenge this wrong, collected as large a body of his people as he was able, made an inroad into Eleia, and carried away a large quantity of booty;

“ Fifty herds of oxen, as many flocks of sheep,
As many herds of swine,”¹

and as many flocks of goats, an hundred and fifty brood mares, bay-coloured, most of which had foals, and “these,” he says,

“ We drove away to Pylus, belonging to Neleus,
By night towards the city;”²

so that the capture of the booty, and the flight of those who came to the assistance of people who were robbed, happened in the day-time, when, he says, he slew Itamon; and they returned by night, so that they arrived by night at the

¹ Il. xi. 677.

² Il. xi. 681.

city. When they were engaged in dividing the booty, and in sacrificing, the Epeii, having assembled in multitudes, on the third day marched against them with an army of horse and foot, and encamped about Thryum, which is situated on the Alpheus. The Pyliaus were no sooner informed of this than they immediately set out to the relief of this place, and having passed the night on the river Minyeius near Arene, thence arrive at the Alpheus at noon. After sacrificing to the gods, and passing the night on the banks of the river, they immediately, in the morning, engaged in battle. The rout of the enemy was complete, and they did not desist from the pursuit and slaughter, till they came to Buprasium,

“and the Olenian rock, where is a tumulus of Alesius, whence again Minerva repulsed the multitudes;”¹

and adds below,

“but the Achæi

Turned back their swift horses from Buprasium to Pylus.”

29. From these verses how can it be supposed that Eleian or Messenian Pylus is meant. I say the Eleian, because when this was destroyed by Hercules, the country of the Epeii also was ravaged at the same time, that is, Eleia. How then could those, who were of the same tribe, and who had been plundered at that time, show such pride and insult to persons, who were suffering under the same injuries? How could they overrun and ravage their own country? How could Augeas and Neleus be kings of the same people, and yet be mutual enemies; for to Neleus

“a great debt was owing at the divine Elis; four horses, which had won the prize; they came with their chariots to contend for prizes; they were about to run in the race for a tripod; and Augeas, king of men, detained them there, but dismissed the charioteer.”²

If Neleus lived there, there Nestor also lived. How then were there

“four chiefs of Eleians and Buprasians, with ten swift ships accompanying each, and with many Epeii embarked in them?”

The country also was divided into four parts, none of which was subject to Nestor, but those tribes were under his command,

“who lived at Pylus, and the pleasant Arēnē,”

and at the places that follow next as far as Messene.

¹ Il. xi. 756.

² Il. xi. 697.

How came the Epeii, when marching against the Pylians, to set out towards the Alpheius and Thryum, and after being defeated there in battle, to fly to Buprasium? But on the other side, if Hercules laid waste the Messenian Pylus, how could they, who were at such a distance, treat the Pylians with insult, or have so much intercourse and traffic with them, and defraud them by refusing to discharge a debt, so that war should ensue on that account? How too could Nestor, after having got, in his marauding adventure, so large a quantity of booty, a prey of swine and sheep, none of which are swift-footed, nor able to go a long journey, accomplish a march of more than 1000 stadia to Pylus near Coryphasium? Yet all the Epeii arrive at Thryoessa and the river Alpheius on the third day, ready to lay siege to the strong-hold. How also did these districts belong to the chiefs of Messenia, when the Caucones, and Triphylia, and Pisatæ occupied them? But the territory Gerena, or Gerenia, for it is written both ways, might have a name which some persons applied designedly, or which might have originated even in accident.

Since, however, Messenia was entirely under the dominion of Menelaus, to whom Laconia also was subject, as will be evident from what will be said hereafter, and since the rivers, the Pamisus and the Nedon, flow through this country, and not the Alpheius at all, which runs in a straight line through the country of the Pylians, of which Nestor was ruler, can that account be credible, by which it appears that one man takes possession by force of the dominion of another, and deprives him of the cities, which are said to be his property in the Catalogue of the Ships, and makes others subject to the usurper.

30. It remains that we speak of Olympia, and of the manner in which everything fell into the power of the Eleii.

The temple is in the district Pisatis, at the distance of less than 300 stadia from Elis. In front of it is a grove of wild olive trees, where is the stadium. The Alpheius flows beside it, taking its course out of Arcadia to the Triphylia Sea between the west and the south. The fame of the temple was originally owing to the oracle of the Olympian Jove; yet after that had ceased, the renown of the temple continued, and increased, as we know, to a high degree of celebrity, both on account of the assembly of the people of Greece,

which was held there, and of the Olympic games, in which the victor was crowned. These games were esteemed sacred, and ranked above all others. The temple was decorated with abundance of offerings, the contributions of all Greece. Among these offerings was a Jupiter of beaten gold, presented by Cypselus, the tyrant of Corinth. The largest was a statue of Jupiter in ivory, the workmanship of Phidias of Athens, the son of Charmides. Its height was so great, that although the temple is very large, the artist seems to have mistaken its proportions, and although he made the figure sitting, yet the head nearly touches the roof, and presents the appearance that, if it should rise, and stand upright, it would unroof the temple. Some writers have given the measurement of the statue, and Callimachus has expressed it in some iambic verses. Panæus, the painter, his nephew, and joint labourer, afforded great assistance in the completion of the statue with respect to the colours with which it was ornamented, and particularly the drapery.

There are exhibited also many and admirable pictures around the temple, the work of this painter. It is recorded of Phidias, that to Panæus, who was inquiring after what model he intended to form the figure of Jupiter, he replied, that it would be from that of Homer delineated in these words ;

“He spoke, and gave the nod with his sable brows, the ambrosial hair shook on the immortal head of the king of gods, and vast Olympus trembled.”¹

[This is well expressed, and the poet, as from other circumstances, so particularly from the brows, suggests the thought that he is depicting some grand conception, and great power worthy of Jupiter. So also in his description of Juno, in both he preserves the peculiar decorum of each character, for he says,

“she moved herself upon the throne, and shook vast Olympus :”²

this was effected by the motion of her whole body, but Olympus shakes when Jupiter only nods with his brows, the hair of his head partaking of the motion. It was elegantly said [of Homer] that he was the only person who had seen and had made visible the figures of the gods.]³

¹ Il. i. 528.

• Il. viii. 199.

³ Probably an interpolation.

To the Eleii above all other people is to be ascribed the magnificence of the temple at Olympia, and the reverence in which it was held. For about the Trojan times, and even before that period, they were not in a flourishing state, having been reduced to a low condition by war with the Pylii, and afterwards by Hercules, when Augeas their king was overthrown. The proof is this. The Eleii sent forty ships to Troy, but the Pylians and Nestor ninety; then after the return of the Heracleidæ the contrary happened. For the Ætoli returning with the Heracleidæ under the command of Oxylyus, became joint settlers with the Epeii, on the ground of ancient affinity. They extended the bounds of Hollow Elis, got possession of a large portion of the Pisatis, and subjected Olympia to their power. It was these people who invented the Olympic games,¹ and instituted the first Olympiad. For we must reject the ancient stories both respecting the foundation of the temple, and the establishment of the games, some alleging that Hercules, one of the Idæan Dactyli, was the founder; others, that the son of Alcmena and Jupiter founded them, who also was the first combatant and victor. For such things are variously reported, and not entitled to much credit. It is more probable, that from the first Olympiad,² when Coræbus the Eleian was the victor in the race in the stadium, to the twenty-sixth, the Eleians presided over the temple, and at the games. But in the Trojan times, either there were no games where a crown was awarded, or they had not yet acquired any fame, neither these nor any of the games which are now so renowned. Homer does not speak of these games, but of others of a different kind, which were celebrated at funerals. Some persons however are of opinion that he does mention the Olympic games, when he says, that Augeas detained four victorious horses, which had been sent to contend for the prize. It is also said that the Pisatæ did not take any part in the Trojan war, being considered as consecrated to the service of Jupiter. But neither was the Pisatis, the tract of country in which Olympia is situated, subject at that time to Augeas, but Eleia only, nor were the Olympic games cele-

¹ The establishment of the Olympic games is connected with many legends, and is involved in much obscurity. See Smith, Greek and Roman Antiq.

² 776 B. C.

brated even once in the Eleian district, but always at Olympia. But the games, of which Homer speaks, seem to have taken place in Elis, where the debt was owing,

“ For a great debt was owing in the divine Elis,
Namely, four victorious horses.”¹

But it was not in these, but in the Olympic games, that the victor was crowned, for here they were to contend for a tripod.

After the twenty-sixth Olympiad, the Pisatæ, having recovered their territory, instituted games themselves, when they perceived that these games were obtaining celebrity. But in after-times, when the territory of the Pisatis reverted to the Eleii, the presidency and celebration of the games reverted to them also. The Lacedæmonians too, after the last defeat of the Messenians, co-operated with the Eleii as allies, contrary to the conduct of the descendants of Nestor and of the Arcadians, who were allies of the Messenians. And they assisted them so effectually that all the country as far as Messene was called Eleia, and the name continues even to the present time. But of the Pisatæ, and Triphylia, and Caucones, not even the names remain. They united also Pylus Emathoeis itself with Lepreum in order to gratify the Lepreatæ, who had taken no part in the war. They razed many other towns, and imposed a tribute upon as many as were inclined to maintain their independence.

31. The Pisatis obtained the highest celebrity from the great power of its sovereigns, Cœnomaus and his successor Pelops, and the number of their children. Salmoneus is said to have reigned there, and one of the eight cities, into which the Pisatis is divided, has the name of Salmone. For these reasons, and on account of the temple at Olympia, the fame of the country spread everywhere.

We must however receive ancient histories, as not entirely agreeing with one another, for modern writers, entertaining different opinions, are accustomed to contradict them frequently; as for example, according to some writers, Augeas was king of the Pisatis, and Cœnomaus and Salmoneus kings of Eleia, while others consider the two nations as one. Still we ought to follow in general what is received as true, since writers are not agreed even upon the derivation of the word Pisatis. Some derive it from Pisa, (Πῖσα,) a city of the same

¹ Il. xi. 677.

name as the fountain, and say that the fountain had that name, as much as to say Pистра, (Πίστρα,) which means Potistra, (ποτίστρα,) or "potable." The city of Pisa is shown, situated on an eminence between two mountains, which have the same names as those in Thessaly, Ossa and Olympus. Some say, that there was no such city as Pisa, for it would have been one of the eight, but a fountain only, which is now called Bisa, near Cicysium, the largest of the eight cities. But Stesichorus calls the tract of country named Pisa, a city, as the poet calls Lesbos, a city of Macar; and Euripides in the play of Ion says

"Eubœa is a neighbour city to Athens,"

and so in the play of Rhadamanthus,

"they who occupy the land of Eubœa, an adjoining state;"

thus Sophocles also in the play of the Mysi,

"O stranger, all this country is called Asia,
But the state of the Mysi is called Mysia."

32. Salmonē is near the fountain of the same name, the source of the Enipeus. It discharges itself into the Alpheius, [and at present it is called Barnichius.¹] Tyro, it is said, was enamoured of this river;

"who was enamoured of the river, the divine Enipeus."²

for there her father Salmoneus was king, as Euripides says in the play of Æolus. [The river in Thessaly some call Eniseus, which, flowing from the Othrys, receives the Apidanus, that descends from the mountain Pharsalus.³] Near Salmonē is Heracleia, which is one of the eight cities, distant about 40 stadia from Olympia on the river Cytherius, where there is a temple of the nymphs, the Ioniades, who are believed to heal diseases by means of the waters of the river.

Near Olympia is Arpina, which also is one of the eight cities. The river Parthenius runs through it in the direction of the road to Pheræa. Pheræa belongs to Arcadia. [It is situated above Dymæa, Buprasium, and Elis, which lie to the north of the Pisatis.⁴] There also is Cicysium, one of the eight cities; and Dyspontium, on the road from Elis to Olympia, situated in a plain. But it was razed, and the

¹ An interpolation. *K.*

² *Od. ii. 238.*

³ An interpolation. *Meineke.*

⁴ An interpolation. *Groskurd.*

greatest part of the inhabitants removed to Epidamnus and Apollonia.

Above and so very near Olympia, is Pholoe, an Arcadian mountain, that the country at its foot belongs to the Pisatis. Indeed the whole of the Pisatis and a great part of Triphylia border upon Arcadia. For this reason, most of the places, which have the name of Pylian in the Catalogue of the Ships, seem to be Arcadian. Persons, however, who are well informed, say, that the river Erymanthus, one of those that empty themselves into the Alpheius, is the boundary of Arcadia, and that the places called Pylian are beyond the Erymanthus.

33. According to Ephorus, "Ætolus, being banished by Salmoenus, king of the Epeii, and the Pisatæ, from Eleia to Ætolia, called the country after his own name, and settled the cities there. His descendant Oxylus was the friend of Temenus, and the Heracleidæ his companions, and was their guide on their journey to Peloponnesus; he divided among them the hostile territory, and suggested instructions relative to the acquisition of the country. In return for these services he was to be requited by the restoration of Elis, which had belonged to his ancestors. He returned with an army collected out of Ætolia, for the purpose of attacking the Epeii, who occupied Elis. On the approach of the Epeii in arms, when the forces were drawn up in array against each other, there advanced in front, and engaged in single combat according to an ancient custom of the Greeks, Pyræchmes, an Ætolian, and Degmenus, an Epeian: the latter was lightly armed with a bow, and thought to vanquish easily from a distance a heavy-armed soldier; the former, when he perceived the stratagem of his adversary, provided himself with a sling, and a scrip filled with stones. The kind of sling also happened to have been lately invented by the Ætoliens. As a sling reaches its object at a greater distance than a bow, Degmenus fell; the Ætoliens took possession of the country, and ejected the Epeii. They assumed also the superintendance of the temple at Olympia, which the Epeii exercised; and on account of the friendship which subsisted between Oxylus and the Heracleidæ, it was generally agreed upon, and confirmed by an oath, that the Eleian territory was sacred to Jupiter, and that any one who invaded that country with an army, was a sacrilegious person: he also was to be accounted sacrilegious, who did not

defend it against the invader to the utmost of his power. It was for this reason, that the later founders of the city left it without walls, and those who are passing through the country with an army, deliver up their arms and receive them again upon quitting the borders. Iphitus instituted there the Olympic games, because the Eleians were a sacred people. Hence it was that they increased in numbers, for while other nations were continually engaged in war with each other, they alone enjoyed profound peace, and not themselves only, but strangers also, so that on this account they were a more populous state than all the others.

Pheidon the Argive was the tenth in descent from Temenus, and the most powerful prince of his age; he was the inventor of the weights and measures called Pheidonian, and stamped money, silver in particular. He recovered the whole inheritance of Temenus, which had been severed into many portions. He attacked also the cities which Hercules had formerly taken, and claimed the privilege of celebrating the games which Hercules had established, and among these the Olympian games. He entered their country by force and celebrated the games, for the Eleians had no army to prevent it, as they were in a state of peace, and the rest were oppressed by his power. The Eleians however did not solemnly inscribe in their records this celebration of the games, but on this occasion procured arms, and began to defend themselves. The Lacedæmonians also afforded assistance, either because they were jealous of the prosperity, which was the effect of the peaceful state of the Eleians, or because they supposed that they should have the aid of the Eleians in destroying the power of Pheidon, who had deprived them of the sovereignty (*ἡγεμονίαν*) of Peloponnesus, which they before possessed. They succeeded in their joint attempt to overthrow Pheidon, and the Eleians with this assistance obtained possession of Pisatis and Triphylia.

The whole of the coasting voyage along the present Eleian territory comprises, with the exception of the bays, 1200 stadia.

So much then respecting the Eleian territory.

CHAPTER IV.

1. MESSENIÀ is continuous with the Eleian territory, inclining for the most part towards the south, and the Libyan Sea. Being part of Laconia, it was subject in the Trojan times to Menelaus. The name of the country was Messene. But the present city called Messene, the acropolis of which was Ithome, was not then founded. After the death of Menelaus, when the power of those who succeeded to the possession of Laconia was altogether weakened, the Neleidæ governed Messenia. At the time of the return of the Heracleidæ, and according to the partition of the country at that time, Melanthus was king of the Messenians, who were a separate community, but formerly subject to Menelaus. As a proof of this, in the space from the Messenian Gulf and the continuous gulf, (called the Asinæan from the Messenian Asine,) were situated the seven cities which Agamemnon promised to Achilles;

“Cardamyle, Enope, the grassy Hira, the divine Pheræ,¹ Antheia with rich meadows, the beautiful Æpeia, and Pegasus abounding with vines.”²

He certainly would not have promised what did not belong either to himself or to his brother. The poet mentions those, who accompanied Menelaus from Pheræ to the war,³ and speaks of (Etylus) in the Laconian catalogue, a city situated on the Gulf of Messenia.

Messene follows next to Triphylia. The promontory, after which are the Coryphasium and Cyparissia, is common to both. At the distance of 7 stadia is a mountain, the Ægaleum, situated above Coryphasium and the sea.

2. The ancient Messenian Pylus was a city lying below the Ægaleum, and after it was razed, some of the inhabitants settled under the Coryphasium. But the Athenians in their second expedition against Sicily, under the command of Eurymedon and Stratocles, got possession of it, and used it as a stronghold against the Lacedæmonians.⁴ Here also is the Messenian Cyparissia, (and the island Prote,) lying close

¹ The text of Homer gives the name of Pharis.

² Il. ix. 150.

³ Il. ii. 582.

⁴ Thucydides, b. iv. ch. 2. The expedition was under the command of Eurymedon and Sophocles. Stratocles being at the time archon at Athens.

to Pylus, the island Sphagia, called also Sphacteria. It was here that the Lacedæmonians lost three hundred men,¹ who were besieged by the Athenians and taken prisoners.

Two islands, called Strophades,² belonging to the Cyparissii, lie off at sea in front of this coast, at the distance of about 400 stadia from the continent, in the Libyan and southern sea. According to Thucydides this Pylus was the naval station of the Messenians. It is distant from Sparta 400 stadia.

3. Next is Methone.³ This city, called by the poet Pedausus, was one of the seven, it is said, which Agamemnon promised to Achilles. There Agrippa killed, in the Actian war, Bogus, the king of the Maurusii, a partisan of Antony's, having got possession of the place by an attack by sea

4. Continuous with Methone is Acritas,⁴ where the Messenian Gulf begins, which they call also Asinæus from Asine, a small city, the first we meet with on the gulf, and having the same name as the Hermionic Asine.

This is the commencement of the gulf towards the west. Towards the east are the Thyrides,⁵ as they are called, bordering upon the present Laconia near Cænepolis,⁶ and Tænarum.

In the intervening distance, if we begin from the Thyrides, we meet with Cetylus,⁷ by some called Beitylus; then Leuctrum, a colony of the Leuctri in Bœotia; next, situated upon a steep rock, Cardamyle;⁸ then Pheræ, bordering upon Thuria, and Gerenia, from which place they say Nestor had the epithet Gerenian, because he escaped thither, as we have mentioned before. They show in the Gerenian territory a temple of Æsculapius Triccæus, copied from that at the Thesalian Tricca. Pelops is said to have founded Leuctrum, and Charadra, and Thalami, now called the Bœotian Thalami, having brought with him, when he married his sister Niobe to Amphion, some colonists from Bœotia.

¹ Thucydides, b. iv. ch. 38. The number was 292.

² Strivali.

³ According to Pausanias, Mothone, or Methone, was the Pedasus of Homer. It is the modern Modon.

⁴ Cape Gallo. The Gulf of Messenia is now the Gulf of Coron.

⁵ The name Thyrides, the little gates, is probably derived from the fable which placed the entrance of the infernal regions at Tænarum, Cape Matapan.

⁶ For Cinæthium I read Cænepolis, as suggested by Falconer, and approved by Coray.

⁷ Vitulo.

⁸ Scardamula.

The Nedon, a different river from the Neda, flows through Laconia, and discharges its waters near Pheræ. It has upon its banks a remarkable temple of the Nedusian Minerva. At Pœaessa also there is a temple of the Nedusian Minerva, which derives its name from a place called Nedon,¹ whence, they say, Teleclus colonized Pœaessa,² and Echeiæ, and Tragium.

5. With respect to the seven cities promised to Achilles, we have already spoken of Cardamyle, and Pheræ, and Pedasus: Enope, some say is Pellana; others, some place near Cardamyle; others, Gerenia.³ Hira is pointed out near a mountain in the neighbourhood of Megalopolis⁴ in Arcadia, on the road to Andania, which we have said is called by the poet Œchalia. Others say that the present Mesola was called Hira, which extends to the bay situated between Taygetum and Messenia. Æpeia is now called Thuria, which we said bordered upon Pheræ. It is situated upon a lofty hill, whence its name.⁵ The Thuriatic Gulf has its name from Thuria; upon the gulf is a single city, named Rhium, opposite Tænarum. Some say that Antheia is Thuria, and Æpeia Methone; others, that Antheia is Asine, situated between Methone and Thuria, to which, of all the Messenian cities, the description, "with its rich pastures," is most appropriate. Near it on the sea is Corone. There are some writers who say that this town is called Pedasus by the poet. These cities are "all near the sea;" Cardamyle close to it; Pheræ at the distance of 5 stadia, having an anchorage, which is used in the summer. The rest are situated at unequal distances from the sea.

6. Near Corone, about the middle of the gulf, the river Pamisus⁶ discharges itself, having, on the right hand, this city, and the rest in succession, the last of which, towards the west, are Pylus and Cyparissia, and between these is Erana, which some writers erroneously suppose to be the ancient

¹ As Strabo remarks, in b. x., that the temple was built by Nestor on his return from Troy, Falconer suggests that it might have derived its name from the river Nedon, near Gerenia, the birth-place of Nestor.

² In the island of Cos.

³ According to Pausanias, Gerenia is the Enope of Homer.

⁴ Hira in the time of Pausanias was called Abia (Palæochora?). Some interpreters of Homer were misled by the name of a mountain, Ira, near Megalopolis, and placed there a city of the same name, but Hira was on the sea-coast.

⁵ Æpys, ἀπίυς, lofty.

⁶ The Pirnatza.

Arene; on the left hand it has Thyria and Pheræ. It is the largest (in width) of the rivers within the isthmus, although its course from its springs does not exceed 100 stadia in length; it has an abundant supply of water, and traverses the Messenian plain, and the district called Macaria.¹ It is distant from the present city of the Messenians 50 stadia.² There is also another Pamisus, a small torrent stream, running near Leuctrum of Laconia, which was a subject of dispute between the Messenians and Lacedæmonians in the time of Philip.

I have before said that some persons called the Pamisus, Amathus.³

7. Ephorus relates that Cresphontes, after he had taken Messene, divided it into five cities, and chose Stenyclarus, situated in the middle of this district, to be the royal seat of his kingdom. To the other cities, Pylus, Rhium, (Mesola,) and Hyameitis, he appointed kings, and put all the Messenians on an equal footing with the Dorians as to rights and privileges. The Dorians, however, taking offence, he changed his intention, and determined that Stenyclarus alone should have the rank of a city, and here he assembled all the Dorians.

8. The city of the Messenians⁴ resembles Corinth, for above each city is a lofty and precipitous mountain, enclosed by a common wall in such a manner as to be used as an acropolis; the Messenian mountain is Ithome,⁵ that near Corinth is Acrocorinthus. Demetrius of Pharos seemed to have counselled Philip the son of Demetrius well, when he advised him to make himself master of both cities, if he desired to get possession of Peloponnesus; "for," said he, "when you have seized both horns, the cow will be your own;" meaning, by the horns, Ithome and Acrocorinthus, and, by the cow, Peloponnesus. It was no doubt their convenient situation which made these cities subjects of contention. The Romans therefore razed Corinth, and again rebuilt it. The Lacedæmonians

¹ So called from its fertility.

² In the text 250, σ, an error probably arising from the repetition of the preceding final letter.

³ The Pamisus above mentioned was never called the Amathus. There were three rivers of this name, one near the Triphyliaic Pylus, which was also called Amathus; a second at Leuctrum of Laconia; and a third near Messene.

⁴ The ruins of Messene are now near the place called Maur mathia.

⁵ Mount Vuikano.

destroyed Messene, and the Thebans, and subsequently Philip, the son of Amyntas, restored it. The citadels however continued unoccupied.

9. The temple of Diana in Limnæ (in the Marshes), where the Messenians are supposed to have violated the virgins who came there to offer sacrifice, is on the confines of Laconia and Messenia, where the inhabitants of both countries usually celebrated a common festival, and performed sacrifices; but after the violation of the virgins, the Messenians did not make any reparation, and war, it is said, ensued. The Limnæan temple of Diana at Sparta is said to have its name from the Limnæ here.

10. There were frequent wars (between the Lacedæmonians and Messenians) on account of the revolts of the Messenians. Tyrtæus mentions, in his poems, that their first subjugation was in the time of their grandfathers;¹ the second, when in conjunction with their allies the Eleians [Arcadians], Argives, and Pisatæ, they revolted; the leader of the Arcadians was Aristocrates, king of Orchomenus, and of the Pisatæ, Pantaleon, son of Omphalion. In this war, Tyrtæus says, he himself commanded the Lacedæmonian army, for in his elegiac poem, entitled *Eunomia*, he says he came from Erineum;

“for Jupiter himself, the son of Saturn, and husband of Juno with the beautiful crown, gave this city to the Heracleidæ, with whom we left the windy Erineum, and arrived at the spacious island of Pelops.”

Wherefore we must either invalidate the authority of the elegiac verses, or we must disbelieve Philochorus, and Callisthenes, and many other writers, who say that he came from Athens, or Aphidnæ, at the request of the Lacedæmonians, whom an oracle had enjoined to receive a commander from the Athenians.

The second war then occurred in the time of Tyrtæus. But they mention a third, and even a fourth war, in which the Messenians were destroyed.²

¹ The first war dates from the year B. C. 743, and continued 20 years. The second, beginning from 682 B. C., lasted 14 years; the third concluded in the year 456 B. C., with the capture of Ithome, which was the citadel or fort of Messene. *Diod. Sic. lib. xv. c. 66.*

² The Messenians, driven from Ithome at the end of the third war, settled at Naupactus, which was given to them as a place of refuge by the Athenians, after the expulsion of the Locri-Ozolæ. It is probable that Strabo considers as a fourth war that which took place in the 94th Olympiad, when the Messenians were driven from Naupactus by the Lacedæmonians and compelled to abandon Greece entirely.

The whole voyage along the Messenian coast comprises about 800 stadia, including the measurement of the bays.

11. I have exceeded the limits of moderation in this description, by attending to the multitude of facts which are related of a country, the greatest part of which is deserted. Even Laconia itself is deficient in population, if we compare its present state with its ancient populousness. For, with the exception of Sparta, the remaining small cities are about thirty; but, anciently, Laconia had the name of Hecatompolis, and that for this reason hecatombs were annually sacrificed.

CHAPTER V.

1. NEXT after the Messenian is the Laconian Gulf, situated between Tænarum and Maleæ, declining a little from the south to the east. Thyrides, a precipitous rock, beaten by the waves, is in the Messenian Gulf, and distant from Tænarum 100 stadia. Above is Taygetum, a lofty and perpendicular mountain, at a short distance from the sea, approaching on the northern side close to the Arcadian mountains, so as to leave between them a valley, where Messenia is continuous with Laconia.

At the foot of Taygetum, in the inland parts, lie Sparta and Amyclæ,¹ where is the temple of Apollo, and Pharis. The site of Sparta is in rather a hollow, although it comprises mountains within it; no part of it, however, is marshy, although, anciently, the suburbs were so, which were called Limnæ. The temple of Bacchus, also in Limnæ, was in a wet situation, but now stands on a dry ground.

In the bay on the coast is Tænarum, a promontory projecting into the sea.² Upon it, in a grove, is the temple of Neptune, and near the temple a cave, through which, according to the fable, Cerberus was brought up by Hercules from

¹ Leake supposes Amyclæ to have been situated between Iklavokhori and Sparta, on the hill of Agia Kyriaki, half a mile from the Eurotas. At this place he discovered on an imperfect inscription the letters AMY following a proper name, and leaving little doubt that the incomplete word was AMYKAAIOY. See *Smith*.

² Cape Matapan.

Hades. Thence to the promontory Phycus in Cyrenaica, is a passage across towards the south of 3000 stadia; and to Pachynus, towards the west, the promontory of Sicily, 4600, or, according to some writers, 4000 stadia; to Maleæ, towards the east, including the measurement of the bays, 670 stadia; to Onugnathus,¹ a low peninsula a little within Maleæ, 520 stadia. (In front of Onugnathus, at the distance of 40 stadia, lies Cythera,² an island with a good harbour, and a city of the same name, which was the private property of Eurycles, the commander of the Lacedæmonians in our time. It is surrounded by several small islands, some near it, others lying somewhat farther off.) To Corycus, a promontory of Crete, the nearest passage by sea is 250 stadia.³

2. Next to Tænarum on the voyage to Onugnathus and to Maleæ⁴ is Amathus, (Psamathus,) a city; then follow Asine, and Gythium,⁵ the naval arsenal of Sparta, situated at an interval of 240 stadia. Its station for vessels, they say, is excavated by art. Farther on, between Gythium and Acræa, is the mouth of the Eurotas.⁶ To this place the voyage along the coast is about 240 stadia; then succeeds a marshy tract, and a village, Helos, which formerly was a city, according to Homer;

“They who occupied Amyclæ, and Helos, a small town on the sea-coast.”⁷

They say that it was founded by Helius the son of Perseus. There is a plain also call Leuce; then Cyparissia,⁸ a city upon a peninsula, with a harbour; then Onugnathus with a harbour; next Boæa, a city; then Maleæ. From these cities to Onugnathus are 150 stadia. There is also Asopus,⁹ a city in Laconia.

3. Among the places enumerated by Homer in the Catalogue of the Ships, Messa, they say, is no longer to be found; and that Messoa is not a part of Laconia, but a part of Sparta itself, as was the Limnæum near Thornax. Some understand

¹ The Ass's Jaw. It is detached from the continent, and is now the island of Servi. ² Cerigo. ³ 750 stadia. *Groskurd*.

⁴ By others written in the singular number, Malea, now C. St. Angelo.

⁵ The site of Gythium is identified as between Marathonisi and Trinissa.

⁶ The Iri, or Vasili Potamo.

⁷ Il. ii. 584.

⁸ Rupina, or Castel Rampano. The plain of Leuce is traversed by the river Mario-revina.

⁹ The site of Asopus appears, according to the ruins indicated in the Austrian map, to have been situated a little to the north of Rupina.

Messē to be a contraction of Messene, for it is said that this was a part of Laconia. [They allege as examples from the poet, the words “cri,” and “do,” and “maps,”¹ and this passage also ;

“The horses were yoked by Automedon and Alcimus,”²

instead of Alcimedon. And the words of Hesiod, who uses βρῖ for βριθὺν and βριαρόν ; and Sophocles and Iο, who have ῥα for ῥάδιον ; and Epicharmus, λῖ for λίαν, and Συρακῶ for Συράκουσαι ; Empedocles also has ὄψ for ὄψις (μία γίγνεται ἀμφοτέρων ὄψ or ὄψις) ; and Antimachus, Δήμητρος τοι Ἐλυσινίης ἱερῇ ὄψ, and ἄλφι for ἄλφιτον ; Euphorion has ἦλ for ἦλος ; Philetas has δμῶιδες εἰς ταλάρους λευκὸν ἄγουσιν ἔρι for ἔριον ; Aratus, εἰς ἄνεμον δὲ τὰ πηδά for τὰ πηδάλια ; Simmias, Dodo for Dodona.]³

Of the rest of the places mentioned by the poet, some are extinct ; of others traces remain, and of others the names are changed, as Augeiæ into Ægææ : [the city] of that name in Locris exists no longer. With respect to Las, the Dioscuri are said to have taken it by siege formerly, whence they had the name of Lapersæ, (Destroyers of Las,) and Sophocles says somewhere, “by the two Lapersæ, by Eurotas, by the gods in Argos and Sparta.”

4. Ephorus says that the Heracleidæ, Eurysthenes and Procles, having obtained possession of Laconia, divided it into six parts, and founded cities throughout the country, and assigned Amyclæ to him who betrayed to them Laconia, and who prevailed upon the person that occupied it to retire, on certain conditions, with the Achæi, into Ionia. Sparta they retained themselves as the royal seat of the kingdom. To the other cities they sent kings, permitting them to receive whatever strangers might be disposed to settle there, on account of the scarcity of inhabitants. Las was used as a naval station, because it had a convenient harbour ; Ægys, as a stronghold, from whence to attack surrounding enemies ; Pheræa, as a place to deposit treasure, because it afforded security from⁴ attempts from without. * * * * that all the neighbouring people submitted to the Spartiatæ, but were to enjoy an equality of rights, and to have a share in the government and

¹ κρι, δῶ, μάψ, for κριθή, δῶμα, μαψίδιον.

² Il. xix. 392.

³ Probably an interpolation.

⁴ The text here is very corrupt.

in the offices of state. They were called Heilotæ. But Agis, the son of Eurysthenes, deprived them of the equality of rights, and ordered them to pay tribute to Sparta. The rest submitted; but the Heleii, who occupied Helos, revolted, and were made prisoners in the course of the war; they were adjudged to be slaves, with the conditions, that the owner should not be allowed to give them their liberty, nor sell them beyond the boundaries of the country. This was called the war of the Heilotæ.¹ The system of Heilote-slavery, which continued from that time to the establishment of the dominion of the Romans, was almost entirely the contrivance of Agis. They were a kind of public slaves, to whom the Lacedæmonians assigned habitations, and required from them peculiar services.

5. With respect to the government of the Lacones, and the changes which have taken place among them, many things, as being well known, may be passed over, but some it may be worth while to relate. It is said that the Achæan Phthiotæ, who, with Pelops, made an irruption into Peloponnesus, settled in Laconia, and were so much distinguished for their valour, that Peloponnesus, which for a long period up to this time had the name of Argos, was then called Achæan Argos; and not Peloponnesus alone had this name, but Laconia also was thus peculiarly designated. Some even understand the words of the poet,

“Where was Menelaus, was he not at Achæan Argos?”²

as implying, was he not in Laconia? But about the time of the return of the Heracleidæ, when Philonomus betrayed the country to the Dorians, they removed from Laconia to the country of the Ionians, which at present is called Achaia. We shall speak of them in our description of Achaia.

Those who were in possession of Laconia, at first conducted themselves with moderation, but after they had intrusted to Lycurgus the formation of a political constitution, they acquired such a superiority over the other Greeks, that they alone obtained the sovereignty both by sea and land, and continued to be the chiefs of the Greeks, till the Thebans, and soon afterwards the Macedonians, deprived them of this ascendancy.

¹ 1090 B. C.

² Od. iii. 249, 251.

They did not however entirely submit even to these, but, preserving their independence, were continually disputing the sovereignty both with the other Greeks and with the Macedonian kings. After the overthrow of the latter by the Romans, the Lacones living under a bad government at that time, and under the power of tyrants, had given some slight offence to the generals whom the Romans sent into the province. They however recovered themselves, and were held in very great honour. They remained free, and performed no other services but those expected from allies. Lately however Eurycles¹ excited some disturbances amongst them, having abused excessively, in the exercise of his authority, the friendship of Cæsar. The government soon came to an end by the death of Eurycles, and the son rejected all such friendships. The Eleuthero-Lacones² however did obtain some regular form of government, when the surrounding people, and especially the Heilotæ, at the time that Sparta was governed by tyrants, were the first to attach themselves to the Romans.

Hellanicus says that Eurysthenes and Procles regulated the form of government, but Ephorus reproaches him with not mentioning Lycurgus at all, and with ascribing the acts of the latter to persons who had no concern in them; to Lycurgus only is a temple erected, and sacrifices are annually performed in his honour, but to Eurysthenes and Procles, although they were the founders of Sparta, yet not even these honours were paid to them, that their descendants should bear the respective appellations of Eurysthenidæ and Procleidæ.³ [The descendants of Agis, however, the son of Eurysthenes, were called Agides, and the descendants of Eurypon, the son of Procles, were called Euryponiadæ. The former were legitimate princes; the others, having admitted strangers as settlers, reigned by their means; whence they were not regarded as original authors of the settlement, an honour usually conferred upon all founders of cities.]

¹ His character is discreditably spoken of by Josephus, *Antiq. b. xvi. c. 10.* and *Bell. Jud. b. i. c. 26.*

² The cities of the Eleuthero-Lacones were at first 24 in number; in the time of Pausanias 18 only. They were kindly treated by Augustus, but subsequently they were excluded from the coast to prevent communication with strangers. Pausanias, *b. iii. c. 21.*

³ From hence to the end of the section the text is corrupt. See Groskurd for an attempt to amend the text of the last sentence, which is here not translated.

6. As to the nature of the places in Laconia and Messenia, we may take the description of Euripides ;¹

“Laconia has much land capable of tillage, but difficult to be worked, for it is hollow, surrounded by mountains, rugged, and difficult of access to an enemy.”

Messenia he describes in this manner :

“It bears excellent fruit ; is watered by innumerable streams ; it affords the finest pasture to herds and flocks ; it is not subject to the blasts of winter, nor too much heated by the coursers of the sun ;”

and a little farther on, speaking of the division of the country by the Heracleidæ according to lot, the first was

“lord of the Lacænian laud, a bad soil,”

the second was Messene,

“whose excellence no language could express ;”

and Tyrtaus speaks of it in the same manner.

But we cannot admit that Laconia and Messenia are bounded, as Euripides says,

“by the Pamisus,² which empties itself into the sea ;”

this river flows through the middle of Messenia, and does not touch any part of the present Laconia. Nor is he right, when he says that Messenia is inaccessible to sailors, whereas it borders upon the sea, in the same manner as Laconia.

Nor does he give the right boundaries of Elis ;

“after passing the river is Elis, the neighbour of Jove ;”

and he adduces a proof unnecessarily. For if he means the present Eleian territory, which is on the confines of Messenia, this the Pamisus does not touch, any more than it touches Laconia, for, as has been said before, it flows through the middle of Messenia : or, if he meant the ancient Eleia, called the Hollow, this is a still greater deviation from the truth. For after crossing the Pamisus, there is a large tract of the Messenian country, then the whole district of [the Lepreatæ], and of the [Macistii], which is called Triphylia ; then the Pisatis, and Olympia ; then at the distance of 300 stadia is Elis.

7. As some persons write the epithet applied by Homer to Lacedæmon, *κητώεσσαν*, and others *καιεράεσσαν*, how are we to understand *κητώεσσα*, whether it is derived from *Cetos*,³ or

¹ This quotation, as also the one which follows, are from a tragedy of Euripides, now lost.

² The Pirnatza.

³ *Κῆτος*. Some are of opinion that the epithet was applied to Lacedæmon, because fish of the cetaceous tribe frequented the coast of Laconia.

whether it denotes "large," which is most probable. Some understand *καιεράεσσα* to signify, "abounding with calaminthus;" others suppose, as the fissures occasioned by earthquakes are called *Cæeti*, that this is the origin of the epithet. Hence *Cæietas* also, the name of the prison among the Lacedæmonians, which is a sort of cave. Some however say, that such kind of hollows are rather called *Coi*, whence the expression of Homer,¹ applied to wild beasts, *φηρσιν ὄρεσκόοισιν*, which live in mountain caves. Laconia however is subject to earthquakes, and some writers relate, that certain peaks of *Taygetum* have been broken off by the shocks.²

Laconia contains also quarries of valuable marble. Those of the *Tænarian* marble in *Tænarum*³ are ancient, and certain persons, assisted by the wealth of the Romans, lately opened a large quarry in *Taygetum*.

8. It appears from Homer, that both the country and the city had the name of *Lacedæmon*; I mean the country together with *Messenia*. When he speaks of the bow and quiver of *Ulysses*, he says,

"A present from *Iphitus Eurytides*, a stranger, who met him in *Lacedæmon*,"⁴

and adds,

"They met at *Messene* in the house of *Ortilochus*."

He means the country which was a part of *Messenia*.⁵ There was then no difference whether he said "A stranger, whom he met at *Lacedæmon*, gave him," or, "they met at *Messene*;" for it is evident that *Pheræ* was the home of *Ortilochus*:

"they arrived at *Pheræ*, and went to the house of *Diocles* the son of *Ortilochus*,"⁶

namely, *Telemachus* and *Pisistratus*. Now *Pheræ*⁷ belongs to *Messenia*. But after saying, that *Telemachus* and his friend set out from *Pheræ*, and were driving their two horses the whole day, he adds,

¹ Il. i. 268.

² This may have taken place a little before the third Messenian war, B. C. 464, when an earthquake destroyed all the houses in *Sparta*, with the exception of five. *Diod. Sic. b. xv. c. 66*; *Pliny, b. ii. c. 79*.

³ *Pliny, b. xxxvi. c. 18*, speaks of the black marble of *Tænarus*.

⁴ *Od. xxi. 13*.

⁵ *Eustathius* informs us that, according to some writers, *Sparta* and *Lacedæmon* were the names of the two principal quarters of the city; and adds that the comic poet, *Cratinus*, gave the name of *Sparta* to the whole of *Laconia*.

⁶ *Od. iii. 488*.

⁷ *Cheramidi*.

“The sun was setting; they came to the hollow Lacedæmon (*κητώεσσαν*), and drove their chariot to the palace of Menelaus.”¹

Here we must understand the city; and if we do not, the poet says, that they journeyed from Lacedæmon to Lacedæmon. It is otherwise improbable that the palace of Menelaus should not be at Sparta; and if it was not there, that Telemachus should say,

“for I am going to Sparta, and to Pylus,”²

for this seems to agree with the epithets applied to the country,³ unless indeed any one should allow this to be a poetical licence; for, if Messenia was a part of Laconia, it would be a contradiction that Messene should not be placed together with Laconia, or with Pylus, (which was under the command of Nestor,) nor by itself in the Catalogue of Ships, as though it had no part in the expedition.

CHAPTER VI.

1. AFTER Maleæ follow the Argolic and Hermionic Gulfs; the former extends as far as Scyllæum,⁴ it looks to the east, and towards the Cyclades;⁵ the latter lies still more towards the east than the former, reaching Ægina and the Epidaurian territory.⁶ The Laconians occupy the first part of the Argolic Gulf, and the Argives the rest. Among the places occupied by the Laconians are Delium,⁷ a temple of Apollo, of

¹ Od. iii. 487.

² Od. ii. 359.

³ The text to the end of the section is very corrupt. The following is a translation of the text as proposed to be amended by Groskurd. The epithet of Lacedæmon, hollow, cannot properly be applied to the country, for this peculiarity of the city does not with any propriety agree with the epithets given to the country; unless we suppose the epithet to be a poetical licence. For, as has been before remarked, it must be concluded from the words of the poet himself, that Messene was then a part of Laconia, and subject to Menelaus. It would then be a contradiction (in Homer) not to join Messene, which took part in the expedition, with Laconia or the Pylus under Nestor, nor to place it by itself in the Catalogue, as though it had no part in the expedition.

⁴ Skylli.

⁵ The islands about Delos.

⁶ The form thus given to the Gulf of Hermione bears no resemblance to modern maps.

⁷ Pausanias calls it Epidelium, now S. Angelo.

the same name as that in Bœotia; Minoa, a fortress of the same name as that in Megara; and according to Artemidorus, Epidaurus Limera;¹ Apollodorus, however, places it near Cythera,² and having a convenient harbour, (λιμὴν, limen,) it was called Limenera, which was altered by contraction to Limera. A great part of the coast of Laconia, beginning immediately from Maleæ, is rugged. It has however shelters for vessels, and harbours. The remainder of the coast has good ports; there are also many small islands, not worthy of mention, lying in front of it.

2. To the Argives belong Prasiæ,³ and Temenium⁴ where Temenus lies buried. Before coming to Temenium is the district through which the river Lerna flows, that having the same name as the lake, where is laid the scene of the fable of the Hydra. The Temenium is distant from Argos 26 stadia from the sea-coast; from Argos to Heræum are 40, and thence to Mycenæ 10 stadia.

Next to Temenium is Nauplia, the naval station of the Argives. Its name is derived from its being accessible to ships. Here they say the fiction of the moderns originated respecting Nauplius and his sons, for Homer would not have omitted to mention them, if Palamedes displayed so much wisdom and intelligence, and was unjustly put to death; and if Nauplius had destroyed so many people at Caphareus.⁵ But the genealogy offends both against the mythology, and against chronology. For if we allow that he was the son of Neptune,⁶ how could he be the son of Amymonë, and be still living in the Trojan times.

Next to Nauplia are caves, and labyrinths constructed in them, which caves they call Cyclopeia.

¹ The ruins are a little to the north of Monembasia, Malvasia, or Nauplia de Malvasia.

² Cerigo.

³ The ruins are on the bay of Rheontas.

⁴ Toniki, or Agenitzi.

⁵ Napoli di Romagna. Nauplius, to avenge the death of his son Palamedes, was the cause of many Greeks perishing on their return from Troy at Cape Caphareus in Eubœa, famous for its dangerous rocks. The modern Greeks give to this promontory the name of Ξυλοφάγος, (Xylophagos,) or devourer of vessels. Italian navigators call it Capo d'Oro, which in spite of its apparent signification, Golden Cape, is probably a transformation of the Greek word Caphareus.

⁶ Strabo confounds Nauplius, son of Clytoreus, and father of Palamedes, with Nauplius, son of Neptune and Amymonë, and one of the ancestors of Palamedes.

3. Then follow other places, and after these the Hermionic Gulf. Since the poet places this gulf in the Argive territory, we must not overlook this division of the circumference of this country. It begins from the small city Asine;¹ then follow Hermione,² and Trœzen.³ In the voyage along the coast the island Calauria⁴ lies opposite; it has a compass of 30 stadia, and is separated from the continent by a strait of 4 stadia.

4. Then follows the Saronic Gulf; some call it a Pontus or sea, others a Porus or passage, whence it is also termed the Saronic pelagos or deep. The whole of the passage, or Porus, extending from the Hermionic Sea, and the sea about the Isthmus (of Corinth) to the Myrtoan and Cretan Seas, has this name.

To the Saronic Gulf belong Epidaurus,⁵ and the island in front of it, Ægina; then Cenchrææ, the naval station of the Corinthians towards the eastern parts; then Schœnus,⁶ a harbour at the distance of 45 stadia by sea; from Maleæ the whole number of stadia is about 1800.

At Schœnus is the Diolcus, or place where they draw the vessels across the Isthmus: it is the narrowest part of it. Near Schœnus is the temple of the Isthmian Neptune. At present, however, I shall not proceed with the description of these places, for they are not situated within the Argive territory, but resume the account of those which it contains.

5. And first, we may observe how frequently Argos is mentioned by the poet, both by itself and with the epithet designating it as Achæan Argos, Argos Jasum, Argos Hippium, or Hippoboton, or Pelasgicum. The city, too, is called Argos,

“Argos and Sparta”⁷

those who occupied Argos

“and Tiryns;”⁸

and Peloponnesus is called Argos,

“at our house in Argos,”⁹

for the city could not be called his house; and he calls the whole of Greece, Argos, for he calls all Argives, as he calls them Danai, and Achæans.

¹ Fornos.

² Castri.

³ Damala.

⁴ I. Poros.

⁵ A place near the ruins of Epidaurus preserves the name Pedauro. G.

⁶ Scheno.

⁷ Il. iv. 52.

⁸ Il. ii. 559.

⁹ Il. i. 30.

He distinguishes the identity of name by epithets; he calls Thessaly, Pelasgic Argos;

“all who dwelt in Pelasgic Argos;”¹

and the Peloponnesus, the Achæan Argos;

“if we should return to Achæan Argos;”²

“was he not at Achæan Argos?”³

intimating in these lines that the Peloponnesians were called peculiarly Achæans according to another designation.

He calls also the Peloponnesus, Argos Jasum;

“if all the Achæans throughout Argos Jasum should see you,”⁴

meaning Penelope, she then would have a greater number of suitors; for it is not probable that he means those from the whole of Greece, but those from the neighbourhood of Ithaca. He applies also to Argos terms common to other places,

“pasturing horses,” and “abounding with horses.”

6. There is a controversy about the names Hellas and Hellenes. Thucydides⁵ says that Homer nowhere mentions Barbarians, because the Greeks were not distinguished by any single name, which expressed its opposite. Apollodorus also says, that the inhabitants of Thessaly alone were called Hellenes, and alleges this verse of the poet,

“they were called Myrmidones, and Hellenes;”⁶

but Hesiod, and Archilochus, in their time knew that they were all called Hellenes, and Panhellenes: the former calls them by this name in speaking of the Prætides, and says that Panhellenes were their suitors; the latter, where he says

“that the calamities of the Panhellenes centred in Thasus.”

But others oppose to this, that Homer does mention Barbarians, when he says of the Carians, that they spoke a barbarous language, and that all the Hellenes were comprised in the term Hellas;

“of the man, whose fame spread throughout Hellas and Argos.”⁷

And again,

“but if you wish to turn aside and pass through Greece and the midst of Argos.”⁸

¹ Il. ii. 681.

² Il. ix. 141.

³ Od. iii. 251.

⁴ Od. xviii. 245.

⁵ Book i. 3.

⁶ Il. ii. 684.

⁷ Od. i. 344.

⁸ Od. xv. 80.

7. The greater part of the city of the Argives is situated in a plain. It has a citadel called Larisa, a hill moderately fortified, and upon it a temple of Jupiter. Near it flows the Inachus, a torrent river; its source is in Lyrceium [the Arcadian mountain near Cynuria]. We have said before that the fabulous stories about its sources are the inventions of poets; it is a fiction also that Argos is without water—

“but the gods made Argos a land without water.”

Now the ground consists of hollows, it is intersected by rivers, and is full of marshes and lakes; the city also has a copious supply of water from many wells, which rises near the surface.

They attribute the mistake to this verse,

“and I shall return disgraced to Argos (πολυδίψιον) the very thirsty.”¹

This word is used for πολυπόθητον, or

“much longed after,”

or without the δ for πολυίψιον, equivalent to the expression πολυφόθορον in Sophocles,

“this house of the Pelopidæ abounding in slaughter,”²

[for προΐάψαι and ιάψαι and ἴψασθαι, denote some injury or destruction;

“at present he is making the attempt, and he will soon destroy (ἴψεται) the sons of the Achæi;”³

and again, lest

“she should injure (ιάψῃ) her beautiful skin;”⁴

and,

“has prematurely sent down, προΐαψεν, to Ades.”⁵]⁶

Besides, he does not mean the city Argos, for it was not thither that he was about to return, but he meant Peloponnesus, which, certainly, is not a thirsty land.

With respect to the letter δ, they introduce the conjunction by the figure hyperbaton, and make an elision of the vowel, so that the verse would run thus,

Καί κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολὺ δ' ἴψιον Ἄργος ἰκοίμην,

that is, πολυίψιον Ἄργοςδε ἰκοίμην, instead of, εἰς Ἄργος.

8. The Inachus⁷ is one of the rivers, which flows through the Argive territory; there is also another in Argia, the

¹ Il. iv. 171.

² Sophocles, El. 10.

³ Il. ii. 193.

⁴ Od. ii. 376.

⁵ Il. i. 3.

⁶ Probably an interpolation. *Meineke*.

⁷ The Planitza.

Erasinus. It has its source in Stymphalus in Arcadia, and in the lake there called Stymphalis, where the scene is laid of the fable of the birds called Stymphalides, which Hercules drove away by wounding them with arrows, and by the noise of drums. It is said that this river passes under-ground, and issues forth in the Argian territory, and waters the plain. The Erasinus is also called Arsinus.

Another river of the same name flows out of Arcadia to the coast near Buras. There is another Erasinus also in Eretria, and one in Attica near Brauron.

Near Lerna a fountain is shown, called Amymone. The lake Lerna, the haunt of the Hydra, according to the fable, belongs to the Argive and Messenian districts. The expiatory purifications performed at this place by persons guilty of crimes gave rise to the proverb, "A Lerna of evils."

It is allowed that, although the city itself lies in a spot where there are no running streams of water, there is an abundance of wells, which are attributed to the Danaïdes as their invention; hence the line,

"the Danaïdes made waterless Argos, Argos the watered."

Four of the wells are esteemed sacred, and held in peculiar veneration. Hence they occasioned a want of water, while they supplied it abundantly.

9. Danaus is said to have built the citadel of the Argives. He seems to have possessed so much more power than the former rulers of the country, that, according to Euripides, "he made a law that those who were formerly called Pelasgiotæ, should be called Danaï throughout Greece."

His tomb, called Palinthus, is in the middle of the market-place of the Argives. I suppose that the celebrity of this city was the reason of all the Greeks having the name of Pelasgiotæ, and Danaï, as well as Argives.

Modern writers speak of Iasidæ, and Argos Iasum, and Apia, and Apidones. Homer does not mention Apidones, and uses the word apia only to express distance. That he means Peloponnesus by Argos we may conclude from these lines,

"Argive Helen;"¹

and,

"in the farthest part of Argos is a city Ephyra;"²

¹ Il. vi. 623.

² Il. vi. 152.

and,

“the middle of Argos;”¹

and,

“to rule over many islands, and the whole of Argos.”²

Argos, among modern writers, denotes a plain, but not once in Homer. It seems rather a Macedonian and Thessalian use of the word.

10. After the descendants of Danaus had succeeded to the sovereignty at Argos, and the Amythaonidæ, who came from Pisatis and Triphylia, were intermixed with them by marriages, it is not surprising that, being allied to one another, they at first divided the country into two kingdoms, in such a manner that the two cities, the intended capitals, Argos and Mycenæ, were not distant from each other more than 50 stadia, and that the Heræum at Mycenæ should be a temple common to both. In this temple were the statues the workmanship of Polycletus. In display of art they surpassed all others, but in magnitude and cost they were inferior to those of Pheidias.

At first Argos was the most powerful of the two cities. Afterwards Mycenæ received a great increase of inhabitants in consequence of the migration thither of the Pelopidæ. For when everything had fallen under the power of the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon, the elder, assumed the sovereign authority, and by good fortune and valour annexed to his possessions a large tract of country. He also added the Laconian to the Mycenæan district.³ Menelaus had Laconia, and Agamemnon Mycenæ, and the country as far as Corinth, and Sicyon, and the territory which was then said to be the country of Iones and Ægialians, and afterwards of Achæi.

After the Trojan war, when the dominion of Agamemnon was at an end, the declension of Mycenæ ensued, and particularly after the return of the Heracleidæ.⁴ For when these people got possession of Peloponnesus, they expelled its former masters, so that they who had Argos possessed Mycenæ likewise, as composing one body. In subsequent times Mycenæ was razed by the Argives, so that at present not even a trace is to be discovered of the city of the Mycenæans.⁵

¹ Od. i. 344. ² Il. ii. 108. ³ About 1283, B. C. ⁴ About 1190, B. C.

⁵ Not strictly correct, as in the time of Pausanias, who lived about 150 years after Strabo, a large portion of the walls surrounding Mycenæ still existed. Even in modern times traces are still to be found.

If Mycenæ experienced this fate, it is not surprising that some of the cities mentioned in the Catalogue of the Ships, and said to be subject to Argos, have disappeared. These are the words of the Catalogue :

“ They who occupied Argos, and Tiryns, with strong walls, and Hermione, and Asine situated on a deep bay, and Eïones, and Epidaurus with its vines, and the valiant Achæan youths who occupied Ægina, and Mases.”¹

Among these we have already spoken of Argos ; we must now speak of the rest.

11. Proetus seems to have used Tiryns as a stronghold, and to have fortified it by means of the Cyclopes. There were seven of them, and were called Gasterocheires,² because they subsisted by their art. They were sent for and came from Lycia. Perhaps the caverns about Nauplia, and the works there, have their name from these people. The citadel Licymna has its name from Licymnius. It is distant from Nauplia about 12 stadia. This place is deserted, as well as the neighbouring Midéa, which is different from the Bœotian Mídea, for that is accentuated Mídea, like *πρόνοια*, but this is accentuated Midéa, like Tegéa.

Prosymna borders upon Midéa ; it has also a temple of Juno. The Argives have depopulated most of these for their refusal to submit to their authority. Of the inhabitants some went from Tiryns to Epidaurus ; others from Hermione to the Halieis (the Fishermen), as they are called ; others were transferred by the Lacedæmonians to Messenia from Asine, (which is itself a village in the Argive territory near Nauplia,) and they built a small city of the same name as the Argolic Asine. For the Lacedæmonians, according to Theopompus, got possession of a large tract of country belonging to other nations, and settled there whatever fugitives they had received, who had taken refuge among them ; and it was to this country the Nauplians had retreated.

12. Hermione is one of the cities, not undistinguished. The coast is occupied by Halieis, as they are called, a tribe who subsist by being employed on the sea in fishing. There is a general opinion among the Hermionenses that there is a short descent from their country to Hades, and hence they do not place in the mouths of the dead the fare for crossing the Styx.

¹ Il. ii. 559

² From *γαστήρ*, the belly, and *χείρ*, the hand.

13. It is said that Asine as well as Hermione was inhabited by Dryopes; either Dryops the Arcadian having transferred them thither from the places near the Spercheius, according to Aristotle; or, Hercules expelled them from Doris near Parnassus.

Scyllæum near Hermione has its name, it is said, from Scylla, daughter of Nisus. According to report, she was enamoured of Minos, and betrayed to him Nisæa. She was drowned by order of her father, and her body was thrown upon the shore, and buried here.

Eiones was a kind of village which the Mycenæi depopulated, and converted into a station for vessels. It was afterwards destroyed, and is no longer a naval station.

14. Træzen is sacred to Neptune,¹ from whom it was formerly called Poseidonia. It is situated 15 stadia from the sea. Nor is this an obscure city. In front of its harbour, called Pogon,² lies Calauria, a small island, of about 30 stadia in compass. Here was a temple of Neptune, which served as an asylum for fugitives. It is said that this god exchanged Delos for Calauria with Latona, and Tænarum for Pytho with Apollo. Ephorus mentions the oracle respecting it:

“It is the same thing to possess Delos, or Calauria,
The divine Pytho, or the windy Tænarum.”

There was a sort of Amphictyonic body to whom the concerns of this temple belonged, consisting of seven cities, which performed sacrifices in common. These were Hermon, Epidaurus, Ægina, Athenæ, Prasiæ, Nauplia, and Orchomenus Minyeius. The Argives contributed in behalf of Nauplia, and the Lacedæmonians in behalf of Prasiæ. The veneration for this god prevailed so strongly among the Greeks, that the Macedonians, even when masters of the country, nevertheless preserved even to the present time the privilege of the asylum, and were restrained by shame from dragging away the suppliants who took refuge at Calauria. Archias even, with a body of soldiers, did not dare to use force to De-

¹ Poseidon, or Neptune. This god, after a dispute with Minerva respecting this place, held by order of Jupiter, divided possession of it with her. Hence the ancient coins of Træzen bear the trident and head of Minerva.

² Πώγων, pogon or beard. Probably the name is derived from the form of the harbour. Hence the proverb, “Go to Træzen,” (πλευσειας εις Τροιζηνα,) addressed to those who had little or no beard.

mosthenes, although he had received orders from Antipater to bring him alive, and all other orators he could find, who were accused of the same crimes. He attempted persuasion, but in vain, for Demosthenes deprived himself of life by taking poison in the temple.¹

Troezen and Pittheus, the sons of Pelops, having set out from Pisatis to Argos, the former left behind him a city of his own name; Pittheus succeeded him, and became king. Anthes, who occupied the territory before, set sail, and founded Halicarnassus. We shall speak of him in our account of Caria and the Troad.

15. Epidaurus was called Epitaurus [Epicarus?]. Aristotle says, that Carians occupied both this place and Hermione, but upon the return of the Heracleidæ those Ionians, who had accompanied them from the Athenian Tetrapolis to Argos, settled there together with the Carians.

Epidaurus² was a distinguished city, remarkable particularly on account of the fame of Æsculapius, who was supposed to cure every kind of disease, and whose temple is crowded constantly with sick persons, and its walls covered with votive tablets, which are hung upon the walls, and contain accounts of the cures, in the same manner as is practised at Cos, and at Tricca. The city lies in the recess of the Saronic Gulf, with a coasting navigation of 15 stadia, and its aspect is towards the point of summer sun-rise. It is surrounded with lofty mountains, which extend to the coast, so that it is strongly fortified by nature on all sides.

Between Troezen and Epidaurus, there was a fortress Methana,³ and a peninsula of the same name. In some copies of Thucydides Methone is the common reading,⁴ a place of the same name with the Macedonian city, at the siege of which Philip lost an eye. Hence Demetrius of Scepsis is of opinion, that some persons were led into error by the name, and supposed that it was Methone near Troezen. It was against this town, it is said, that the persons sent by Agamemnon to levy sailors, uttered the imprecation, that

“ they might never cease to build walls,”

¹ Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes.

² Pidauro.

³ Methana is the modern name.

⁴ Thucyd. b. ii. c. 34. Methone is the reading of all manuscripts and editions.

but it was not these people; but the Macedonians, according to Theopompus, who refused the levy of men; besides, it is not probable that those, who were in the neighbourhood of Agamemnon, would disobey his orders.

16. Ægina is a place in the territory of Epidaurus. There is in front of this continent, an island, of which the poet means to speak in the lines before cited. Wherefore some write,

“and the island Ægina,”

instead of

“and they who occupied Ægina,”

making a distinction between the places of the same name.

It is unnecessary to remark, that this island is among the most celebrated. It was the country of Æacus and his descendants. It was this island which once possessed so much power at sea, and formerly disputed the superiority with the Athenians in the sea-fight at Salamis during the Persian war.¹ The circuit of the island is said to be about 180 stadia. It has a city of the same name on the south-west. Around it are Attica, and Megara, and the parts of Peloponnesus as far as Epidaurus. It is distant from each about 100 stadia. The eastern and southern sides are washed by the Myrtoan and Cretan seas. Many small islands surround it on the side towards the continent, but Belbina is situated on the side towards the open sea. The land has soil at a certain depth, but it is stony at the surface, particularly the plain country, whence the whole has a bare appearance, but yields large crops of barley. It is said that the Æginetæ were called Myrmidones, not as the fable accounts for the name, when the ants were metamorphosed into men, at the time of a great famine, by the prayer of Æacus; but because by digging, like ants, they threw up the earth upon the rocks, and were thus made able to cultivate the ground, and because they lived in excavations under-ground, abstaining from the use of bricks and sparing of the soil for this purpose.

Its ancient name was CEnone, which is the name of two of the demi in Attica, one near Eleutheræ;

“to inhabit the plains close to CEnone, (CEnoe,) and Eleutheræ;” and another, one of the cities of the Tetrapolis near Marathon, to which the proverb is applied,

“CEnone (CEnoe?) and its torrent.”

¹ Herodotus, b. v. c. 83, and b. viii. c. 93.

Its inhabitants were in succession Argives, Cretans, Epidaurians, and Dorians. At last the Athenians divided the island by lot among settlers of their own. The Lacedæmonians, however, deprived the Athenians of it, and restored it to the ancient inhabitants.

The Æginetæ sent out colonists to Cydonia¹ in Crete, and to the Ombrici. According to Ephorus, silver was first struck as money by Pheidon. The island became a mart, the inhabitants, on account of the fertility of its soil, employing themselves at sea as traders; whence goods of a small kind had the name of "Ægina wares."

17. The poet frequently speaks of places in succession as they are situated;

"they who inhabited Hyria, and Aulis;"²
 "and they who occupied Argos, and Tiryns,
 Hermione, and Asine,
 Træzen, and Eiones."³

At other times he does not observe any order;

"Schœnus, and Scolus,
 Thespeia, and Græa."⁴

He also mentions together places on the continent and islands;

"they who held Ithara,
 and inhabited Crocyleia,"⁵

for Crocyleia is in Acarnania. Thus he here joins with Ægina Mases, which belongs to the continent of Argolis.

Homer does not mention Thyreæ, but other writers speak of it as well known. It was the occasion of a contest between the three hundred Argives against the same number of Lacedæmonians; the latter were conquerors by means of a stratagem of Othryadas. Thucydides places Thyreæ in Cynuria, on the confines of Argia and Laconia.⁶

Hysiaë also is a celebrated place in Argolica; and Cenchreæ, which lies on the road from Tegea to Argos, over the mountain Parthenius, and the Creopolus.⁷ But Homer was not acquainted with either of these places, [nor with the Lyrceium, nor Orneæ, and yet they are villages in the Argian territory; the former of the same name as the mountain there; the latter of the same name as the Orneæ, situated between Corinth and Sicyon].⁸

¹ This colony must have been posterior to that of the Samians, the first founders of Cydonia. ² Il. ii. 496. ³ Il. ii. 559.

⁴ Il. ii. 497. ⁵ Il. ii. 632. ⁶ Thucyd. ii. 27; iv. 56.

⁷ A place not known.

⁸ Probably interpolated.

18. Among the cities of the Peloponnesus, the most celebrated were, and are at this time, Argos and Sparta, and as their renown is spread everywhere, it is not necessary to describe them at length, for if we did so, we should seem to repeat what is said by all writers.

Anciently, Argos was the most celebrated, but afterwards the Lacedæmonians obtained the superiority, and continued to maintain their independence, except during some short interval, when they experienced a reverse of fortune.

The Argives did not admit Pyrrhus within the city. He fell before the walls, an old woman having let a tile drop from a house upon his head.

They were, however, under the sway of other kings. When they belonged to the Achæan league they were subjected, together with the other members of that confederacy, to the power of the Romans. The city subsists at present, and is second in rank to Sparta.

19. We shall next speak of those places which are said, in the Catalogue of the Ships, to be under the government of Mycenæ and Agamemnon: the lines are these:

“Those who inhabited Mycenæ, a well-built city,
and the wealthy Corinth, and Cleonæ well built,
and Orneia, and the lovely Aræthyrea,
and Sicyon, where Adrastus first reigned,
and they who inhabited Hyperesia, and the lofty Gonoessa
and Pellene, and Ægium,

and the whole range of the coast, and those who lived near the spacious Helice.”¹

Mycenæ exists no longer. It was founded by Perseus. Sthenelus succeeded Perseus; and Eurystheus, Sthenelus. These same persons were kings of Argos also. It is said that Eurystheus, having engaged, with the assistance of the Athenians, in an expedition to Marathon against the descendants of Hercules and Iolaus, fell in battle, and that the remainder of his body was buried at Gargettus, but his head apart from it at Tricorythus² (Corinth?), Iolaus having severed it from the body near the fountain Macaria, close to the chariot-road. The spot itself has the name of “Eurystheus’-head.”

Mycenæ then passed into the possession of the Pelopidæ, who had left the Pisatis, then into that of the Heracleidæ,

¹ Il. ii. 569.

² Tricorythus in place of Corinth is the suggestion of *Coray*.

who were also masters of Argos. But after the sea-fight at Salamis, the Argives, together with the Cleonæi, and the Tegetæ, invaded Mycenæ, and razed it, and divided the territory among themselves. The tragic writers, on account of the proximity of the two cities, speak of them as one, and use the name of one for the other. Euripides in the same play calls the same city in one place Mycenæ, and in another Argos, as in the *Iphigeneia*,¹ and in the *Orestes*.²

Cleonæ is a town situated upon the road leading from Argos to Corinth, on an eminence, which is surrounded on all sides by dwellings, and well fortified, whence, in my opinion, Cleonæ was properly described as "well built." There also, between Cleonæ and Phlius, is Nemea, and the grove where it was the custom of the Argives to celebrate the Nemean games: here is the scene of the fable of the Nemean Lion, and here also the village Bembina. Cleonæ is distant from Argos 120 stadia, and 80 from Corinth. And we have ourselves beheld the city from the Acrocorinthus.

20. Corinth is said to be opulent from its mart. It is situated upon the isthmus. It commands two harbours, one near Asia, the other near Italy, and facilitates, by reason of so short a distance between them, an exchange of commodities on each side.

As the Sicilian strait, so formerly these seas were of difficult navigation, and particularly the sea above Maleæ, on account of the prevalence of contrary winds; whence the common proverb,

"When you double Maleæ forget your home."

It was a desirable thing for the merchants coming from Asia, and from Italy, to discharge their lading at Corinth without being obliged to double Cape Maleæ. For goods exported from Peloponnesus, or imported by land, a toll was paid to those who had the keys of the country. This continued afterwards for ever. In after-times they enjoyed even additional advantages, for the Isthmian games, which were celebrated there, brought thither great multitudes of people. The Bacchiadæ, a rich and numerous family, and of illustrious descent, were their rulers, governed the state for nearly two hundred years, and peaceably enjoyed the profits of the mart. Their power was destroyed by Cypselus, who became king himself,

¹ *Iph. Taur.* 508 *et seq.*

² *Orest.* 98, 101, 1246.

and his descendants continued to exist for three generations. A proof of the wealth of this family is the offering which Cypselus dedicated at Olympia, a statue of Jupiter of beaten gold.

Demaratus, one of those who had been tyrant at Corinth, flying from the seditions which prevailed there, carried with him from his home to Tyrrenia so much wealth, that he became sovereign of the city which had received him, and his son became even king of the Romans.

The temple of Venus at Corinth was so rich, that it had more than a thousand women consecrated to the service of the goddess, courtesans, whom both men and women had dedicated as offerings to the goddess. The city was frequented and enriched by the multitudes who resorted thither on account of these women. Masters of ships freely squandered all their money, and hence the proverb,

“It is not in every man’s power to go to Corinth.”¹

The answer is related of a courtesan to a woman who was reproaching her with disliking work, and not employing herself in spinning;

“Although I am what you see, yet, in this short time, I have already finished three distaffs.”²

21. The position of the city as it is described by Hieronymus, and Eudoxus, and others, and from our own observation, since its restoration by the Romans, is as follows.

That which is called the Acrocorinthus is a lofty mountain, perpendicular, and about three stadia and a half in height. There is an ascent of 30 stadia, and it terminates in a sharp point. The steepest part is towards the north. Below it lies the city in a plain of the form of a trapezium, at the very foot of the Acrocorinthus. The compass of the city itself was 40 stadia, and all that part which was not protected by the mountain was fortified by a wall. Even the mountain itself, the Acrocorinthus, was comprehended within this wall, wherever it would admit of fortification. As I ascended it, the ruins of the circuit of the foundation were apparent, which gave a circumference of about 85 stadia. The other sides of the mountain are less steep; hence, however, it stretches on-

¹ Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ’ ὁ πλοῦς, which Horace has elegantly Latinized, Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.

² ἱστῶδες—distaffs; also, masts and sailors.

wards, and is visible everywhere. The summit has upon it a small temple of Venus, and below it is the fountain Peirene, which has no efflux, but is continually full of water, which is transparent, and fit for drinking. They say, that from the compression of this, and of some other small under-ground veins, originates that spring at the foot of the mountain, which runs into the city, and furnishes the inhabitants with a sufficient supply of water. There is a large number of wells in the city, and it is said in the Acrocorinthus also, but this I did not see. When Euripides says,

“I come from the Acrocorinthus, well-watered on all sides, the sacred hill and habitation of Venus,”

the epithet “well-watered on all sides,” must be understood to refer to depth; pure springs and under-ground rills are dispersed through the mountain; or we must suppose, that, anciently, the Peirene overflowed, and irrigated the mountain. There, it is said, Pegasus was taken by Bellerophon, while drinking; this was a winged horse, which sprung from the neck of Medusa when the head of the Gorgon was severed from the body. This was the horse, it is said, which caused the Hippocrene, or Horse’s Fountain, to spring up in Helicon by striking the rock with its hoof.

Below Peirene is the Sisyphæum, which preserves a large portion of the ruins of a temple, or palace, built of white marble. From the summit towards the north are seen Parnassus and Helicon, lofty mountains covered with snow; then the Crissæan Gulf,¹ lying below both, and surrounded by Phocis, Bœotia, Megaris, by the Corinthian district opposite to Phocis, and by Sicyonia on the west. * * * *

Above all these are situated the Oneia² mountains, as they are called, extending as far as Bœotia and Cithæron, from the Sceironides rocks, where the road leads along them to Attica.

22. Lechæum is the commencement of the coast on one side; and on the other, Cenchrææ, a village with a harbour, distant from the city about 70 stadia. The latter serves for the trade with Asia, and Lechæum for that with Italy.

Lechæum is situated below the city, and is not well in-

¹ Strabo here gives the name of Crissæan Gulf to the eastern half of the Gulf of Corinth.

² Of or belonging to asses.

habited. There are long walls of about 12 stadia in length, stretching on each side of the road towards Lechæum. The sea-shore, extending hence to Pagæ in Megaris, is washed by the Corinthian Gulf. It is curved, and forms the Diolcus, or the passage along which vessels are drawn over the Isthmus to the opposite coast at Schœnus near Cenchreæ.

Between Lechæum and Pagæ, anciently, there was the oracle of the Acræan Juno, and Olmiæ, the promontory that forms the gulf, on which are situated Cœnoe, and Pagæ; the former is a fortress of the Megarians; and Cœnoe is a fortress of the Corinthians.

Next to Cenchreæ¹ is Schœnus, where is the narrow part of the Diolcus, then Crommyonia. In front of this coast lies the Saronic Gulf, and the Eleusiniac, which is almost the same, and continuous with the Hermionic. Upon the Isthmus is the temple of the Isthmian Neptune, shaded above with a grove of pine trees, where the Corinthians celebrated the Isthmian games.

Crommyon² is a village of the Corinthian district, and formerly belonging to that of Megaris, where is laid the scene of the fable of the Crommyonian sow, which, it is said, was the dam of the Calydonian boar, and, according to tradition, the destruction of this sow was one of the labours of Theseus.

Tenea is a village of the Corinthian territory, where there was a temple of Apollo Teneates. It is said that Archias, who equipped a colony for Syracuse, was accompanied by a great number of settlers from this place; and that this settlement afterwards flourished more than any others, and at length had an independent form of government of its own. When they revolted from the Corinthians, they attached themselves to the Romans, and continued to subsist when Corinth was destroyed.

An answer of an oracle is circulated, which was returned to an Asiatic, who inquired whether it was better to migrate to Corinth;

“Corinth is prosperous, but I would belong to Tenea;

¹ The remains of an ancient place at the distance of about a mile after crossing the Erasinus, (Kephalari,) are probably those of Cenchreæ. *Smith.*

² Crommyon was distant 120 stadia from Corinth, (Thuc. iv. 45,) and appears to have therefore occupied the site of the ruins near the chapel of St. Theodorus. The village of Kineta, which many modern travellers suppose to correspond to Crommyon, is much farther from Corinth than 120 stadia. *Smith.*

which last word was perverted by some through ignorance, and altered to Tegea. Here, it is said, Polybus brought up Œdipus.

There seems to be some affinity between the Tenedii and these people, through Tensus, the son of Cycnus, according to Aristotle; the similarity, too, of the divine honours paid by both to Apollo affords no slight proof of this relationship.¹

23. The Corinthians, when subject to Philip, espoused his party very zealously, and individually conducted themselves so contemptuously towards the Romans, that persons ventured to throw down filth upon their ambassadors, when passing by their houses. They were immediately punished for these and other offences and insults. A large army was sent out under the command of Lucius Mummius, who razed the city.² The rest of the country, as far as Macedonia, was subjected to the Romans under different generals. The Sicyonii, however, had the largest part of the Corinthian territory.

Polybius relates with regret what occurred at the capture of the city, and speaks of the indifference the soldiers showed for works of art, and the sacred offerings of the temples. He says, that he was present, and saw pictures thrown upon the ground, and soldiers playing at dice upon them. Among others, he specifies by name the picture of Bacchus³ by Aristeides, (to which it is said the proverb was applied, "Nothing to the Bacchus,") and Hercules tortured in the robe, the gift of Deïaneira.⁴ This I have not myself seen, but I have seen the picture of the Bacchus suspended in the Demetreium at Rome, a very beautiful piece of art, which, together with the temple, was lately consumed by fire. The greatest number and the finest of the other offerings in Rome were brought from Corinth. Some of them were in the possession of the cities in the neighbourhood of Rome. For Mummius being more

¹ According to Pausanias, the Teneates derive their origin from the Trojans taken captive at the island of Tenedos. On their arrival in Peloponnesus, Tenea was assigned to them as a habitation by Agamemnon.

² B. C. 146.

³ Aristeides of Thebes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great. At a public sale of the spoils of Corinth, King Attalus offered so large a price for the painting of Bacchus, that Mummius, although ignorant of art, was attracted by the enormity of the price offered, withdrew the picture, in spite of the protestations of Attalus, and sent it to Rome.

⁴ This story forms the subject of the Trachiniæ of Sophocles.

brave and generous than an admirer of the arts, presented them without hesitation to those who asked for them.¹ Lucullus, having built the temple of Good Fortune, and a portico, requested of Mummius the use of some statues, under the pretext of ornamenting the temple with them at the time of its dedication, and promised to restore them. He did not, however, restore, but presented them as sacred offerings, and told Mummius to take them away if he pleased. Mummius did not resent this conduct, not caring about the statues, but obtained more honour than Lucullus, who presented them as sacred offerings.

Corinth remained a long time deserted, till at length it was restored on account of its natural advantages by divus Cæsar, who sent colonists thither, who consisted, for the most part, of the descendants of free-men.

On moving the ruins, and digging open the sepulchres, an abundance of works in pottery with figures on them, and many in brass, were found. The workmanship was admired, and all the sepulchres were examined with the greatest care. Thus was obtained a large quantity of things, which were disposed of at a great price, and Rome filled with Necro-Corinthia, by which name were distinguished the articles taken out of the sepulchres, and particularly the pottery. At first these latter were held in as much esteem as the works of the Corinthian artists in brass, but this desire to have them did not continue, not only because the supply failed, but because the greatest part of them were not well executed.²

The city of Corinth was large and opulent at all periods, and produced a great number of statesmen and artists. For here in particular, and at Sicyon, flourished painting, and modelling, and every art of this kind.

The soil was not very fertile; its surface was uneven and

¹ Mummius was so ignorant of the arts, that he threatened those who were intrusted with the care of conveying to Rome the pictures and statues taken at Corinth, to have them replaced by new ones at their expense, in case they should be so unfortunate as to lose them.

² The plastic art was invented at Sicyon by Dibotades; according to others, at the island of Samos, by Ræcus and Theodorus. From Greece it was carried into Etruria by Demaratus, who was accompanied by Eucheir and Eugrammus, plastic artists, and by the painter Cleopantus of Corinth, B. C. 663. See B. V. C. II. § 2.

rugged, whence all writers describe Corinth as full of brows of hills, and apply the proverb,

“ Corinth rises with brows of hills, and sinks into hollows.”

24. Orneæ has the same name as the river which flows beside it. At present it is deserted; formerly, it was well inhabited, and contained a temple of Priapus, held in veneration. It is from this place that Euphronius, (Euphorius?) the author of a poem, the *Priapeia*, applies the epithet *Orneates* to the god.

It was situated above the plain of the Sicyonians, but the Argives were masters of the country.

*Aræthyrea*¹ is now called *Phliasia*. It had a city of the same name as the country near the mountain *Celossa*. They afterwards removed thence and built a city at the distance of 30 stadia, which they called *Phlius*.² Part of the mountain *Celossa* is the *Carneates*, whence the *Asopus* takes its rise, which flows by *Sicyon*,³ and forms the *Asopian* district, which is a part of *Sicyonia*. There is also an *Asopus*, which flows by *Thebes*, and *Plateæ*, and *Tanagra*. There is another also in *Heracleia Trachinia*, which flows beside a village, called *Parasopii*, and a fourth at *Paros*.

Phlius is situated in the middle of a circle formed by *Sicyonia*, *Argeia*, *Cleonæ*, and *Stymphalus*. At *Phlius* and at *Sicyon* the temple of *Dia*, a name given to *Hebe*, is held in veneration.

25. *Sicyon* was formerly called *Mecone*, and at a still earlier period, *Ægiali*. It was rebuilt high up in the country about 20, others say, about 12, stadia from the sea, upon an eminence naturally strong, which is sacred to *Ceres*. The buildings anciently consisted of a naval arsenal and a harbour.

Sicyonia is separated by the river *Nemea* from the *Corinthian* territory. It was formerly governed for a very long period by tyrants, but they were always persons of mild and moderate disposition. Of these, the most illustrious was *Aratus*, who made the city free, and was the chief of the *Achæans*, who voluntarily conferred upon him that power;

¹ Il. ii. 571.

² The ruins are situated below the monastery *Kesra*.

³ *Vasilika*.

he extended the confederacy by annexing to it his own country, and the other neighbouring cities.

Hyperesia, and the cities next in order in the Catalogue of the poet, and Ægialus,¹ [or the sea-coast,] as far as Dyme, and the borders of the Eleian territory, belong to the Achæans.

CHAPTER VII.

1. THE Ionians, who were descendants of the Athenians, were, anciently, masters of this country. It was formerly called Ægialeia, and the inhabitants Ægialeans, but in later times, Ionia, from the former people, as Attica had the name of Ionia, from Ion the son of Xuthus.

It is said, that Hellen was the son of Deucalion, and that he governed the country about Phthia between the Peneius and Asopus, and transmitted to his eldest son these dominions, sending the others out of their native country to seek a settlement each of them for himself. Dorus, one of them, settled the Dorians about Parnassus, and when he left them, they bore his name. Xuthus, another, married the daughter of Erechtheus, and was the founder of the Tetrapolis of Attica, which consisted of Cœnoe, Marathon, Probalinthus, and Tricorythus.

Achæus, one of the sons of Xuthus, having committed an accidental murder, fled to Lacedæmon, and occasioned the inhabitants to take the name of Achæans.²

Ion, the other son, having vanquished the Thracian army with their leader Eumolpus, obtained so much renown, that the Athenians intrusted him with the government of their state. It was he who first distributed the mass of the people into four tribes, and these again into four classes according to their occupations, husbandmen, artificers, priests, and the fourth, military guards; after having made many more regulations of this kind, he left to the country his own name.

¹ Ægialus was the most ancient name of Achaia, and was given to it on account of the greater number of cities being situated upon the coast. The Sicyonians, however, asserted that the name was derived from one of their kings named Ægialeus.

² The story is narrated differently in Pausanias, b. vii. c. 1.

It happened at that time that the country had such an abundance of inhabitants, that the Athenians sent out a colony of Ionians to Peloponnesus, and the tract of country which they occupied was called Ionia after their own name, instead of Ægialeia, and the inhabitants Ionians instead of Ægialcans, who were distributed among twelve cities.

After the return of the Heracleidæ, these Ionians, being expelled by the Achæans, returned to Athens, whence, in conjunction with the Codridæ, (descendants of Codrus,) they sent out the Ionian colonists to Asia.¹ They founded twelve cities on the sea-coast of Caria and Lydia, having distributed themselves over the country into as many parts as they occupied in Peloponnesus.²

The Achæans were Phthiotæ by descent, and were settled at Lacedæmon, but when the Heracleidæ became masters of the country, having recovered their power under Tisamenus, the son of Orestes, they attacked the Ionians, as I said before, and defeated them. They drove the Ionians out of the country, and took possession of the territory, but retained the same partition of it which they found existing there. They became so powerful, that, although the Heracleidæ, from whom they had revolted, occupied the rest of Peloponnesus, yet they defended themselves against them all, and called their own country Achæa.

From Tisamenus to Ogyges they continued to be governed by kings. Afterwards they established a democracy, and acquired so great renown for their political wisdom, that the Italian Greeks, after their dissensions with the Pythagoreans, adopted most of the laws and institutions of the Achæans. After the battle of Leuctra the Thebans³ committed the disputes of the cities among each other to the arbitration of the Achæans. At a later period their community was dissolved by the Macedonians, but they recovered by degrees their former power. At the time of the expedition of Pyrrhus into Italy they be-

¹ About 1044 B. C.

² The twelve cities were Phocæa, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, Miletus, and Samos and Chios in the neighbouring islands. See b. xiv. c. i. § 3. This account of the expulsion of the Ionians from Peloponnesus is taken from Polybius, b. ii. c. 41, and b. iv. c. 1.

³ And Lacedæmonians, adds Polybius, b. ii. c. 39.

gan with the union of four cities, among which were Patræ and Dyme.¹ They then had an accession of the twelve cities, with the exception of Olenus and Helice; the former refused to join the league; the other was swallowed up by the waves.

2. For the sea was raised to a great height by an earthquake, and overwhelmed both Helice and the temple of the Heliconian Neptune, whom the Ionians still hold in great veneration, and offer sacrifices to his honour. They celebrate at that spot the Panionian festival.² According to the conjecture of some persons, Homer refers to these sacrifices in these lines,

“But he breathed out his soul, and bellowed, as a bull

Bellows when he is dragged round the altar of the Heliconian king.”³

It is conjectured that the age⁴ of the poet is later than the migration of the Ionian colony, because he mentions the Panionian sacrifices, which the Ionians perform in honour of the Heliconian Neptune in the territory of Priene; for the Prienians themselves are said to have come from Helice; a young man also of Priene is appointed to preside as king at these sacrifices, and to superintend the celebration of the sacred rites. A still stronger proof is adduced from what is said by the poet respecting the bull, for the Ionians suppose, that sacrifice is performed with favourable omens, when the bull bellows at the instant that he is wounded at the altar.

Others deny this, and transfer to Helice the proofs alleged of the bull and the sacrifice, asserting that these things were done there by established custom, and that the poet drew his comparison from the festival celebrated there. Helice⁵ was overwhelmed by the waves two years before the battle of

¹ Patræ and Paleocastro.

² This festival, Panionium, or assembly of all the Ionians, was celebrated at Mycale, or at Priene at the base of Mount Mycale, opposite the island of Samos, in a place sacred to Neptune. The Ionians had a temple also at Miletus and another at Teos, both consecrated to the Heliconian Neptune. Herod. i. 148. Pausanias, b. vii. c. 24.

³ Il. xx. 403.

⁴ The birth of Homer was later than the establishment of the Ionians in Asia Minor, according to the best authors. Aristotle makes him contemporary with the Ionian migration, 140 years after the Trojan war.

⁵ Ælian, De Naturâ Anim. b. ii. c. 19, and Pausanias, b. vii. c. 24, 25, give an account of this catastrophe, which was preceded by an earthquake, and was equally destructive to the city Bura, b. c. 373.

Leuctra. Eratosthenes says, that he himself saw the place, and the ferrymen told him that there formerly stood in the strait a brazen statue of Neptune, holding in his hand a hippocampus,¹ an animal which is dangerous to fishermen.

According to Heracleides, the inundation took place in his time, and during the night. The city was at the distance of 12 stadia from the sea, which overwhelmed the whole intermediate country as well as the city. Two thousand men were sent by the Achæans to collect the dead bodies, but in vain. The territory was divided among the bordering people. This calamity happened in consequence of the anger of Neptune, for the Ionians, who were driven from Helice, sent particularly to request the people of Helice to give them the image of Neptune, or if they were unwilling to give that, to furnish them with the model of the temple. On their refusal, the Ionians sent to the Achæan body, who decreed, that they should comply with the request, but they would not obey even this injunction. The disaster occurred in the following winter, and after this the Achæans gave the Ionians the model of the temple.

Hesiod mentions another Helice in Thessaly.

3. The Achæans, during a period of five and twenty years, elected, annually, a common secretary, and two military chiefs. Their common assembly of the council met at one place, called Arnarium, (Homarium, or Amarium,) where these persons, and, before their time, the Ionians, consulted on public affairs. They afterwards resolved to elect one military chief. When Aratus held this post, he took the Acrocorinthus from Antigonus, and annexed the city as well as his own country to the Achæan league.² He admitted the Megareans also into the body, and, having destroyed the tyrannical governments in each state, he made them members, after they were restored to liberty, of the Achæan league. * * * * * He freed, in a

¹ The Syngathus Hippocampus of Linnæus, from ἵππος, a horse, and κάμπη, a caterpillar. It obtained its name from the supposed resemblance of its head to a horse and of its tail to a caterpillar. From this is derived the fiction of sea-monsters in attendance upon the marine deities. It is, however, but a small animal, abundant in the Mediterranean. The head, especially when dried, is like that of a horse. Pliny, b. xxxii. c. 9—11. Ælian, De Nat. Anim. b. xiv. c. 20.

² This distinguished man was elected general of the Achæan League, B. C. 245.

short time, Peloponnesus from the existing tyrannies; thus Argos, Hermion, Phlius, and Megalopolis, the largest of the Arcadian cities, were added to the Achæan body, when they attained their greatest increase of numbers. It was at this time that the Romans, having expelled the Carthaginians from Sicily, undertook an expedition against the Galatæ, who were settled about the Po.¹ The Achæans remained firmly united until Philopœmen had the military command, but their union was gradually dissolved, after the Romans had obtained possession of the whole of Greece. The Romans did not treat each state in the same manner, but permitted some to retain their own form of government, and dissolved that of others. * * * * *

[He then assigns reasons for expatiating on the subject of the Achæans, namely, their attainment of such a degree of power as to be superior to the Lacedæmonians, and because they were not as well known as they deserved to be from their importance.]²

4. The order of the places which the Achæans inhabited, according to the distribution into twelve parts, is as follows. Next to Sicyon is Pellene; Ægeira, the second; the third, Ægæ, with a temple of Neptune; Bura, the fourth; then Helice, where the Ionians took refuge after their defeat by the Achæans, and from which place they were at last banished; after Helice are Ægium, Rhypes, Patræ, and Phara; then Olenus, beside which runs the large river [Peirus?]; then Dyme, and Tritæeis. The Ionians dwelt in villages, but the Achæans founded cities, to some of which they afterwards united others transferred from other quarters, as Ægæ to Ægeira, (the inhabitants, however, were called Ægæi,) and Olenus to Dyme.

Traces of the ancient settlement of the Olenii are to be seen between Patræ and Dyme: there also is the famous temple of Æsculapius, distant from Dyme 40, and from Patræ 80 stadia.

In Eubœa there is a place of the same name with the

¹ The expulsion of the Carthaginians from Sicily took place 241 B. C. The war of the Romans against the Cisalpine Gauls commenced 224 B. C., when the Romans passed the Po for the first time.

² Text abbreviated by the copyist.

Ægæ here, and there is a town of the name of Olenus in Ætolia, of which there remain only vestiges.

The poet does not mention the Olenus in Achaia, nor many other people living near Ægialus, but speaks in general terms ;

“ along the whole of Ægialus, and about the spacious Helice.”¹

But he mentions the Ætolian Olenus in these words ;

“ those who occupied Pleuron and Olenus.”²

He mentions both the places of the name of Ægæ ; the Achæan Ægæ in these terms,

“ who bring presents to Helice, and to Ægæ.”³

But when he says,

“ Ægæ, where his palace is in the depths of the sea,
There Neptune stopped his coursers,”⁴

it is better to understand Ægæ in Eubœa ; whence it is probable the Ægæan Sea had its name. On this sea, according to story, Neptune made his preparations for the Trojan war.

Close to the Achæan Ægæ flows the river Crathis,⁵ augmented by the waters of two rivers, and deriving its name from the mixture of their streams. To this circumstance the river Crathis in Italy owes its name.

5. Each of these twelve portions contained seven or eight demi, so great was the population of the country.

Pellene,⁶ situated at the distance of 60 stadia from the sea, is a strong fortress. There is also a village of the name of Pellene, whence they bring the Pellenian mantles, which are offered as prizes at the public games. It lies between Ægium⁷ and Pellene. But Pellana, a different place from these, belongs to the Lacedæmonians, and is situated towards the territory of Megalopolitis.

¹ Il. ii. 576.

² Il. ii. 639.

³ Il. viii. 203.

⁴ Il. xiii. 21, 34.

⁵ Κράθις—κραθῆναι. The Acrata. The site of Ægæ is probably the Khan of Acrata. *Smith.*

⁶ From the heights on which it was situated, descends a small river, (the Crius,) which discharges itself into the sea near Cape Augo-Campos.

⁷ Vostitza,

Ægeira¹ is situated upon a hill. Bura is at the distance from the sea-coast of about 40 stadia. It was swallowed up by an earthquake. It is said, that from the fountain Sybaris which is there, the river Sybaris in Italy had its name.

Æga (for this is the name by which Ægæ is called) is not now inhabited, but the Ægienses occupy the territory. Ægium, however, is well inhabited. It was here, it is said, that Jupiter was suckled by a goat, as Aratus also says,

“the sacred goat, which is said to have applied its teats to the lips of Jupiter.”²

He adds, that,

“the priests call it the Olenian goat of Jupiter,”

and indicates the place because it was near Olenus. There also is Ceryneia, situated upon a lofty rock. This place, and Helice, belong to the Ægienses,³ and the Ænarium, [Homarium,] the grove of Jupiter, where the Achæans held their convention, when they were to deliberate upon their common affairs.

The river Selinus flows through the city of the Ægienses. It has the same name as that which was beside Artemisium at Ephesus, and that in Elis, which has its course along the spot, that Xenophon⁴ says he purchased in compliance with the injunction of an oracle, in honour of Artemis. There is also another Selinus in the country of the Hyblæi Megarenses, whom the Carthaginians expelled.

Of the remaining Achæan cities, or portions, Rhypes is not inhabited, but the territory called Rhypis was occupied by Ægienses and Pharians. Æschylus also says somewhere,

“the sacred Bura, and Rhypes struck with lightning.”

Myscellus, the founder of Croton, was a native of Rhypes. Leuctrum, belonging to the district Rhypis, was a demus of Rhypes. Between these was Patræ, a considerable city, and in the intervening country, at the distance of 40 stadia from Patræ, are Rhium,⁵ and opposite to it, Antirrhium.⁶ Not long since the Romans, after the victory at Actium, stationed there a large portion of their army, and at

¹ Leake places the port of Ægeira at Maura-Litharia, the Black Rocks, on the left of which on the summit of a hill are some vestiges of an ancient city, which must have been Ægeira.

² Phœn. 163.

³ See above, § 3.

⁴ Anab. v. 3. 8.

⁵ Castel di Morea.

⁶ Castel di Rumeli.

present it is very well peopled, since it is a colony of the Romans. It has also a tolerably good shelter for vessels. Next is Dyme,¹ a city without a harbour, the most westerly of all the cities, whence also it has its name. It was formerly called Stratos.² It is separated from Eleia at Buprasium by the river Larisus,³ which rises in a mountain, called by some persons Scollis, but by Homer, the Olenian rock.

Antimachus having called Dyme Cauconis, some writers suppose that the latter word is used as an epithet derived from the Caucones, who extended as far as this quarter, as I have said before. Others think that it is derived from a river Caucon, in the same way as Thebes has the appellation of Dircean, and Asopian; and as Argos is called Inachian, and Troy, Simuntis.⁴

A little before our time, Dyme had received a colony consisting of a mixed body of people, a remnant of the piratical bands, whose haunts Pompey had destroyed. Some he settled at Soli in Cilicia, and others in other places, and some in this spot.

Phara borders upon the Dymæan territory. The inhabitants of this Phara are called Pharenses; those of the Messenian Phara, Pharataæ. In the territory of Phara there is a fountain Dirce, of the same name as that at Thebes.

Olenus is deserted. It lies between Patræ and Dyme. The territory is occupied by the Dymæi. Next is Araxus,⁵ the promontory of the Eleian district, distant from the isthmus 1000 stadia.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. **ARCADIA** is situated in the middle of Peloponnesus, and contains the greatest portion of the mountainous tract in that

¹ Sun-set.

² Gosselin suggests that the name Stratos was derived from a spot called the Tomb of Sostratus, held in veneration by the inhabitants of Dyme.

³ The Risso or Mana.

⁴ From the fountain Dirce, and the rivers Asopus, Inachus, and Simois.

⁵ Cape Papa.

country. Its largest mountain is Cyllene.¹ Its perpendicular height, according to some writers, is 20, according to others, about 15 stadia.

The Arcadian nations, as the Azanes, and Parrhasii, and other similar tribes, seem to be the most ancient people of Greece.²

In consequence of the complete devastation of this country, it is unnecessary to give a long description of it. The cities, although formerly celebrated, have been destroyed by continual wars; and the husbandmen abandoned the country at the time that most of the cities were united in that called Megalopolis (the Great City). At present Megalopolis itself has undergone the fate expressed by the comic poet;

“the great city is a great desert.”

There are rich pastures for cattle, and particularly for horses and asses, which are used as stallions. The race of Arcadian horses, as well as the Argolic and Epidaurian, is preferred before all others. The uninhabited tracts of country in Ætolia and Acarnania are not less adapted to the breeding of horses than Thessaly.

2. Mantinea owes its fame to Epaminondas, who conquered the Lacedæmonians there in a second battle, in which he lost his life.³

This city, together with Orchomenus, Heræa, Cleitor, Phe-neus, Stymphalus, Mænalus, Methydrium, Caphyeis, and Cynætha, either exist no longer, or traces and signs only of their existence are visible. There are still some remains of Tegea, and the temple of the Alæan Minerva remains. The latter is yet held in some little veneration, as well as the temple of the Lycæan Jupiter on the Lycæan mountain. But the places mentioned by the poet, as

“Rhipe, and Stratia, and the windy Enispe,”

are difficult to discover, and if discovered, would be of no use from the deserted condition of the country.

¹ Now bears the name of Zyria; its height, as determined by the French commission, is 7788 feet above the level of the sea. *Smith.*

² The Arcadians called themselves Autochthones, indigenous, and also Proseleni, born before the moon; hence Ovid speaking of them says, “Lunâ gens prior illa fuit.”

³ B. C. 371.

3. The mountains of note, besides Cyllene, are Pholoë,¹ Lycæum,² Mænalus, and the Parthenium,³ as it is called, which extends from the territory of Tegea to that of Argos.

4. We have spoken of the extraordinary circumstances relative to the Alpheius, Eurotas, and the Erasinus, which issues out of the lake Stymphalis, and now flows into the Argive country.

Formerly, the Erasinus had no efflux, for the Berethra, which the Arcadians call Zerethra,⁴ had no outlet, so that the city of the Stymphalii, which at that time was situated upon the lake, is now at the distance of 50 stadia.

The contrary was the case with the Ladon, which was at one time prevented running in a continuous stream by the obstruction of its sources. For the Berethra near Pheneum, through which it now passes, fell in in consequence of an earthquake, which stopped the waters of the river, and affected far down the veins which supplied its source. This is the account of some writers.

Eratosthenes says, that about the Pheneus, the river called Anias forms a lake, and then sinks under-ground into certain openings, which they call Zerethra. When these are obstructed, the water sometimes overflows into the plains, and when they are again open the water escapes in a body from the plains, and is discharged into the Ladon⁵ and the Alpheius,⁶ so that it happened once at Olympia, that the land about the temple was inundated, but the lake was partly emptied. The Erasinus⁷ also, he says, which flows by Stymphalus, sinks into the ground under the mountain (Chaon?), and reappears in the Argive territory. It was this that induced Iphicrates, when besieging Stymphalus, and making no progress, to attempt to obstruct the descent of the river into the ground by means of a large quantity of sponges, but desisted in consequence of some portentous signs in the heavens.

Near the Pheneus there is also the water of the Styx, as it is called, a dripping spring of poisonous water, which was esteemed to be sacred.

So much then respecting Arcadia.

¹ Mauro vuni.

² Mintha.

³ Partheni.

⁴ Called Katavothra by modern Greeks.

⁵ The Landona.

⁶ The Carbonaro.

⁷ The Kephalaria.

5.¹ Polybius having said, that from Maleæ towards the north as far as the Danube the distance is about 10,000 stadia, is corrected by Artemidorus, and not without reason; for, according to the latter, from Maleæ to Ægium the distance is 1400 stadia, from hence to Cirrha is a distance by sea of 200 stadia; hence by Heraclea to Thaumaci a journey of 500 stadia; thence to Larisa and the river Peneus, 340 stadia; then through Tempe to the mouth of the Peneus, 240 stadia; then to Thessalonica, 660 stadia; then to the Danube, through Idomene, and Stobi, and Dardanii, it is 3200 stadia. According to Artemidorus, therefore, the distance from the Danube to Maleæ would be 6500. The cause of this difference is that he does not give the measurement by the shortest road, but by some accidental route pursued by a general of an army.

It is not, perhaps, out of place to add the founders mentioned by Ephorus, who settled colonies in Peloponnesus after the return of the Heracleidæ; as Aletes, the founder of Corinth; Phalces, of Sicyon; Tisamenus, of cities in Achæa; Oxylus, of Elis, Cresphontes, of Messene; Eurysthenes and Procles, of Lacedæmon; Temenus and Cissus, of Argos; and Agræus and Deiphontes, of the towns about Acte.

¹ The following section is corrupt in the original; it is translated according to the corrections proposed by *Kramer, Gossellin, &c.*

BOOK IX.

SUMMARY.

Continuation of the geography of Greece. A panegyric account of Athens. A description of Bœotia and Thessaly, with the sea-coast.

CHAPTER I.

1. HAVING completed the description of Peloponnesus, which we said was the first and least of the peninsulas of which Greece consists, we must next proceed to those which are continuous with it.¹

We described the second to be that which joins Megaris to the Peloponnesus [so that Crommyon belongs to Megaris, and not to the Corinthians];² the third to be that which is situated near the former, comprising Attica and Bœotia, some part of Phocis, and of the Locri Epicnemidii. Of these we are now to speak.

Eudoxus says, that if we imagine a straight line to be drawn towards the east from the Ceraunian Mountains to Sunium, the promontory of Attica, it would leave, on the right hand, to the south, the whole of Peloponnesus, and on the left, to the north, the continuous coast from the Ceraunian

¹ The peninsulas described by Strabo, are :

1. The Peloponnesus, properly so called, bounded by the Isthmus of Corinth.

2. The peninsula bounded by a line drawn from Pagæ to Nisæa, and including the above.

3. The peninsula bounded by a line drawn from the recess of the Crissæan Gulf, properly so called, (the Bay of Salona,) to Thermopylæ, and includes the two first.

4. The peninsula bounded by a line drawn from the Ambracic Gulf to Thermopylæ and the Maliac Gulf, and includes the three former.

5. The peninsula bounded by a line drawn from the Ambracic Gulf to the recess of the Thermaic Gulf, and contains the former four peninsulas.

² These words are transposed from after the word Epicnemidii, as suggested by Cramer.

Mountains to the Crissæan Gulf, and the whole of Megaris and Attica. He is of opinion that the shore which extends from Sunium to the Isthmus, would not have so great a curvature, nor have so great a bend, if, to this shore, were not added the parts continuous with the Isthmus and extending to the Hermionic Bay and Acté; that in the same manner the shore, from the Ceraunian Mountains to the Gulf of Corinth, has a similar bend, so as to make a curvature, forming within it a sort of gulf, where Rhium and Antirrhium contracting together give it this figure. The same is the case with the shore about Crissa and the recess, where the Crissæan Sea terminates.¹

2. As this is the description given by Eudoxus, a mathematician, skilled in the delineations of figures and the inclinations of places, acquainted also with the places themselves, we must consider the sides of Attica and Megaris, extending from Sunium as far as the Isthmus, to be curved, although slightly so. About the middle of the above-mentioned line² is the Piræus, the naval arsenal of the Athenians. It is distant from Schœnus, at the Isthmus, about 350 stadia; from Sunium 330. The distance from the Piræus to Pagæ³ and from the Piræus to Schœnus is nearly the same, yet the former is said to exceed the latter by 10 stadia. After having doubled Sunium, the navigation along the coast is to the north with a declination to the west.

3. Acte (Attica) is washed by two seas; it is at first narrow, then it widens towards the middle, yet it, nevertheless, takes a lunated bend towards Oropus in Bœotia, having the convex side towards the sea. This is the second, the eastern side of Attica.

The remaining side is that to the north, extending from the territory of Oropus towards the west, as far as Megaris, and consists of the mountainous tract of Attica, having a variety of names, and dividing Bœotia from Attica; so that, as I have before remarked, Bœotia, by being connected with

¹ The Crissæan Gulf, properly so called, is the modern Bay of Salona. But probably Strabo (or rather Eudoxus, whose testimony he alleges) intended to comprehend, under the denomination of Crissæan, the whole gulf, more commonly called Corinthian by the ancients, that is, the gulf which commenced at the strait between Rhium and Antirrhium, and of which the Crissæan Gulf was only a portion. The text in the above passage is very corrupt.

² From Sunium to the Isthmus.

³ Libadostani.

two seas, becomes the Isthmus of the third peninsula, which we have mentioned before, and this Isthmus includes within it the Peloponnesus, Megaris, and Attica. For this reason therefore the present Attica was called by a play upon the words Acta and Actica, because the greatest part of it lies under the mountains, and borders on the sea; it is narrow, and stretches forwards a considerable length as far as Sunium. We shall therefore resume the description of these sides, beginning from the sea-coast, at the point where we left off.

4. After Crommyon, rising above Attica, are the rocks called Scironides, which afford no passage along the sea-side. Over them, however, is a road which leads to Megara and Attica from the Isthmus. The road approaches so near the rocks that in many places it runs along the edge of precipices, for the overhanging mountain is of great height, and impassable.

Here is laid the scene of the fable of Sciron, and the Pityocampes, or the pine-breaker, one of those who infested with their robberies the above-mentioned mountainous tract. They were slain by Theseus.

The wind Argestes,¹ which blows from the left with violence, from these summits is called by the Athenians Sciron.

After the rocks Scironides there projects the promontory Minoa, forming the harbour of Nisæa. Nisæa is the arsenal of Megara, and distant 18 stadia from the city; it is joined to it by walls on each side.² This also had the name of Minoa.

5. In former times the Ionians occupied this country, and were also in possession of Attica, before the time of the building of Megara, wherefore the poet does not mention these places by any appropriate name, but when he calls all those dwelling in Attica, Athenians, he comprehends these also in the common appellation, regarding them as Athenians; so when, in the Catalogue of the Ships, he says,

“And they who occupied Athens, a well-built city,”³

¹ N. W. by W., $\frac{1}{4}$ W.

² Literally, “by legs on each side.” Nisæa was united to Megara, as the Piræus to Athens, by two long walls.

³ Il. ii. 546.

we must understand the present Megarenses also, as having taken a part in the expedition. The proof of this is, that Attica was, in former times, called Ionia, and Ias, and when the poet says,

“There the Bœoti, and Iaones,”¹

he means the Athenians. But of this Ionia Megaris was a part.

6. Besides, the Peloponnesians and Ionians having had frequent disputes respecting their boundaries, on which Cromyonia also was situated, assembled and agreed upon a spot of the Isthmus itself, on which they erected a pillar having an inscription on the part towards Peloponnesus,

“THIS IS PELOPONNESUS, NOT IONIA;”

and on the side towards Megara,

“THIS IS NOT PELOPONNESUS, BUT IONIA.”

Although those, who wrote on the history of Attica,² differ in many respects, yet those of any note agree in this, that when there were four Pandionidæ, Ægeus, Lycus, Pallas, and Nisus; and when Attica was divided into four portions, Nisus obtained, by lot, Megaris, and founded Nisæa. Philochorus says, that his government extended from the Isthmus to Pythium,³ but according to Andron, as far as Eleusis and the Thriasian plain.

Since, then, different writers give different accounts of the division of the country into four parts, it is enough to adduce these lines from Sophocles where Ægeus says,

“My father determined that I should go away to Acte, having assigned to me, as the elder, the best part of the land; to Lycus, the opposite garden of Eubœa; for Nisus he selects the irregular tract of the shore of Sciron; and the rugged Pallas, breeder of giants, obtained by lot the part to the south.”⁴

Such are the proofs which are adduced to show that Megaris was a part of Attica.

7. After the return of the Heraclidæ, and the partition of the country, many of the former possessors were banished from their own land by the Heraclidæ, and by the Dorians, who came with them, and migrated to Attica. Among these was Melanthus, the king of Messene. He was voluntarily ap-

¹ Il. xiii. 685.

² See note to vol. i. page 329.

³ This place is unknown.

⁴ From a lost tragedy of Sophocles.

pointed king of the Athenians, after having overcome in single combat, Xanthus, the king of the Bœotians. When Attica became populous by the accession of fugitives, the Heraclidæ were alarmed, and invaded Attica, chiefly at the instigation of the Corinthians and Messenians; the former of whom were influenced by proximity of situation, the latter by the circumstance that Codrus, the son of Melanthus, was at that time king of Attica. They were, however, defeated in battle and relinquished the whole of the country, except the territory of Megara, of which they kept possession, and founded the city Megara, where they introduced as inhabitants Dorians in place of Ionians. They destroyed the pillar also which was the boundary of the country of the Ionians and the Peloponnesians.

8. The city of the Megarenses, after having experienced many changes, still subsists. It once had schools of philosophers, who had the name of the Megaric sect. They succeeded Euclides, the Socratic philosopher, who was by birth a Megarensian, in the same manner as the Eleiaci, among whom was Pyrrhon, who succeeded Phædon, the Eleian, who was also a Socratic philosopher, and as the Eretriaci succeeded Menedemus the Eretrean.

Megarís, like Attica, is very sterile, and the greater part of it is occupied by what are called the Oneii mountains, a kind of ridge, which, extending from the Scironides rocks to Bœotia and to Cithæron, separates the sea at Nisæa from that near Pagæ, called the Alcyonian Sea.

9. In sailing from Nisæa to Attica there lie, in the course of the voyage, five small islands. Then succeeds Salamis, which is about 70, and according to others, 80, stadia in length. It has two cities of the same name. The ancient city, which looked towards Ægina, and to the south, as Æschylus has described it ;

“ Ægina lies towards the blasts of the south : ”

it is uninhabited. The other is situated in a bay on a spot of a peninsular form contiguous to Attica. In former times it had other names, for it was called Sciras, and Cychreia, from certain heroes ; from the former Minerva is called Sciras ; hence also Scira, a place in Attica ; Episcirosis, a religious rite ; and Scirophorion, one of the months. From Cychreia

the serpent Cychrides had its name, which Hesiod says Cychreus bred, and Eurylochus ejected, because it infested the island, but that Ceres admitted it into Eleusis, and it became her attendant. Salamis was called also Pityussa from "pitys," the pine tree. The island obtained its renown from the Æacidæ, who were masters of it, particularly from Ajax, the son of Telamon, and from the defeat of Xerxes by the Greeks in a battle on the coast, and by his flight to his own country. The Æginetæ participated in the glory of that engagement, both as neighbours, and as having furnished a considerable naval force. [In Salamis is the river Bocarus, now called Bocalia.]¹

10. At present the Athenians possess the island Salamis. In former times they disputed the possession of it with the Megarians. Some allege, that Pisistratus, others that Solon, inserted in the Catalogue of Ships immediately after this verse,

"Ajax conducted from Salamis twelve vessels,"²

the following words,

"And stationed them by the side of the Athenian forces;"

and appealed to the poet as a witness, that the island originally belonged to the Athenians. But this is not admitted by the critics, because many other lines testify the contrary. For why does Ajax appear at the extremity of the line not with the Athenians, but with the Thessalians under the command of Protesilaus;

"There were the vessels of Ajax, and Protesilaus."³

And Agamemnon, in the Review⁴ of the troops,

"found the son of Peteus, Menestheus, the tamer of horses, standing, and around were the Athenians skilful in war: near stood the wily Ulysses, and around him and at his side, the ranks of the Cephalleni;"⁴

and again, respecting Ajax and the Salaminii;

"he came to the Ajaces,"⁵

and near them,

"Idomeneus on the other side amidst the Cretans,"⁶

not Menestheus. The Athenians then seem to have alleged

¹ Probably interpolated.

² Il. ii. 557.

³ Il. xiii. 681.

⁴ Il. iv. 327.

⁵ Il. iv. 273.

⁶ Il. iii. 230.

some such evidence as this from Homer as a pretext, and the Megarians to have replied in an opposite strain of this kind; "Ajax conducted ships from Salamis, from Polichna, from Ægirussa, from Nisæa, and from Tripodes,"¹

which are places in Megaris, of which Tripodes has the name of Tripodiscium, situated near the present forum of Megara.

11. Some say, that Salamis is unconnected with Attica, because the priestess of Minerva Polias, who may not eat the new cheese of Attica, but the produce only of a foreign land, yet uses the Salaminian cheese. But this is a mistake, for she uses that which is brought from other islands, that are confessedly near Attica, for the authors of this custom considered all produce as foreign which was brought over sea.

It seems as if anciently the present Salamis was a separate state, and that Megara was a part of Attica.

On the sea-coast, opposite to Salamis, the boundaries of Megara and Attica are two mountains called Cerata, or Horns.²

12. Next is the city Eleusis,³ in which is the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and the Mystic Enclosure (Secos),⁴ which Ictinus built,⁵ capable of containing the crowd of a theatre. It was this person that built⁶ the Parthenon in the Acropolis, in honour of Minerva, when Pericles was the superintendent of the public works. The city is enumerated among the demi, or burghs.

13. Then follows the Thriasian plain, and the coast, a demus of the same name,⁷ then the promontory Amphiale,⁸ above which is a stone quarry; and then the passage across the sea to Salamis, of about 2 stadia, which Xerxes endeavoured to fill up with heaps of earth, but the sea-fight and the flight of the Persians occurred before he had accomplished it.

¹ Il. ii. 557.

² These horns, according to Wheler, are two pointed rocks on the summit of the mountain situated between Eleusis and Megara. On one of these rocks is a tower, called by the modern Greeks Cerata or Kerata-Pyrge.

³ Lepsina.

⁴ Σηκός.

⁵ κατεσκεύασεν.

⁶ ἐποίησε. Ictinus was also the architect of the temple of Apollo Epicurius near Phigalia in Arcadia.

⁷ Thria.

⁸ Scaramandra; from the height above Ægaleos, Xerxes witnessed the battle of Salamis.

There also are the Pharmacussæ,¹ two small islands, in the larger of which is shown the tomb of Circe.

14. Above this coast is a mountain called Corydallus, and the demus Corydalleis: then the harbour of Phoron, (Robbers,) and Psyttalia, a small rocky desert island, which, according to some writers, is the eye-sore of the Piræus.

Near it is Atalanta, of the same name as that between Eubœa and the Locri; and another small island similar to Psyttalia; then the Piræus, which is also reckoned among the demi, and the Munychia.

15. The Munychia is a hill in the shape of a peninsula, hollow, and a great part of it excavated both by nature and art, so as to serve for dwellings, with an entrance by a narrow opening. Beneath it are three harbours. Formerly the Munychia was surrounded by a wall, and occupied by dwellings, nearly in the same manner as the city of the Rhodians, comprehending within the circuit of the walls the Piræus and the harbours full of materials for ship-building; here also was the armoury, the work of Philon. The naval station was capable of receiving the four hundred vessels; which was the smallest number the Athenians were in the habit of keeping in readiness for sea. With this wall were connected the legs, that stretched out from the Asty. These were the long walls, 40 stadia in length, joining the Asty² to the Piræus. But in consequence of frequent wars, the wall and the fortification of the Munychia were demolished; the Piræus was contracted to a small town, extending round the harbours and the temple of Jupiter Soter. The small porticoes of the temple contain admirable paintings, the work of celebrated artists, and the hypæthrum, statues. The long walls also were destroyed, first demolished by the Lacedæmonians, and afterwards by the Romans, when Sylla took the Piræus and the Asty by siege.³

16. What is properly the Asty is a rock, situated in a plain, with dwellings around it. Upon the rock is the temple

¹ Megala Kyra, Micra Kyra.

² τὸ ἄστυ, the Asty, was the upper town, in opposition to the lower town, of Piræus. See Smith's Dictionary for a very able and interesting article, *Athenæ*; also Kiepert's *Atlas von Hellas*.

³ Sylla took Athens, after a long and obstinate siege, on the 1st March, B. C. 86. The city was given up to rapine and plunder.

of Minerva, and the ancient shrine of Minerva Polias, in which is the never-extinguished lamp; and the Parthenon, built by Ictinus, in which is the Minerva, in ivory, the work of Pheidias.

When, however, I consider the multitude of objects, so celebrated and far-famed, belonging to this city, I am reluctant to enlarge upon them, lest what I write should depart too far from the proposed design of this work.¹ For the words of Hegesias² occur to me;

“I behold the acropolis, there is the symbol of the great trident;³ I see Eleusis; I am initiated in the sacred mysteries; that is Leocorium;⁴ this the Theseium.⁵ To describe all is beyond my power, for Attica is the chosen residence of the gods; and the possession of heroes its progenitors.”

Yet this very writer mentions only one of the remarkable things to be seen in the Acropolis. Polemo Periegetes⁶ however composed four books on the subject of the sacred offerings which were there. Hegesias is similarly sparing of remarks on other parts of the city, and of the territory: after speaking of Eleusis, one of the hundred and seventy demi, to which as they say four are to be added, he mentions no other by name.

17. Many, if not all the demi, have various fabulous tales and histories connected with them: with Aphidna is connected the rape of Helen by Theseus, the sack of the place by the Dioscuri, and the recovery of their sister; with Mara-

¹ Strabo thus accounts for his meagre description of the public buildings at Athens, for which, otherwise, he seems to have had no inclination.

² Hegesias was an artist of great celebrity, and a contemporary of Pheidias. The statues of Castor and Pollux by Hegesias, are supposed by Winkelman to be the same as those which now stand on the stairs leading to the Capitol, but this is very doubtful. *Smith*.

³ In the Erechtheum.

⁴ The Heroum, or temple dedicated to the daughters of Leos, who were offered up by their father as victims to appease the wrath of Minerva in a time of pestilence. The position of the temple is doubtfully placed by *Smith* below the Areiopagus.

⁵ The well-known temple of Theseus being the best preserved of all the monuments of Greece.

⁶ An eminent geographer. He made extensive journeys through Greece to collect materials for his geographical works, and as a collector of inscriptions on votive offerings and columns, he was one of the earlier contributors to the Greek Anthology. *Smith*.

thon, the battle with the Persians; at Rhamnus was the statue of Nemesis, which, according to some writers, is the work of Diodotus, according to others, of Agoracritus, the Parian, so well executed, both as to size and beauty, as to rival the art of Pheidias. Deceleia was the rendezvous of the Peloponnesians in the Decelic war. From Phyle Thrasybulus brought back the people to the Piræus, and thence to the Asty. Thus also much might be told respecting many other places; the Leocorium, the Theseium, and the Lyceum have their own fables, and the Olympicum, called also the Olympium, which the king, who dedicated it, left, at his death, half finished; so also much might be said of the Academia, of the gardens of the philosophers, of the Odeium,¹ of the Stoa Pœcile, [or painted Portico,] and of the temples in the city, all of which contain the works of illustrious artists.

18. The account would be much longer if we were to inquire who were the founders of the city from the time of Cæcrops, for writers do not agree, as is evident from the names of persons and of places. For example, Attica,² they say, was derived from Actæon; Atthis, and Attica, from Atthis, the daughter of Cranaus, from whom the inhabitants had the name Cranai; Mopsopia from Mopsopus; Ionia from Ion, the son of Xuthus; Poseidonia and Athenæ, from the deities of that name. We have said, that the nation of the Pelasgi seem to have come into this country in the course of their migrations, and were called from their wanderings, by the Attici, Pelargi, or storks.

19. In proportion as an earnest desire is excited to ascertain the truth about remarkable places and events, and in proportion as writers, on these subjects, are more numerous, so much the more is an author exposed to censure, who does not make himself master of what has been written. For example, in "the Collection of the Rivers," Callimachus says, that he should laugh at the person, who would venture to describe the Athenian virgins as

¹ The Odeium was a kind of theatre erected by Pericles in the Ceramic quarter of the city, for the purpose of holding musical meetings. The roof, supported by columns, was constructed out of the wreck of the Persian fleet conquered at Salamis. There was also the Odeium of Regilla, but this was built in the time of the Antonines.

² The country was called Actica from Actæos. *Parian Chronicle*.

“drinking of the pure waters of the Eridanus,” from which even the herds would turn away. There are indeed fountains of water, pure and fit for drinking, it is said, without the gate called Diochaes, near the Lyceium; formerly also a fountain was erected near it, which afforded a large supply of excellent water; but if it is not so at present, is it at all strange, that a fountain supplying abundance of pure and potable water at one period of time, should afterwards have the property of its waters altered?

In subjects, however, which are so numerous, we cannot enter into detail; yet they are not so entirely to be passed over in silence as to abstain from giving a condensed account of some of them.

20. It will suffice then to add, that, according to Philochorus, when the country was devastated on the side of the sea by the Carians, and by land by the Bœotians, whom they called Aones, Cecrops first settled a large body of people in twelve cities, the names of which were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Deceleia, Eleusis, Aphidna, (although some persons write it in the plural number, Aphidnæ,) Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia [Phalerus]. Again, at a subsequent period, Theseus is said to have collected the inhabitants of the twelve cities into one, the present city.

Formerly, the Athenians were governed by kings; they afterwards changed the government to a democracy; then tyrants were their masters, as Pisistratus and his sons; afterwards there was an oligarchy both of the four hundred and of the thirty tyrants, whom the Lacedæmonii set over them; these were expelled by the Athenians, who retained the form of a democracy, till the Romans established their empire. For, although they were somewhat oppressed by the Macedonian kings, so as to be compelled to obey them, yet they preserved entire the same form of government. Some say, that the government was very well administered during a period of ten years, at the time that Casander was king of the Macedonians. For this person, although in other respects he was disposed to be tyrannical, yet, when he was master of the city, treated the Athenians with kindness and generosity. He placed at the head of the citizens Demetrius the Phalerean, a disciple of Theophrastus the philosopher, who, far from dissolving, restored the democracy. This appears from his

memoirs, which he composed concerning this mode of government. But so much hatred and dislike prevailed against anything connected with oligarchy, that, after the death of Casander, he was obliged to fly into Egypt.¹ The insurgents pulled down more than three hundred of his statues, which were melted down, and according to some were cast into chamber-pots. The Romans, after their conquest, finding them governed by a democracy,² maintained their independence and liberty. During the Mithridatic war, the king set over them such tyrants as he pleased. Aristio, who was the most powerful of these persons, oppressed the city; he was taken by Sylla, the Roman general, after a siege,³ and put to death. The citizens were pardoned, and, to this time, the city enjoys liberty, and is respected by the Romans.

21. Next to the Piræus is the demus Phalereis, on the succeeding line of coast, then Halimusii, Æxoneis, Alæeis, the Æxonici, Anagyrasii; then Theoris, Lampesis; Ægilieis, Anaphlystii, Azenieis; these extend as far as the promontory Sunium. Between the above-mentioned demi is a long promontory, Zoster,⁴ the first after the Æxoneis; then another promontory after Thoreis, Astypalæa; in the front of the former of these is an island, Phabra,⁵ and of the latter an island, Eleüssa,⁶ opposite the Æxoneis is Hydrussa. About Anaphlystum is the Paneum, and the temple of Venus Colias. Here, they say, were thrown up by the waves the last portions of the wrecks of the vessels after the naval engagement with the Persians near Salamis, of which remains Apollo predicted,

“The women of Colias shall shudder at the sight of oars.”

In front of these places lies off, at no great distance, the island Belbina; and the rampart of Patroclus; but most of these islands are uninhabited.

22. On doubling the promontory at Sunium, we meet with Sunium, a considerable demus; then Thoricus, next a demus called Potamus, from which the inhabitants are called Potamii; next Prasia,⁷ Steiria, Brauron, where is the temple of

¹ Demetrius Phalereus was driven from Athens, 307 B. C., whence he retired to Thebes. The death of Casander took place 298 B. C.

² Aratus, the Achæan general, 245 B. C., drove from Attica the Lacedæmonian garrisons, and restored liberty to the Athenians.

³ B. C. 87. ⁴ C. Halikes. ⁵ Falkadi. ⁶ Elisa. ⁷ Raphti.

Diana Brauronia, Halæ Araphenides, where is the temple of Diana Tauropola; then Myrrhinus, Probalinthus, Marathon, where Miltiades entirely destroyed the army of Datis the Persian, without waiting for the Lacedæmonians, who deferred setting out till the full moon. There is laid the scene of the fable of the Marathonian bull, which Theseus killed.

Next to Marathon is Tricorynthus, then Rhamnus, where is the temple of Nemesis; then Psaphis, a city of the Oropii. Somewhere about this spot is the Amphiaræum, an oracle once in repute, to which Amphiareus fled, as Sophocles says, "The dusty Theban soil opened and received him with his armour, and the four-horse chariot."

Oropus has frequently been a subject of contention, for it is situated on the confines of Attica and Bœotia.

In front of this coast, before Thoricum and Sunium, is the island Helena; it is rocky and uninhabited, extending in length about 60 stadia, which, they say, the poet mentions in the words, in which Alexander addresses Helen,

"Not when first I carried thee away from the pleasant Lacedæmon, across the deep, and in the island Cranaë embraced thee."¹

For Cranaë, from the kind of intercourse which took place there, is now called Helena. Next to Helena,² Eubœa³ lies in front of the following tract of coast. It is long and narrow, and stretching along the continent like Helena. From Sunium to the southern point of Eubœa, which is called Leuce Acte,⁴ [or, the white coast,] is a voyage of 300 stadia, but we shall speak hereafter of Eubœa.

It would be tedious to recite the names of the Demi of Attica in the inland parts, on account of their number.⁵

23. Among the mountains which are most celebrated, are the Hymettus, Brilessus, Lycabettus, Parnes, and Corydallus.⁶ Near the city are excellent quarries of Hymettian and Pentelic marble. The Hymettus produces also the finest honey. The silver mines in Attica were at first of importance, but are now exhausted. The workmen, when the mines yielded

¹ Il. iii. 443.

² Macronisi.

³ Negropont.

⁴ From C. Colonna to C. Mantelo.

⁵ Smith gives an alphabetical list of 160 demi.

⁶ Monte San Giorgio.

a bad return to their labour, committed to the furnace the old refuse and scoria, and hence obtained very pure silver, for the former workmen had carried on the process in the furnace unskilfully.

Although the Attic is the best of all the kinds of honey, yet by far the best of the Attic honey is that found in the country of the silver mines,¹ which they call acapniston, or un-smoked, from the mode of its preparation.

24. Among the rivers is the Cephissus, having its source from the Trinemeis, it flows through the plain (where are the Gephyra, and the Gephyrismi) between the legs or walls extending from the Asty to the Piræus, and empties itself into the Phalericum. Its character is chiefly that of a winter torrent, for in the summer time it fails altogether. Such also, for the most part, is the Ilissus, which flows from the other side of the Asty to the same coast, from the parts above Agra, and the Lyceium, and the fountain celebrated by Plato in the Phædrus. So much then respecting Attica.

CHAPTER II.

1. NEXT in order is Bœotia. When I speak of this country, and of the contiguous nations, I must, for the sake of perspicuity, repeat what I have said before.

We have said, that the sea-coast stretches from Sunium to the north as far as Thessalonica, inclining a little toward the west, and having the sea on the east, that parts situated above this shore towards the west extend like belts² parallel to one another through the whole country. The first of these belts is Attica with Megaris, the eastern side of which extends

¹ As Mount Hymettus was always celebrated for producing the best honey, it would appear from this passage that there were silver mines in it. It appears however that the Athenians had failed to discover silver in Hymettus. It is not impossible that Strabo has adopted literally some proverb or saying of the miners, such as, "Ours is the best honey."

² In the following description of Greece, Strabo employs the term belts or bands (*ραβιας*) for the territory intercepted between the lines forming the peninsulas. See note, chap. i. § 1, of this book.

from Sunium to Oropus, and Bœotia; on the western side is the isthmus, and the Alcyonian sea commencing at Pagæ and extending as far as the boundaries of Bœotia near Creusa, the remaining two sides are formed by the sea-shore from Sunium to the Isthmus, and the mountain tract nearly parallel with this, which separates Attica from Bœotia.

The second belt is Bœotia, stretching from east to west from the Eubœan sea to the Crisæan Gulf, nearly of equal length with Attica, or perhaps somewhat less; in quality of soil however it greatly surpasses Attica.

2. Ephorus declares the superiority of Bœotia over the bordering nations not only in this respect, but also because it alone has three seas adjoining it, and a great number of harbours. At the Crisæan and Corinthian Gulfs it received the commodities of Italy, Sicily, and Africa. Towards Eubœa the sea-coast branches off on each side of the Euripus; in one direction towards Aulis and Tanagrica, in the other, to Salgameus and Anthedon; on one side there is an open sea to Egypt, and Cyprus, and the islands; on the other to Macedonia, the Propontis, and the Hellespont. He adds also that Eubœa is almost a part of Bœotia, because the Euripus is very narrow, and the opposite shores are brought into communication by a bridge of two plethra in length.¹

For these reasons he praises the country, and says, that it has natural advantages for obtaining supreme command, but that from want of careful education and learning, even those who were from time to time at the head of affairs did not long maintain the ascendancy they had acquired, as appears from the example of Epaminondas; at his death the Thebans immediately lost the supremacy they had just acquired. This is to be attributed, says Ephorus, to their neglect of learning, and of intercourse with mankind, and to their exclusive cultivation of military virtues. It must be added also, that learning and knowledge are peculiarly useful in dealing with Greeks, but in the case of Barbarians, force is preferable to reason. In fact the Romans in early times, when carrying on war with savage nations, did not require such accomplishments, but from the time that they began to be concerned in transactions with more civilized people, they applied themselves to learning, and so established universal dominion.

¹ About 67 yards. See also b. x. ch. i. § 8.

3. Bœotia was first occupied by Barbarians, Aones, and Temmices, a wandering people from Sunium, by Leleges, and Hyantes. Then the Phœnicians, who accompanied Cadmus, possessed it. He fortified the Cadmeian land, and transmitted the government to his descendants. The Phœnicians founded Thebes, and added it to the Cadmeian territory. They preserved their dominion, and exercised it over the greatest part of the Bœotians till the time of the expedition of the Epigoni. At this period they abandoned Thebes for a short time, but returned again. In the same manner when they were ejected by Thracians and Pelasgi, they established their rule in Thessaly together with the Arnæi for a long period, so that all the inhabitants obtained the name of Bœotians. They returned afterwards to their own country, at the time the Æolian expedition was preparing at Aulis in Bœotia which the descendants of Orestes were equipping for Asia. After having united the Orchomenian tract to Bœotia (for formerly they did not form one community, nor has Homer enumerated these people with the Bœotians, but by themselves, calling them Minyæ) with the assistance of the Orchomenians they drove out the Pelasgi, who went to Athens, a part of which city is called from this people Pelasgic. The Pelasgi however settled below Hymettus. The Thracians retreated to Parnassus. The Hyantes founded Hyampolis in Phocis.

4. Ephorus relates that the Thracians, after making treaty with the Bœotians, attacked them by night, when encamped in a careless manner during a time of peace. The Thracians when reproached, and accused of breaking the treaty, replied, that they had not broken it, for the conditions were "by day," whereas they had made the attack by night, whence the common proverb, "a Thracian shuffle."

The Pelasgi and the Bœotians also went during the war to consult the oracle. He cannot tell, he says, what answer was given to the Pelasgi, but the prophetess replied to the Bœotians that they would prosper by committing some act of impiety. The messengers sent to consult the oracle suspecting the prophetess of favouring the Pelasgi on account of their relationship, (for the temple had originally belonged to the Pelasgi,) seized the woman, and threw her upon a burning pile, considering, that whether her conduct had been right or

wrong, in either case they were right; for if she had uttered a deceitful answer she was duly punished; but if not, they had only complied with the command of the oracle. Those in charge of the temple did not like to put to death, particularly in the temple, the perpetrators of this act without a formal judgment, and therefore subjected them to a trial. They were summoned before the priestesses, who were also the prophetesses, being the two survivors out of the three. The Bœotians alleged that there was no law permitting women to act as judges; an equal number of men were therefore chosen. The men acquitted; the women condemned. As the votes were equal, those for acquittal prevailed. Hence at Dodona it is to the Bœotians only that men deliver oracles. The prophetesses however give a different meaning to the answer of the oracle, and say, that the god enjoins the Bœotians to steal the tripods used at home, and to send them annually to Dodona. This they did, for they were in the habit of carrying away by night some of the dedicated tripods, which they concealed in their clothes, in order to convey them clandestinely as offerings to Dodona.

5. After this they assisted Penthilus in sending out the Æolian colony, and despatched a large body of their own people with him, so that it was called the Bœotian colony.

A long time afterwards the country was devastated during the war with the Persians at Plataeæ. They afterwards so far recovered their power, that the Thebans, having vanquished the Lacedæmonians in two battles,¹ disputed the sovereignty of Greece. Epaminondas, however, was killed, and they were disappointed in their hope of obtaining this supremacy. They, nevertheless, fought in defence of the Greeks against the Phocæans, who had plundered their common temple. Reduced by this war, and by the Macedonians, at the time they invaded Greece, they lost their city, which was afterwards restored to them, and rebuilt by the Macedonians themselves, who had razed it.² From that period to our own

¹ Leuctra and Mantinea.

² The Thebans, who were formerly the allies of the Macedonians, were opposed to Philip of Macedon at the battle of Chæroneia. On the accession to the throne of Alexander, the city was destroyed, B. C. 335; 6000 of the inhabitants were killed, and 30,000 sold as slaves. The city was rebuilt, B. C. 316, by Casander. Pausanias, ix. 7. The ravages com-

times their affairs have continued to decline, nor do they retain the appearance even of a considerable village. Other cities (of Bœotia) have experienced a similar fate, with the exception of Tanagra and Thespiæ, which in comparison with Thebes are in a tolerable condition.

6. We are next to make a circuit of the country, beginning at the sea-coast, opposite Eubœa, which is continuous with that of Attica.

We begin this circuit from Oropus, and the Sacred Harbour,¹ which is called Delphinium, opposite to which is the ancient Eretria in Eubœa, having a passage across of 60 stadia. After Delphinium, at the distance of 20 stadia, is Oropus, and opposite to this is the present Eretria.² There is a passage over to it of 40 stadia.

7. Next is Delium,³ a place sacred to Apollo, in imitation of that at Delos. It is a small town of the Tanagræans, at the distance of 30 stadia from Aulis.

To this place the Athenians, after their defeat in battle, fled in disorder.⁴ In the flight, Socrates the philosopher (who having lost his horse, was serving on foot) observed Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, upon the ground, fallen from his horse; he raised him upon his shoulders and carried him away in safety, a distance of many stadia, until the rout was at an end.

8. Then follows a great harbour, which is called Bathys (or deep harbour): then Aulis,⁵ a rocky spot, and a village of the Tanagræans, with a harbour capable of containing 50 small vessels. So that probably the naval station of the

mitted by Sylla in the war against Mithridates, which completed the final ruin of Thebes, must have been fresh in the memory of Strabo.

¹ Hieros Limen.

² New Eretria stood at Paleocastro, and old Eretria at Vathy.

³ Dramesi. ⁴ Athenæus, v. 15.

⁵ Livy states (xlv. 27) that Aulis was distant three miles from Chalcis; by Homer (Il. ii. 303) it is called *Ἀύλις πετρήεσσα*. About three miles south of Chalcis, on the Bœotian coast, are two bays, separated from each other by a rocky peninsula: the northern is small and winding, the southern spreads out at the end of a channel into a large circular basin. The latter harbour, as well as a village situated a mile to the southward of it, is called *Vathy*, a name evidently derived from *βαθὺς λιμὴν*. We may therefore conclude that Aulis was situated on the rocky peninsula between these two bays. *Leake* and *Smith*.

Greeks was in the Great Harbour. Near it is the Chalcidic Euripus, to which, from Sunium, are 70 stadia. On the Euripus, as I have already said, there is a bridge of two plethra in length;¹ at each end is a tower, one on the side of Chalcis, the other on the side of Bœotia; and a passage (for the water) is constructed between them.² With regard to the tide of the Euripus, it is sufficient to say thus much, that according to report, it changes seven times each day and night; the cause must be investigated elsewhere.

9. Salganeus is a place situated near the Euripus, upon a height. It has its name from Salganeus, a Bœotian, who was buried there. He was guide to the Persians, when they sailed into this passage from the Maliac Gulf. It is said, that he was put to death before they reached the Euripus, by the commander of the fleet, Megabates, as a traitor, for conducting the fleet deceitfully into a narrow opening of the sea, having no outlet. The Barbarian, however, perceived his mistake, and regretting what he had done, thought him worthy of burial, because he had been unjustly put to death.

10. Near Oropus³ is a place called Graia, the temple also of Amphiaræus, and the monument of Narcissus the Eretrian, surnamed Sigelus, (the Silent,) because passers-by keep silence. Some say that Graia and Tanagra⁴ are the same. The territory of Pœmandris, however, is the same as that of Tanagra. The Tanagræans are also called Gephyræans. The temple of Amphiaræus was transferred by command of an oracle to this place from the Thebaic Cnopia.

11. Mycalessus is a village in the Tanagræan district. It lies upon the road from Thebes to Chalcis. It is called in the Bœotian dialect Mycalettus. Harma, also, an uninhabited village in the Tanagræan territory, derives its name from the

¹ See above, c. ii. § 2.

² *διψκοδόμηται δ' εἰς αὐτοὺς σῦριγγ.* The passage does not give a clear explanation of the fact. Livy, b. xxviii. c. 6.

³ Thucydides, b. ii. ch. 23, says that Graia is on the road leading from Oropus to Athens.

⁴ In modern maps a modern town, Skoimandri, is laid down near the ruins of Tanagra. Pausanias, b. ix. ch. 20, informs us why Tanagra was called both Poimandria and Graia. Tanagra was the daughter of Æolus and wife of Poimandrus; she arrived at such an extreme old age, as to receive the title of Graia, the Old.

chariot (*ἄρμα*) of Amphiaraus, and is a different place from Harma in Attica, near Phyle,¹ a demus of Attica bordering upon Tanagra. There the proverb originated,

“When it has lightened through Harma,”

The Pythaištæ, as they are called, signify, by the order of an oracle, the occurrence of any lightning when they are looking in the direction of Harma, and despatch the sacrifice to Delphi whenever it is observed. They were to keep watch for three months, and for three days and nights in each month, at the altar of Jupiter Astrapius, or Dispenser of lightning. This altar is in the wall, between the Pythium and the Olympium. Respecting the Bœotian Harma, some say, that Amphiaraus fell in battle out of his chariot, [harma,] near the spot where his temple now stands, and that the chariot was drawn empty to the place, which bears the same name [Harma].² Others say, that the chariot of Adrastus, in his flight, was there dashed in pieces, but that he himself escaped on his horse Areion. According to Philochorus, his life was preserved by the inhabitants of the village; in consequence of which they obtained among the Argives the right of citizenship.

12. On going from Thebes to Argos,³ on the left hand is Tanagra; and [near the road] on the right lies Hyria. Hyria now belongs to the Tanagrian territory, but formerly to the Thebais. Here Hyrieus is fabled to have lived, and here is the scene of the birth of Orion, which Pindar mentions in the dithyrambics. It is situated near Aulis. Some persons say that Hysiæ is called Hyria, which belongs to Parasopia, situated below Cithæron, near Erythræ, in the inland parts; it is a colony of the Hyrienses, and was founded by Nycteus, the father of Antiope. There is also in the Argive territory a village, Hysiæ, the inhabitants of which are called Hysiataæ. Erythræ in Ionia is a colony of this Erythræ.

¹ Argyrokastro.

² The exact site of Harma is uncertain. Leake supposes it to have occupied the important pass on the road from Thebes to Chalcis, leading to the maritime plain. Pausanias, b. ix. ch. 19, says that it obtained its name from the chariot of Amphiaraus having disappeared there.

³ We should perhaps read Harma, says *Kramer*; but in that case Tanagra of Bœotia would be upon the right hand. The reading Argos is a manifest error, and the whole passage is corrupt.

Heleon, a Tanagrian village, has its name from (Hele) the marshes there.

13. After Salgameus is Anthedon, a city with a harbour, the last on the Bœotian coast towards Eubœa, as the poet says,

“Anthedon at the extremity.”¹

As we proceed a little farther, there are besides two small towns, belonging to the Bœotians, Larymna, near which the Cephissus discharges its waters; and farther above, Halæ, of the same name as the Attic demus. Opposite to this coast is situated, it is said, Ægæ² in Eubœa, where is the temple of the Ægæan Neptune, of which we have before spoken. There is a passage across from Anthedon to Ægæ of 120 stadia, and from the other places much less than this. The temple is situated upon a lofty hill, where was once a city. Near Ægæ was Orobis.³ In the Anthedonian territory is the mountain Messapius,⁴ which has its name from Messapus, who when he came into Iapygia called it Messapia. Here is laid the scene of the fable respecting the Anthedonian Glaucus, who, it is said, was transformed into a sea-monster.⁵

14. Near Anthedon is a place called Isus, and esteemed sacred, belonging to Bœotia; it contains remains of a city, and the first syllable of Isus is short. Some persons are of opinion, that the verse ought to be written, Ἴσόν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ' ἐσχατόωσαν,

“The sacred Isus, and the extreme Anthedon,”

lengthening the first syllable by poetical licence for the sake of the metre, instead of Νισάν τε ζαθέην,

“The sacred Nisa;”

for Nisa is not to be found anywhere in Bœotia, as Apollodorus says in his observations on the Catalogue of the Ships;

¹ Il. ii. 508.

² Leake supposes Ægæ to have stood near Linni. Strabo, below, ch. vii. § 4, says that probably the Ægæan Sea had its name from this place.

³ Of this place, although mentioned by Thucydides, b. iii. ch. 89, very little is known, in consequence no doubt of its having almost entirely disappeared by an earthquake, which took place about 426 or 425 years B. C.

⁴ Ktyra-vuna.

⁵ Near Anthedon was a place called the Leap of Glaucus, where he threw himself into the sea. Pausanias, ix. 22. The ruins of Anthedon are situated $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Lukisi. *Smith.*

so that Nisa could not stand in this passage, unless by Nisa Homer meant Isus, for there was a city Nisa, in Megaris, from whence Isus was colonized, situated at the base of Cithæron, but it exists no longer.¹ Some however write *Κρεῦσαν τε ζαθήν,*

“The sacred Creusa,”

meaning the present Creusa, the arsenal of the Thespiæans, situated on the Crisæan Gulf. Others write the passage *Φαρᾶς τε ζαθείας,*

“The sacred Pharæ,”

Pharæ is one of the four villages, (or Tetracomiaæ,) near Tanagra, namely, Heleon, Harma, Mycalessus, Pharæ. Others again write the passage thus, *Νῦσαν τε ζαθήν,*

“The sacred Nysa.”

Nysa is a village of Helicon.

Such then is the description of the sea-coast opposite Eubœa.

15. The places next in order, in the inland parts, are hollow plains, surrounded everywhere on the east and west by mountains; on the south by the mountains of Attica, on the north by those of Phocis: on the west, Cithæron inclines, obliquely, a little above the Crisæan Sea; it begins contiguous to the mountains of Megaris and Attica, and then makes a bend towards the plains, and terminates near the Theban territory.

16. Some of these plains become lakes, by rivers spreading over or falling into them and then flowing off. Some are dried up, and being very fertile, are cultivated in every possible way. But as the ground underneath is full of caverns and fissures, it has frequently happened, that violent earthquakes have obstructed some passages, and formed others under-ground, or on the surface, the water being carried off, either by subterranean channels, or by the formation of lakes and rivers on the surface. If the deep subterranean passages are stopped up, the waters of the lakes increase, so as to inundate and cover cities and whole districts, which become uncovered, if the same or other passages are again opened. The same regions are thus traversed in boats or on foot, according

¹ This passage is very corrupt.

to circumstances ; and the same cities are, occasionally, on the borders of, or at a distance from, a lake.

17. One of two things took place. The cities either retained their sites, when the rise of the water was insufficient to overflow the houses, or they were deserted and rebuilt in some other place, when the inhabitants, being frequently exposed to danger from their vicinity to the lake, released themselves from further apprehension, by changing to a more distant or higher situation. It followed that the cities thus rebuilt retained the same name. Formerly, they might have had a name derived from some accidental local circumstance, but now the site does not correspond with the derivation of the name. For example, it is probable that Platææ was so called, from *πλάτη*, or the flat part of the oar, and Platæans from gaining their livelihood by rowing ; but at present, since they live at a distance from the lake, the name can no longer, with equal propriety, be derived from this local circumstance. Helos also, and Heleon, and Heilesium¹ were so called from their situation close to *ἔλη*, (Hele,) or marshes ; but at present the case is different with all these places ; either they have been rebuilt, or the lake has been greatly reduced in height by a subsequent efflux of its waters ; for this is possible.

18. This is exemplified particularly in the Cephissus,² which fills the lake Copais.³ When the increase of the water of that lake was so great, that Copæ was in danger of being swallowed up, (the city is mentioned by the poet, and from it the lake had its name,)⁴ a fissure in the ground, which took place not far from the lake, and near Copæ, opened a subterraneous channel, of about 30 stadia in length, and received the river, which reappeared on the surface, near Upper Larymna in Locris ; for, as has been mentioned, there is another Larymna, in Bœotia, on the sea, surnamed the Upper by the Romans. The place where the river rises again is called Anchoë, as also the lake near it. It is from this point that the Cephissus begins its course⁵ to the sea. When the overflowing of the water ceased, there was also a cessation of danger to the inhabitants on the banks, but not before some cities had been

¹ The sites of these places are unknown.

² Mauro-potamos.

³ Lake of Livadhia.

⁴ *Κώπη*, an oar.

⁵ That is, by natural or artificial subterraneous channels.

already swallowed up. When the outlets were again obstructed, Crates the Miner, a man of Chalcis, began to clear away the obstructions, but desisted in consequence of the Bœotians being in a state of insurrection; although, as he himself says, in the letter to Alexander, many places had been already drained; among these, some writers supposed was the site of the ancient Orchomenus; others, that of Eleusis, and of Athens on the Triton. These cities are said to have been founded by Cecrops, when he ruled over Bœotia, then called Ogygia, but that they were afterwards destroyed by inundations. It is said, that there was a fissure in the earth near Orchomenus, that admitted the river Melas,¹ which flows through the territory of Haliartus, and forms there a marsh, where the reed grows of which the musical pipe is made.² But this river has entirely disappeared, being carried off by the subterraneous channels of the chasm, or absorbed by the lakes and marshes about Haliartus; whence the poet calls Haliartus grassy,

“ And the grassy Haliartus.”³

19. These rivers descend from the Phocian mountains, and among them the Cephissus,⁴ having its source at Lilæa, a Phocian city, as Homer describes it;

“ And they who occupied Lilæa, at the sources of Cephissus.”⁵

It flows through Elateia,⁶ the largest of the cities among the Phocians, through the Parapotamii, and the Phanoteis, which are also Phocian towns; it then goes onwards to Chæroneia in Bœotia; afterwards, it traverses the districts of Orchomenus and Coroneia, and discharges its waters into the lake Copais. The Permessus and the Olmeius⁷ descend from Helicon, and uniting their streams, fall into the lake Copais near Haliartus. The waters of other streams likewise discharge themselves into it. It is a large lake with a circuit of 380 stadia;⁸ the outlets are nowhere visible, if we

¹ Mauroneri.

² Pliny, b. xvi. c. 36.

³ Il. ii. 503.

⁴ There were several rivers of this name. See below, c. iii. § 16.

⁵ Il. ii. 523.

⁶ See below, ch. iii. § 15. Elateia is represented by the modern village of Elefta.

⁷ See ch. ii. § 26.

⁸ It is impossible to make any exact statement respecting its extent, since it varied so much at different times of the year and in different sea-

except the chasm which receives the Cephissus, and the marshes.

20. Among the neighbouring lakes are Trephea¹ and Cephissis. Homer mentions it;

“Who dwelt in Hyla, intent upon amassing wealth, close to the lake Cephissis;”²

for he did not mean to specify the lake Copais, as some suppose, but that called Hylicus,³ from the neighbouring village, which is called Hylæ: nor did he mean Hyda, as some write the passage,

“He lived in Hyda,”

for there is a place of this name in Lydia,

“at the foot of the snowy Tmolus, in the fruitful country of Hyda;”⁴

and another in Bœotia; he therefore adds to

“behind the lake Cephissis,”

these words,

“near dwelt other Bœotians.”

For the Copais is of great extent, and not situated in the Theban district, but the other is small, and filled from the former by subterraneous channels; it is situated between Thebes⁵ and Anthedon. Homer however makes use of the word in the singular number, sometimes making the first syllable long by poetical licence, as in the Catalogue, ἦδ’ Ὑλην καὶ Περειῶνα,⁶ and sometimes shortening it, as in this instance; Ὀς ῥ’ ἐν Ὑληναιέσκε; and again, Τυχίους Σκυτοτόμων ὄχ’ ἄριστος Ὑλην ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων.⁷ Nor do some persons correctly write in this passage, Ὑδην ἐνι,

“In Hyda,”

for Ajax was not to send for his shield from Lydia.

21. ⁸The lakes themselves would indicate the order in

sons. On the northern and eastern sides its extent is limited by a range of heights, but on the opposite quarter there is no such natural boundary to its size. *Smith*, v. *Bœotia*, which contains also a useful map from *Forschamer’s Hellenica* of the Basin of the Copais.

¹ There appears to be no modern lake in the position assigned to Trephea by *Kiepert*. *Kramer* suggests the omission here of the word Trephea.

² Il. v. 708.

³ *Makaris*.

⁴ Il. xx. 385.

⁵ *Thiva*.

⁶ Il. ii. 500.

⁷ Il. vii. 221.

⁸ The text is in a very imperfect state. The section is translated as proposed to be emended by *Kramer*.

which the places stand, and thence it would be easy to perceive that the poet, when naming them, whether they were places of importance or otherwise, has observed no order. Indeed it would be difficult in the enumeration of so many places, obscure for the most part, and situated in the interior, to preserve a regular order. The sea-coast affords more convenient means of doing this; the places there are better known, and the sea affords greater facilities for marking their position. We shall therefore endeavour to take our point of departure from the sea-coast, and without further discussion, shall follow the poet in his enumeration of places; at the same time, taking from other sources whatever may prove useful to us, but which has been omitted by him. He begins from Hyria and Aulis, of which we have already spoken.

22. Schœnus¹ is a district of the Theban territory on the road to Anthedon, distant from Thebes about 50 stadia. A river of the name of Schœnus flows through it.

23. Scolus² is a village belonging to the district of Parasopia situated at the foot of Cithæron; it is a rugged place, and scarcely habitable, hence the proverbial saying,

“Neither go yourself, nor follow any one going to Scolus.”

It is said that Pentheus was brought from thence, and torn in pieces. There was among the cities near Olynthus another of the name of Scolus. We have said that in the Heracleian Trachinia there was a village of the name of Parasopii, beside which runs a river Asopus, and that there is another river Asopus in Sicyonia, and that the country through which it flows is called Asopia. There are however other rivers of the same name.

24. The name of Eteonus was changed to that of Scarphe, which belongs to Parasopia. [Parasopia belongs to the Thebais,] for the Asopus and the Ismenus flow through the plain in front of Thebes. There is the fountain Dirce, and also Potniæ, where is laid the fable of Glaucus of Potniæ, who was torn in pieces near the city by Potnian mares. The Cithæron³ terminates not far from Thebes. The Asopus flows by it, and washes the foot of the mountain, and occasions the Parasopii to be distributed among several settlements, but all of these bodies of people are subject to the

¹ Morikios.

² Kalyvi.

³ Mount Elatea.

Thebans. (Other writers say, that Scolus, Eteonus, and Erythræ, are in the district of Plataæ, for the Asopus flows past Plataæ, and discharges its waters into the sea near Tanagra.) In the Theban territory are Therapnæ and Teumessus, which Antimachus has extolled in a long poem, enumerating excellencies which it had not ;

“ There is a small hill exposed to the winds,” &c. :

but the lines are well known.

25. He calls the present place Thespiæ¹ by the name of Thespia, for there are many names, of which some are used both in the singular and in the plural number, in the masculine and in the feminine gender, and some in either one or the other only. It is a city close to Helicon, lying more to the south. The city itself and Helicon are situated on the Crisæan Gulf. Thespiæ has an arsenal Creusa, or, as it is also named, Creusia. In the Thespian territory, in the part lying towards Helicon, is Ascra,² the birth-place of Hesiod. It is on the right of Helicon, situated upon a lofty and rocky spot, at the distance of about 40 stadia from Thespiæ. Hesiod has satirized it in verses addressed to his father, for formerly emigrating (to this place) from Cume in Ætolia, as follows :

“ He dwelt near Helicon in a wretched village, Ascra ; bad in winter, in summer intolerable, and worthless at any season.”³

Helicon is contiguous to Phocis on its northern, and partly on its western side, as far as the last harbour of Phocis, which is called from its characteristic situation, Mychus, or the Recess.

¹ There is some doubt respecting the modern name of Thespiæ ; the Austrian map places the ruins near Erimokastro.

² Placing Ascra at Pyrgaki, there is little doubt that Aganippe, whence the Muses were called Aganippides, is the fountain which issues from the left bank of the torrent flowing midway between Paleopanaghea and Pyrgaki. Around this fountain Leake observed numerous square blocks, and in the neighbouring fields stones and remains of habitations. The position of the Grove of the Muses is fixed at St. Nicholas, by an inscription which Leake discovered there relating to the Museia, or the games of the Muses, which were celebrated there under the presidency of the Thespians. Paus. b. ix. c. 31. In the time of Pausanias the Grove of the Muses contained a larger number of statues than any other place in Bœotia, and this writer has given an account of many of them. The statues of the Muses were removed by Constantine from this place to his new capital, where they were destroyed by fire, in A. D. 404. *Smith.*

³ Works and Days, 639.

Just above this part of the Crisæan Gulf, Helicon, Ascra, Thespiæ, and its arsenal Creusa, are situated. This is considered as the part of the Crisæan and of the Corinthian Gulf which recedes most inland. The coast extends 90 stadia from the recess of the harbour to Creusa, and thence 120 as far as the promontory called Holmiæ. In the most retired part of the Crisæan Gulf, Pagæ and Cœnoa, which I have already mentioned, are situated.

Helicon, not far distant from Parnassus, rivals it in height¹ and circumference. Both mountains are covered with snow, and are rocky. They do not occupy a circuit of ground of great extent. There are, the fane of the Muses, the Horse-fountain Hippocrene,² and the grottoes of the nymphs, the Leibethrides. Hence it might be conjectured, that Helicon was consecrated to the Muses, by Thracians, who dedicated also Pieris, the Leibethrum, and Pimpleia to the same goddesses. The Thracians were called Pieres, and since their expulsion, the Macedonians possess these places.

It has been remarked, that the Thracians, (having expelled the Bœotians by force,) and the Pelasgi, and other barbarous people, settled in this part of Bœotia.

Thespiæ was formerly celebrated for a statue of Cupid by Praxiteles. Glycera the courtesan, a native of Thespiæ, received it as a present from the artist, and dedicated it as a public offering to her fellow-citizens.

Persons formerly used to repair thither to see the Cupid, where there was nothing else worth seeing. This city, and Tanagra, alone of the Bœotian cities exist at present, while of others there remain nothing but ruins and names.

¹ This is a mistake, since the loftiest summit of Helicon is barely 5000 feet high, whilst that of Parnassus is upwards of 8000 feet. *Smith.* Helicon is a range of mountains with several summits, of which the loftiest is a round mountain now called Paleovuni. *Smith.* The Austrian map gives the modern name Zagora to Helicon.

² Twenty stadia from the Grove of the Muses was the fountain Hippocrene, which was said to have been produced by the horse Pegasus striking the ground with his foot. Paus. b. ix. ch. 31. Hippocrene was probably at Makariotissa, which is noted for a fine spring of water. *Smith.* The Austrian map places it at Kukuva. Leibethrum, or Leibethreium, is described by Pausanias as distant 40 stadia from Coroneia, and is therefore probably the mount Zagora. *Smith.*

26. After Thespiæ the poet enumerates Graia and Mycalessus, of which we have before spoken.

He proceeds as before,

“They who lived near Harma, Eilesium, and Erythræ,
And they who occupied Eleon, Hyle, and Peteon.”¹

Peteon is a village of the Thebais near the road to Anthedon. Ocalea is midway between Haliartus,² and Alalcomenæ,³ it is distant from each 30 stadia. A small river of the same name flows by it. Medeon, belonging to Phocis, is on the Crisæan Gulf, distant from Bœotia 160 stadia. The Medeon of Bœotia has its name from that in Phocis. It is near Onchestus, under the mountain Phœnicium,⁴ whence it has the appellation of Phœnicis. This mountain is likewise assigned to the Theban district, but by others to the territories of Haliartus, as also Medeon and Ocalea.

27. Homer afterwards names,

“Copæ, and Eutresis, and Thisbe, abounding with doves.”⁵

¹ Il. ii. 499.

² The remains of Haliartus are situated upon a hill about a mile from the village of Mazi, on the road from Thebes to Lebadeia, and at the distance of about 15 miles from either place. Although the walls of the town are scarcely anywhere traceable, its extent is marked on the east and west by two small rivers, of which that to the west issues from the foot of the hill of Mazi, the eastern, called the Kafalari, has its origin in Mount Helicon. The stream on the western side of the city is the one called Hoplites by Plutarch, where Lysander fell in battle with the Thebans, B. C. 395, and is apparently the same as the Lophis of Pausanias. The stream on the eastern side, the Kafalari, is formed by the union of two rivulets, which appear to be the Permessus and Olmeius, which are described by Strabo as flowing from Helicon, and after their union entering the Lake Copais, near Haliartus. *Smith.*

³ It was celebrated for the worship of Athena, who is hence called Alalcomeneis in Homer. The temple of the goddess stood at a little distance from the town, on the Triton, a small stream flowing into the Lake Copais. The modern village Sulinari is the site of Alalcomenæ. *Smith.*

⁴ Phœnicium, or Sphingium, now called Faga, the mountain between the Lakes Copais and Hylica, connecting Mount Ptoum with the range of Helicon. Forchamer supposes that Phœnicium and Sphingium are the names of two different mountains, separated from one another by the small plain of the stream *Daulos*; but the name of Phœnicium rests only on the authority of Strabo, and it is probably a corruption of Phicium. Φίξ is the Æolic form of Σφίγξ, (Hes. Theog. 326,) and therefore there can be no doubt that Phicium and Sphingium are two different forms of the same name. *Smith.*

⁵ Il. ii. 502.

We have spoken of Copæ. It lies towards the north on the lake Copais. The other cities around are, Acræphiæ, Phœnicis, Onchestus, Haliartus, Ocalea, Alalcomenæ, Tilphusium, Coroneia. Formerly, the lake had no one general name, but derived its appellation from every settlement on its banks, as Copais from Copæ,¹ Haliartis from Haliartus, and other names from other places, but latterly the whole has been called Copais, for the lake is remarkable for forming at Copæ the deepest hollow. Pindar calls it Cephissis, and places near it, not far from Haliartus and Alalcomenæ, the fountain Tilphossa, which flows at the foot of Mount Tilphossius. At the fountain is the monument of Teiresias, and in the same place the temple of the Tilphossian Apollo.

28. After Copæ, the poet mentions Eutresis, a small village of the Thespians.² Here Zethus and Amphion lived before they became kings of Thebes.

Thisbē is now called Thisbæ. The place is situated a little above the sea-coast on the confines of the Thespienses, and the territory of Coroneia; on the south it lies at the foot of Cithæron. It has an arsenal in a rocky situation abounding with doves, whence the poet terms it

“Thisbe, with its flights of doves.”

Thence to Sicyon is a voyage of 160 stadia.

29. He next recites the names of Coroneia, Haliartus, Plataæ, and Glissas.

Coroneia³ is situated upon an eminence, near Helicon. The Bœotians took possession of it on their return from the Thesalian Arne, after the Trojan war, when they also occupied Orchomenus. Having become masters of Coroneia, they built in the plain before the city the temple of the Itonian Minerva, of the same name as that in Thessaly, and called the river

¹ It was still in existence in the time of Pausanias; the modern village Topolia occupies the site.

² Leake conjectures that there is an error in the text, and that for *Θεσπιῶν* we ought to read *Θισβῶν*, since there is only one spot in the ten miles between Plataæ and Thespiæ where any town is likely to have stood, and that was occupied by Leuctra. See *Smith*.

³ It was here that the Athenians under Tolmides were defeated by the Bœotians in B. C. 447; in consequence of which defeat the Athenians lost the sovereignty which they had for some years exercised over Bœotia. The plain of Coroneia was also the scene of the victory gained by Agesilaus over the Thebans and their allies in B. C. 394.

flowing by it, Cuarius, the name of the Thessalian river. Alcæus, however, calls it Coralius in these words,

“Minerva, warrior queen, who o’er Coroneia keepest watch before thy temple, on the banks of Coralius.”

The festival Pambœotia was here celebrated. Hades is associated with Minerva, in the dedication of the temple, for some mystical reason. The inhabitants of the Bœotian Coroneia are called Coronii, those of the Messenian Coroneia, Coronenses.

30. Haliartus¹ is no longer in existence, it was razed in the war against Perseus. The territory is occupied by the Athenians, to whom it was given by the Romans. It was situated in a narrow spot between an overhanging mountain and the lake Copaïs, near the Permessus, the Olmeïus, and the marsh that produces the flute-reed.

31. Plataæ, which the poet uses in the singular number, lies at the foot of Cithæron, between this mountain and Thebes, on the road to Athens and Megara; it is on the borders of Attica and Bœotia, for Eleutheræ is near, which some say belongs to Attica, others to Bœotia. We have said that the Asopus flows beside Plataæ. There the army of the Greeks entirely destroyed Mardonius and three hundred thousand Persians. They dedicated there a temple to Jupiter Eleutherius, and instituted gymnastic games, called Eleutheria, in which the victor was crowned. The tombs erected at the public expense, in honour of those who died in the battle, are to be seen there. In the Sicyonian district is a demus called Plataæ, where the poet Mnasalces was born :

“the monument of Mnasalces of Plataæ.”

Glissas,² Homer says, is a village on Mount Hypatus, which is near Teumessus and Cadmeia, in the Theban territory. * * * * * beneath is what is called the Aonian plain, which extends from Mount Hypatus [to Cadmeia ?].³

¹ Pausanias, b. ix. 33, mentions the Heroum of Lysander in Haliartus, and some ruined temples, which had been burnt by the Persians, and had been purposely left in that state. *Smith.*

² Leake identifies Glisas with the ruins on the bank of the torrent Platanaki, above which rises the mountain Siamata, the ancient Hypatus.

³ The following is the original of this corrupt passage. Kramer suggests that the words γ. δ. have been introduced from the margin into the text.

γέωλοφα καλεῖται δρί[* * * ψ ὑποπ]ίπται τὸ
 Ἄβιον καλούμενον πεδίον ὃ διατείνει * *
 * * * ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑπάτου ὄρους.

32. By these words of the poet,

“those who occupied under Thebes,”¹

some understand a small town, called Under-Thebes, others Potniæ, for Thebes was abandoned after the expedition of the Epigoni, and took no part in the Trojan war. Others say that they did take part in it, but that they lived at that time under Cadmeia, in the plain country, after the incursion of the Epigoni, being unable to rebuild the Cadmeia. As Thebes was called Cadmeia, the poet says that the Thebans of that time lived “under Thebes” instead of “under Cadmeia.”

33. The Amphictyonic council usually assembled at Onchestus, in the territory of Haliartus, near the lake Copais, and the Teneric plain. It is situated on a height, devoid of trees, where is a temple of Neptune also without trees. For the poets, for the sake of ornament, called all sacred places groves, although they were without trees. Such is the language of Pindar, when speaking of Apollo :

“He traversed in his onward way the earth and sea ; he stood upon the heights of the lofty mountains ; he shook the caves in their deep recesses, and overthrew the foundations of the sacred groves” or temples.

As Alcæus is mistaken in the altering the name of the river Cuarius, so he makes a great error in placing Onchestus at the extremities of Helicon, whereas it is situated very far from this mountain.

34. The Teneric plain has its name from Tenerus. According to mythology, he was the son of Apollo and Melia, and declared the answers of the oracle at the mountain Ptoum,² which, the same poet says, had three peaks :

“At one time he occupied the caves of the three-headed Ptoum ;”
and he calls Tenerus

“the prophet, dwelling in the temple, and having the same name as the soil on which it stands.”

The Ptoum is situated above the Teneric plain, and the lake Copais, near Acræphium.

Pausanias, b. ix. ch. 19, makes mention of a tumulus covered with trees, near the ruins of Glisas or Glissas, which was the burial-place of Ægialus and his companions, and also of other tumuli. These were probably the *γέωλοφα δρία*, woody hillocks. The obscurity, however, still remains.

¹ Il. ii. 505.

² The three summits of Ptoum bear the names of Palea, Stranitza, and Skroponeri.

Both the oracle and the mountain belonged to the Thebans.

Acræphium¹ itself is situated upon a height. This, it is said, is the place called Arnē by the poet, having the same name as the Thessalian Arnē.

35. Some say that Arnē and Mideia were swallowed up by the lake. Zenodotus, however, when he writes the verse thus,

“they who occupied Ascræ abounding with vines,”²

does not seem to have read Hesiod’s description of his native country, and what has been said by Eudoxus, who relates things much more to the disparagement of Ascræ. For how could any one believe that such a place could have been described by the poet as

“abounding with vines?”

Neither are those persons in the right, who substitute in this passage Tarnē for Arnē, for there is not a place of the name of Tarne to be found in Bœotia, although there is in Lydia. Homer mentions it,

“Idomeneus then slew Phæstus, the son of Borus, the artificer, who came from the fruitful soil of Tarnē.”³

Besides Alalcomenæ and Tilphossium, which are near the lake, Chæroneia, Lebadia, and Leuctra, are worthy of notice.

36. The poet mentions Alalcomenæ,⁴ but not in the Catalogue;

“the Argive Juno and Minerva of Alalcomenæ.”⁵

It has an ancient temple of Minerva, which is held in great veneration. It is said that this was the place of her birth, as Argos was that of Juno, and that Homer gave to both these goddesses designations derived from their native places. Perhaps for this reason he has not mentioned, in the Catalogue, the inhabitants; for having a sacred character, they were exempted from military service. Indeed the city has never suffered devastation by an enemy, although it is inconsiderable in size, and its position is weak, for it is situated in a plain.

¹ The ruins are situated at a short distance south of Kardhitza. The site of Cierium, the modern village Mataranga, was first discovered by Leake, who identifies it with Arne, and supposes, with much probability, that the name Arne may have been disused by the Thessalian conquerors, because it was of Bœotian origin, and that the new appellation may have been taken from the neighbouring river Curalius or Cuarius.

² Il. ii. 507.

³ Il. v. 43.

⁴ Sulinari.

⁵ Il. iv. 8.

All in reverence to the goddess abstained from every act of violence: wherefore the Thebans, at the time of the expedition of the Epigoni, abandoning their own city, are said to have taken refuge here, and on the strong mountain above it, the Tilphossium.¹ Below Tilphossium is the fountain Tilphossa, and the monument of Teiresias, who died there on the retreat.

37. Chæroneia² is near Orchomenus,³ where Philip, the son of Amyntas, after having overcome, in a great battle,⁴ the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, became the master of Greece. There are seen the sepulchres erected at the public charge of the persons who fell in that battle.

38. At Lebadeia⁵ is the oracle of Jupiter Trophonius, having a descent through an opening, which leads underground. The person himself, who consults the oracle, descends into it. It is situated between Helicon and Chæroneia, near Coroneia.

39. Leuctra⁶ is the place where Epaminondas overcame the Lacedæmonians in a great battle, and first weakened their power; for after that time they were never able to regain the supremacy over the Greeks, which they before possessed, and particularly after they were defeated in a second battle at Mantinea. Even after these reverses they preserved their independence until the establishment of the Roman dominion, and were always respected by that people on account of the excellency of their form of government. The field of battle is shown on the road which leads from Platææ to Thespiæ.

40. The poet next mentions the Orchomenians in the Catalogue, and distinguishes them from the Bœotian nation. He gives to Orchomenus the epithet Minyeian from the nation of the Minyæ. They say that a colony of the Minyæians went hence to Iolcus,⁷ and from this circumstance the Argonauts were called Minyæ. It appears that, anciently, it was a rich

¹ Petra.² Kapurna.³ Scripu.

⁴ On the 7th of August, B. C. 338. Of the details of this battle we have no account. The site of the monument is marked by a tumulus about a mile or a little more from the Khan of Kapurna, on the right side of the road towards Orchomenus. A few years ago (according to Mure) the mound of earth was excavated and a colossal lion discovered, deeply imbedded in its interior. See *Smith*.

⁵ Livadhia.⁶ Lefka.⁷ See below, ch. v. § 15.

and very powerful city. Homer bears witness to its wealth, for in his enumeration of places of great opulence, he says,

“Not all that is brought to Orchomenus, or to Ægyptian Thebes.”¹

Of its power there is this proof, that the Thebans always paid tribute to the Orchomenians, and to Erginus their king, who it is said was put to death by Hercules. Eteocles, one of the kings that reigned at Orchomenus, first displayed both wealth and power. He built a temple dedicated to the Graces, who were thus honoured by him, either because he had been fortunate in receiving or conferring favours, or perhaps for both these reasons.

[For one who was inclined thus to honour these goddesses, must have been naturally disposed to be a benefactor, and he must have possessed the power. But for this purpose wealth is required. For he who has not much cannot give much, nor can he who does not receive much possess much; but when giving and receiving unite, then there is a just exchange. For a vessel which is simultaneously emptied and filled is always full; but he who gives and does not receive cannot succeed in either giving or receiving, for the giver must desist from giving from failure of means. Givers also will desist from giving to him who receives only, and confers no benefits, so that he must fail in receiving. The same may be said of power. For independently of the common saying,

“That money is the thing most highly valued,
And has the greatest influence in human affairs,”²

we may examine the subject more in detail. We say, for example, that kings have the greatest power, (*μάλιστα δύνασθαι*,) whence the name, dynasty. Their power is exerted by leading the multitude whither they like, by persuasion or by force. Their power of persuasion chiefly rests in doing acts of kindness; for persuasion by words is not princely, but belongs to the orator. By princely persuasion, I mean, when kings direct and lead men whither they please by acts of kindness. They persuade by acts of kindness, but compel by means of arms. Both power and possessions may be purchased by money. For he has the largest body of forces, who is able to maintain the largest; and he who has the largest possessions, can confer the greatest benefits.³]

¹ Il. ix. 381. ² Euripides, Phœn. 422. ³ Probably an interpolation

The spot which the present lake Copais occupies, was formerly, it is said, dry ground, and was cultivated in various ways by the Orchomenians, who lived near it; and this is alleged as a proof of wealth.

41. Some persons use the word Aspledon¹ without the first syllable, Splendon. The name both of the city and of the territory was changed to Eudeielos,² which expressed perhaps some peculiar advantage the inhabitants derived from their western position, and especially the mild winters. The extreme parts of the day are the coldest. Of these the evening is colder than the morning, for as night approaches the cold is more intense, and as night retires the cold abates. The severity of the cold is mitigated by the heat of the sun, and the part which during the coldest season has received most of the sun's heat, is mildest in winter.

It is distant from Orchomenus³ 20 stadia. The river Melas is between them.

42. Panopeus, a Phocian city, and Hyampolis⁴ are situated above Orchomenus. Opus, the metropolis of the Locri Epicnemidii, borders upon these places. It is said, that Orchomenus was formerly situated on a plain, but, as the waters overflowed, the settlers removed to the mountain Acontium, which extends 60 stadia in length, as far as Parapotamii in Phocis. It is said, that those people, who are called Achæi in Pontus, are colonists from the Orchomenians, who, after the capture of Troy, wandered thither under the conduct of Ialmenus. There was also an Orchomenus near Carystus.

The writers on the Catalogue of Ships [in Homer], have furnished us with these materials, and they have been followed, wherever they introduced anything adapted to the design of this work.

CHAPTER III.

1. NEXT to Bœotia and Orchomenus is Phocis, lying along the side of Bœotia to the north, and, anciently, nearly from sea

¹ Leake places it at Tzamali, but Forchammer with more probability at Avro-Kastro.

² Εὐδείελος.

³ Scripu.

⁴ Bogdana.

to sea. For at that time Daphnus belonged to Phocis, dividing Locris into two parts, and situated midway between the Opuntian Gulf and the sea-coast of the Epicnemidii. At present, however, the district belongs to the Locri; but the town is in ruins, so that Phocis no longer extends to the sea opposite Eubœa; but it is close to the Crisæan Gulf. For Crisa itself belongs to Phocis, and is situated immediately upon the sea. Cirrha, Anticyra,¹ and the places above them, in the interior near Parnassus in continuous succession, namely, Delphi,² Cirphis, and Daulis,³ belong to Phocis, so also Parnassus itself, which is the boundary of the western side.

In the same manner as Phocis lies along the side of Bœotia, so are both the divisions of Locris situated with respect to Phocis, for Locris is composed of two parts, being divided by Parnassus. The western part lies along the side of Parnassus, occupies a portion of it, and extends to the Crisæan Gulf; the eastern part terminates at the sea near Eubœa. The inhabitants of the former are called Locri Hesperii, or Locri Ozolæ, and have engraven on their public seal the star Hesperus. The rest are again divided into two bodies: one, the Opuntii, who have their name from the chief city, and border upon the Phocæans and Bœotians; the other, the Epicnemidii, who have their name from the mountain Cnemis;⁴ and adjoin the Cætæi, and the Malienses. In the midst of the Hesperii, and the other Locri, is Parnassus, lying lengthwise towards the northern part, and extending from the neighbourhood of Delphi to the junction of the Cætæan, and the Ætolian mountains, and to the Dorians, who are situated between them. For as both divisions of Locris extend along the side of Phocis, so also the region of Cæta with Ætolia, and some of the places situated in the Doric Tetrapolis, extend along the sides of the two Locri, Parnassus and the Dorians. Immediately above these are situated the Thessalians, the northern Ætolians, the Acarnanians, and some of the Epirotic and Macedonian nations, as I observed before, the above-mentioned tracts of country may be considered as a kind of parallel bands stretching from the west to the east.

The whole of Parnassus is esteemed sacred, it contains caves, and other places, which are regarded with honour and

¹ Aspra-Spitia.

² Kastri.

³ Daulia.

⁴ It is a continuation of the ridge of Cæta.

reverence. Of these the most celebrated and the most beautiful is Corycium, a cave of the nymphs, having the same name as that in Cilicia. Of the sides of Parnassus, the western is occupied by the Locri Ozolæ, and by some of the Dorians, and by the Ætoli, situated near Corax, an Ætolian mountain. The eastern side is occupied by Phocians and by the greater part of the Dorians, who hold the Tetrapolis, situated as it were round the side of Parnassus, but spreading out in the largest extent towards the east. The sides of the above-mentioned tracts and each of the bands are parallel, one side being northern, and the other southern. The western sides, however, are not parallel to the eastern, for the sea-coast from the Crisæan Gulf to Actium¹ is not parallel to the coast opposite Eubœa, and extending to Thessalonica. It is on these shores the above-mentioned nations terminate. For the figure of these countries is to be understood from the notion of lines drawn parallel to the base of a triangle, where the separate parts lie parallel to one another, and have their sides in latitude parallel, but not their sides in longitude. This is a rough sketch of the country which remains to be examined. We shall examine each separate part in order, beginning with Phocis.

2. The two most celebrated cities of this country are Delphi and Elateia. Delphi is renowned for the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and the antiquity of its oracle; since Agamemnon is said by the poet to have consulted it; for the minstrel is introduced singing of the

“fierce contest of Ulysses, and Achilles, the son of Peleus, how once they contended together, and Agamemnon king of men was pleased, for so Phœbus Apollo had foretold by the oracle in the illustrious Pytho.”²

Delphi then was celebrated on this account. Elateia was famous as being the largest of the cities in that quarter, and for its very convenient position upon the straits; for he, who is the master of this city, commands the entrances into Phocis and Bœotia. First, there are the Cætæan mountains, next the mountains of the Locri, and the Phocians; they are not every where passable for invading armies, coming from Thessaly, but having narrow passes distinct from each other, which the adjacent cities guard. Those, who take the cities, are masters

¹ La Punta.

² Od. viii. 75.

of the passes also. But since from its celebrity the temple at Delphi possesses a pre-eminence, this, together with the position of the places, (for they are the most westerly parts of Phocis,) suggest a natural commencement of our description, and we shall begin from thence.

3. We have remarked, that Parnassus itself is situated on the western boundaries of Phocis. The western side of this mountain is occupied by the Locri Ozolæ; on the southern is Delphi, a rocky spot, resembling in shape a theatre; on its summit is the oracle, and also the city, which comprehends a circle of 16 stadia. Above it lies Lycoreia; here the Delphians were formerly settled above the temple. At present they live close to it around the Castalian fountain. In front of the city, on the southern part, is Cirphis, a precipitous hill, leaving in the intermediate space a wooded ravine, through which the river Pleistus flows. Below Cirphis near the sea is Cirrha, an ancient city, from which there is an ascent to Delphi of about 80 stadia. It is situated opposite to Sicyon. Adjoining to Cirrha is the fertile Crisæan plain. Again, next in order follows another city Crisa, from which the Crisæan Gulf has its name; then Anticyra,¹ of the same name as the city, on the Maliac Gulf, and near Cæta. The best hellebore is said to grow in the Maliac Anticyra,² but here it is prepared in a better manner; on this account many persons resort hither for the purpose of experiencing its purgative qualities, and of being cured of their maladies. In the Phocian territory there is found a medicinal plant, resembling Sesamum, (Sesamoides,) with which the Cætan hellebore is prepared.

4. Anticyra still remains, but Cirrha and Crisa³ are in ruins; Cirrha was destroyed by the Crisæans; and Crisa, afterwards, by Eurylochus the Thessalian, in the Crisæan war; for the Crisæi enriched themselves by duties levied on merchandise brought from Sicily and Italy, and laid grievous imposts on those who resorted to the temple, contrary to the decrees of the Amphictyons. The same was the case with the Amphissenses, who belong to the Locri Ozolæ. This people made an irruption into the country, and took possession of Crisa, and restored it. The plain, which had been consecrated

¹ Aspra Spitia.

² At the mouth of the Spercheius.

³ The ruins are near Chryso.

by the Amphictyons, was diligently cultivated, but strangers were more harshly treated than by the Crisæans before them. The Amphictyons punished them and restored the territory to the god. The temple at Delphi is now much neglected, although formerly it was held in the greatest veneration. Proofs of the respect which was paid to it are, the treasuries constructed at the expense of communities and princes, where was deposited the wealth dedicated to sacred uses, the works of the most eminent artists, the Pythian games, and a multitude of celebrated oracles.

5. The place where the oracle is delivered, is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises up an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy: over the mouth is placed a lofty tripod on which the Pythian priestess ascends to receive the exhalation, after which she gives the prophetic response in verse or prose. The prose is adapted to measure by poets who are in the service of the temple. Phemonoë is said to have been the first Pythian prophetess, and both the prophetess and the city obtained their appellation from the word *Pythesthai*, to inquire, (*πυθέσθαι*). The first syllable was lengthened, as in the words *ἀθάνατος*, *ἀκάματος*, *διάκονος*.

¹[The establishment of cities, and the honour paid to common temples, are due to the same feelings and causes. Men were collected together into cities and nations, from a natural disposition to society, and for the purpose of mutual assistance. Hence common temples were resorted to, festivals celebrated, and meetings held of the general body of the people. For friendship commences from and is promoted by attending the same feasts, uniting in the same worship, and dwelling under the same roof. The advantages derived from these meetings were naturally estimated from the number of persons who attended them, as also from the number of places from whence they came.]

6. Although the highest honour was paid to this temple on account of the oracle, (for it was the most exempt of any from deception,) yet its reputation was owing in part to its situation in the centre of all Greece, both within and without the isthmus. It was also supposed to be the centre of the habitable

¹ Apparently an interpolation. *Groskurd*.

earth, and was called the Navel of the earth. A fable, referred to by Pindar, was invented, according to which two eagles, (or, as others say, two crows,) set free by Jupiter, one from the east, the other from the west, alighted together at Delphi. In the temple is seen a sort of navel wrapped in bands, and surmounted by figures representing the birds of the fable.

7. As the situation of Delphi is convenient, persons easily assembled there, particularly those from the neighbourhood, of whom the Amphictyonic body is composed. It is the business of this body to deliberate on public affairs, and to it is more particularly intrusted the guardianship of the temple for the common good; for large sums of money were deposited there, and votive offerings, which required great vigilance and religious care. The early history of this body is unknown; but among the names which are recorded, Acrisius appears to have been the first who regulated its constitution, to have determined what cities were to have votes in the council, and to have assigned the number of votes and mode of voting. To some cities he gave a single vote each, or a vote to two cities, or to several cities conjointly. He also defined the class of questions which might arise between the different cities, which were to be submitted to the decision of the Amphictyonic tribunal; and subsequently many other regulations were made, but this body, like that of the Achæans, was finally dissolved.

At first twelve cities are said to have assembled, each of which sent a Pylagoras. The convention was held twice a year, in spring and autumn. But latterly a greater number of cities assembled. They called both the vernal and the autumnal convention Pylæan, because it was held at Pylæ, which has the name also of Thermopylæ. The Pylagoræ sacrificed to Ceres.

In the beginning, the persons in the neighbourhood only assembled, or consulted the oracle, but afterwards people repaired thither from a distance for this purpose, sent gifts, and constructed treasuries, as Cræsus, and his father Alyattes, some of the Italians also, and the Siceli (Sicilians).

8. But the wealth, being an object of cupidity, was guarded with difficulty, although dedicated to sacred uses. At present, however, whatever it might have been, the temple at

Delphi is exceedingly poor. Some of the offerings have been taken away for the sake of the money, but the greater part remain there. It is true that the temple was once very opulent, as Homer testifies ;

“Nor all the wealth, which the marble threshold of Phœbus Apollo, the Archer, (Aphetor,)¹ contains in the rocky Pytho.”²

The treasuries indicate its riches, and the plunder committed by the Phocians, which gave rise to the Phocic or Sacred war, as it was called. It is however supposed that a spoliation of the temple must have taken place at some more remote period, when the wealth mentioned by Homer disappeared ; for no vestige of it whatever was preserved to later times, when Onomarchus and Phayllus pillaged the temple, as the property [then] removed was of a more recent date than that referred to by the poet. For there were once deposited in the treasuries, offerings from spoils, bearing inscriptions with the names of the donors, as of Gyges, of Crœsus, of the Sybaritæ, of the Spinetæ on the Adriatic, and of others also. It would be unbecoming to suppose³ that modern and ancient treasures were confounded together : other places pillaged by these people confirm this view.

Some persons, however, understanding the word Aphetor to signify treasure, and the threshold of the aphetor the repository of the treasure under-ground, say, that this wealth was buried beneath the temple, and that Onomarchus and his companions attempted to dig it up by night ; violent shocks of an earthquake caused them to fly out of the temple, and desist from their excavation ; thus others were impressed with a dread of making similar attempts.

9. Of the shrines, the winged shrine⁴ is to be placed among fabulous stories. The second is said to have been the workmanship of Trophonius and Agamedes, but the present shrine⁵ was built by the Amphictyons. A tomb of Neoptolemus is shown in the sacred enclosure. It was built according

¹ ἀφήτωρ.

² Il. ix. 404.

³ A conjecture by Kramer.

⁴ Pausanias, b. x. c. 5, speaks of a temple of Apollo at Delphi, which was supposed to have been constructed by bees, with their combs and wings.

⁵ Of which Spintharus the Corinthian was the architect. Pausanias, b. x. c. 5.

to the injunction of an oracle. Neoptolemus was killed by Machæreus, a Delphian, when, as the fable goes, he was seeking redress from the god for the murder of his father, but, probably, he was preparing to pillage the temple. Branchus, who presided over the temple at Didyma, is said to have been a descendant of Machæreus.

10. There was anciently a contest held at Delphi, of players on the cithara, who executed a pæan in honour of the god. It was instituted by Delphians. But after the Crisæan war the Amphictyons, in the time of Eurylochus, established contests for horses, and gymnastic sports, in which the victor was crowned. These were called Pythian games. The players¹ on the cithara were accompanied by players on the flute, and by citharists,² who performed without singing. They performed a strain (Melos),³ called the Pythian mood (Nomos).⁴ It consisted of five parts; the anacrusis, the ampeira, cataceusmus, iambics and dactyls, and pipes.⁵ Timosthenes, the commander of the fleet of the Second Ptolemy, and who was the author of a work in ten books on Harbours, composed a melos. His object was to celebrate in this melos the contest of Apollo with the serpent Python. The anacrusis was intended to express the prelude; the ampeira, the first onset of the contest; the cataceusmus, the contest itself; the iambics and dactyls denoted the triumphal strain on obtaining the victory, together with musical measures, of which the dactyl is peculiarly appropriated to praise, and the use of the iambic to insult and reproach; the syringes or pipes described the death, the players imitating the hissings of the expiring monster.⁶

11. Ephorus, whom we generally follow, on account of his exactness in these matters, (as Polybius, a writer of repute, testifies,) seems to proceed contrary to his proposed plan, and to the promise which he made at the beginning of his work. For after having censured those writers who are fond of intermixing fable with history, and after having spoken in praise of truth, he introduces, with reference to this oracle, a grave declaration, that he considers truth preferable at all.

¹ Κιθαρωδοί, played on the cithara, accompanying it with words.

² Κιθαρισται, played on the cithara alone.

³ μέλος.

⁴ νόμος.

⁵ σύριγξ.

⁶ Groskurd and Meineke propose emendations of the text of this passage. The translation is rather a paraphrase.

times, but especially in treating subjects of this kind. For it is absurd, he says, if, in other things, we constantly follow this practice, but that when we come to speak of the oracle, which of all others is the most exempt from deception, we should introduce tales so incredible and false. Yet immediately afterwards he says, that it is the received opinion that Apollo, by the aid of Themis, established this oracle with a view to benefit the human race. He then explains these benefits, by saying, that men were invited to pursue a more civilized mode of life, and were taught maxims of wisdom by oracles; by injunctions to perform or to abstain, or by positive refusal to attend to the prayers of petitioners. Some, he says, suppose, that the god himself in a bodily form directs these things; others, that he communicates an intimation of his will to men [by words].

12. And lower down, when speaking of the Delphians and their origin, he says, that certain persons, called Parnassii, an indigenous tribe, anciently inhabited Parnassus, about which time Apollo, traversing the country, reclaimed men from their savage state, by inducing them to adopt a more civilized mode of life and subsistence; that, setting out from Athens on his way to Delphi, he took the same road along which the Athenians at present conduct the procession of the Pythias; that when he arrived at the Panopeis, he put to death Tityus, who was master of the district, a violent and lawless man; that the Parnassii having joined him informed him of Python, another desperate man, surnamed the Dragon. Whilst he was despatching this man with his arrows, they shouted, *Hie Paian*; ¹ whence has been transmitted the custom of singing the *Pæan* before the onset of a battle; that after the death of the Python the Delphians burnt even his tent, as they still continue to burn a tent in memorial of these events. Now what can be more fabulous than Apollo discharging his arrows, chastising Tityi and Pythons, his journey from Athens to Delphi, and his travels over the whole country? If he did not consider these as fables, why did he call the fabulous Themis a woman, and the fabulous dragon a man, unless he intended to confound the provinces of history and fable. His account of the *Ætoli*ans is similar to this. After having

¹ Probably, says *Palmer*, the expression is derived from *ἡ παῖς*, O strike, or *ἡ παῖ*, O youth.

asserted that their country was never ravaged at any period, he says, that at one time it was inhabited by Ætoliæ, who had expelled the Barbarians; that at another time, Ætolus, together with the Epeii from Elis, inhabited it; [that Ætolus was overthrown by the Epeii,] and these again by Alcmaeon and Diomedes.

I now return to the Phocians.

13. Immediately on the sea-coast, next after Anticyra,¹ and behind² it, is the small city Marathus; then a promontory, Pharygium, which has a shelter for vessels; then the harbour at the farthest end, called Mychus,³ from the accident of its situation between Helicon⁴ and Ascræ.

Nor is Abæ,⁵ the seat of an oracle, far from these places, nor Ambrysus,⁶ nor Medeon, of the same name as a city in Bœotia.

In the inland parts, next after Delphi, towards the east is Daulis,⁷ a small town, where, it is said, Tereus, the Thracian, was prince; and there they say is the scene of the fable of Philomela and Procne; Thucydides lays it there; but other writers refer it to Megara. The name of the place is derived from the thickets there, for they call thickets Dauli. Homer calls it Daulis, but subsequent writers Daulia, and the words

“they who occupied Cyparissus,”⁸

are understood in a double sense; some persons supposing it to have its name from the tree of the country, but others from a village situated below the Lycœian territory.

14. Panopeus, the present Phanoteus, the country of Epeius, is on the confines of the district of Lebadeia. Here the fable places the abode of Tityus. But Homer says, that the Phœacians conducted Rhadamanthus to Eubœa,

“in order to see Tityus, son of the earth;”⁹

¹ Aspra-Spitiæ.

² ὀπισθεν, “behind it,” but Marathus is on the opposite side of the bay. The ruins are indicated in modern maps.

³ The bay of Metochi d’Hagia.

⁴ Zagora.

⁵ This place is represented in the Austrian map by ruins near Exarcho. But how does Strabo place “not far from” the Crisæan Gulf, Abæ, which was certainly near Hyampolis, on the borders of the Locri Epicnemidii? It is on the authority of this passage only that geographers have placed a second Abæ behind Ambrysus, at the foot of Parnassus.

⁶ Distomo?

⁷ Daulia.

⁸ Il. ii. 519.

⁹ Od. vii. 324.

they show also in the island a cave called Elarium, from Elara the mother of Tityus, and an Heroum of Tityus, and some kind of honours are spoken of, which are paid to him.

Near Lebadeia is Trachin, having the same name as that in C t a; it is a small Phocian town. The inhabitants are called Trachinii.

15. Anemoreia¹ has its name from a physical accident, to which it is liable. It is exposed to violent gusts of wind from a place called Catopterus,² a precipitous mountain, extending from Parnassus. It was a boundary between Delphi and the Phocians, when the Laced monians made the Delphians separate themselves from the common body of the Phocians,³ and permitted them to form an independent state.

Some call the place Anemoleia; it was afterwards called by others Hyampolis,⁴ (and also Hya,) whither we said the Hyantes were banished from B otia. It is situated quite in the interior, near Parapotamii, and is a different place from Hyampea on Parnassus.

Elateia⁵ is the largest of the Phocian cities, but Homer was not acquainted with it, for it is later than his times. It is conveniently situated to repel incursions on the side of Thesaly. Demosthenes⁶ points out the advantage of its position, in speaking of the confusion which suddenly arose, when a messenger arrived to inform the Prytaneis of the capture of Elateia.

16. Parapotamii is a settlement on the Cephissus, in the neighbourhood of Phanoteus, Ch roneia, and Elateia. This place, according to Theopompus, is distant from Ch roneia about 40 stadia, and is the boundary between the Ambryseis, Panopeis, and Daulieis. It is situated at the entrance from B otia to the Phocians, upon an eminence of moderate height, between Parnassus and the mountain [Hadylium, where there is an open space] of 5 stadia in extent, through which runs the Cephissus, affording on each side a narrow pass. This river has its source at Lil a, a Phocian city, as Homer testifies;

¹ * νεμος*, the wind.

² The Look-out.

³ 457, B. C.

⁴ This place was destroyed in the Persian war; no remains existed in the time of Pausanias.

⁵ The ruins are situated on the east of Turkochorio, made a free state by the Romans. Pausanias, b. x. ch. 34.

⁶ Demos. pro Coron . B. C. 338.

“they who occupied Lilæa, near the source of the Cephissus;”¹ and empties itself into the lake Copais. But Hadylium extends 60 stadia, as far as Hyphanteium, on which Orchomenus is situated. Hesiod also enlarges on the river and its stream, how it takes through the whole of Phocis an oblique and serpentine course;

“which, like a serpent, winds along Panopeus and the strong Glechon, and through Orchomenus.”²

The narrow pass near Parapotamii, or Parapotamia, (for the name is written both ways,) was disputed in [the Phocian war,] for this is the only entrance [into Phocis].³

There is a Cephissus in Phocis, another at Athens, and another at Salamis. There is a fourth and a fifth at Sicyon and at Scyrus; [a sixth at Argos, having its source in the Lyrceium].⁴ At Apollonia,⁵ also, near Epidamnus,⁶ there is near the Gymnasium a spring, which is called Cephissus.

17. Daphnus⁷ is at present in ruins. It was at one time a city of Phocis, and lay close to the Eubœan Sea; it divided the Locri Epicnemidii into two bodies, namely, the Locri on the side of Bœotia,⁸ and the Locri on the side of Phocis, which then extended from sea to sea. A proof of this is the Schedieum, [in Daphnus,] called the tomb of Schedius.⁹ [It has been already said] that Daphnus [divides] Locris into two parts, [in such a manner as to prevent] the Epicnemidii and Opuntii from touching upon each other in any part. In after-times Daphnus was included within the boundaries of the [Opuntii].

On the subject of Phocis, this may suffice.

¹ Il. ii. 523.

² The quotation is from a lost poem.

³ Conjectures of Groskurd, and approved by Kramer.

⁴ Meineke supposes these words to be an interpolation, because no mention is made by other writers, nor by Strabo himself, in his enumeration of the rivers in Argolis, of the existence of a river called Cephissus at Argos.

⁵ Polina.

⁶ Dyrrachium, now Durazzo.

⁷ The site appears to have been to the south-east of the modern town Néochorio.

⁸ From hence to the close of the paragraph the text is very corrupt; the restorations are due to the conjectures of Du Theil, Groskurd, and Kramer.

⁹ Schedius, according to Homer, Il. ii. 517, and Il. xvii. 306, was one of the chiefs of the Phocians.

CHAPTER IV.

1. LOCRI, which we are now to describe, follows next in order.

It is divided into two parts, one of which is occupied by the Locri opposite Eubœa, and, as we have already said, formerly consisted of two bodies, situated one on each side of Daphnus. The Locri Opuntii had their surname from Opus,¹ the capital; the Epicnemidii from a mountain called Cnemis.² The rest are the Locri Hesperii, who are called also Locri Ozolæ. These are separated from the Locri Opuntii and Epicnemidii by Parnassus, which lies between them, and by the Tetrapolis of the Dorians. We shall first speak of the Opuntii.

2. Immediately after Halæ, where the Bœotian coast opposite Eubœa terminates, is the Opuntian bay. Opus is the capital, as the inscription intimates, which is engraved on the first of the five pillars at Thermopylæ, near the Polyandrium:³ "Opoëis, the capital of the Locri, hides in its bosom those who died in defence of Greece against the Medes."

It is distant from the sea about 15 stadia, and 60 from the naval arsenal. The arsenal is Cynus,⁴ a promontory, which forms the boundary of the Opuntian bay. The latter is 40 stadia in extent. Between Opus and Cynus is a fertile plain, opposite to Ædepsus in Eubœa, where are the warm baths⁵ of Hercules, and is separated by a strait of 160 stadia. Deucalion is said to have lived at Cynus. There also is shown the tomb of Pyrrha; but that of Deucalion is at Athens. Cynus is distant from Mount Cnemis about 50 stadia. The island Atalanta⁶ is opposite to Opus, having the

¹ The ruins of Opus are indicated as existing between Talanti and the sea.

² A portion of the ridge of Cæta, on the north-west of Talanti, now Chlomos.

³ A monument, or cenotaph, common to many persons.

⁴ The site is marked by a tower called Paleopyrgo, near the modern Lebanitis.

⁵ Mentioned by Athenæus, b. iii. Hot springs were generally sacred to Hercules.

⁶ Diodorus Siculus asserts that it was separated from the continent by

same name as the island in front of Attica. It is said, that some Opuntii are to be found in the Eleian territory, whom it is not worth while to notice, except that they pretend to trace some affinity subsisting between themselves and the Locri Opuntii. Homer¹ says that Patroclus was from Opus, and that having committed murder undesignedly, he fled to Peleus, but that the father Menœtius remained in his native country; for it is to Opus that Achilles promised Menœtius that he would bring back Patroclus on his return from the Trojan expedition.² Not that Menœtius was king of the Opuntii, but Ajax the Locrian, who, according to report, was born at Narycus. The name of the person killed by Patroclus was Æanes; a grove, called after him Æaneium, and a fountain, Æanis, are shown.

3. Next after Cynus is Alopē³ and Daphnus, which last, we have said, is in ruins. At Alopē is a harbour, distant from Cynus about 90 stadia, and 120 from Elateia, in the interior of the country. But these belong to the Maliac, which is continuous with the Opuntian Gulf.

4. Next to Daphnus, at the distance of about 20 stadia by sea, is Cnemides, a strong place, opposite to which in Eubœa is Cenæum, a promontory, looking towards the west and the Maliac Gulf, and separated by a strait of nearly 20 stadia.

At Cnemides we are in the territory of the Locri Epicnemidii. Here are the Lichades, as they are called, three islands, having their name from Lichas; they lie in front of Cnemides. Other islands also are met with in sailing along this coast, which we purposely pass over.

At the distance of 20 stadia from Cnemides is a harbour, above which at the same distance, in the interior, is situated Thronium.⁴ Then the Boagrius, which flows beside Thronium, empties itself into the sea. It has another name also, that of Manes. It is a winter torrent; whence its bed may be crossed at times dry-shod, and at another it is two plethra in width.

Then after these is Scarpheia, at a distance of 10 stadia an earthquake; but statements of this kind were commonly and hastily made, where the natural appearances were favourable to them.

¹ Il. xxiii. 85.

² Il. xviii. 326.

³ The ruins have been discovered by Gell on an insulated hill, near the sea-shore.

⁴ Paleocastro, in Marmara, near Romani.

from the sea, and of 30 from Thronium, but at a little [less from its harbour.]¹ Next are Nicæa and Thermopylæ.

5. It is not worth while to speak of any of the other cities. Of those mentioned by Homer, Calliarus is no longer inhabited, it is now a well-cultivated plain. Bessa, a sort of plain, does not now exist. It has its name from an accidental quality, for it abounds with woods. *χώραν ἔχουσι Σκαρφηεῖς, &c.* It ought to be written with a double s, for it has its name from Bessa, a wooded valley, like Napē,² in the plain of Methymna,³ which Hellanicus, through ignorance of the local circumstances, improperly calls Lapē; but the demus in Attica, from which the burghers are called Besæenses, is written with a single s.

6. Tarphe is situated upon a height, at the distance of 20 stadia from [Thronium]. It has a territory, productive and well wooded; for this place also has its name from its being thickly wooded. It is now called Pharygæ. A temple of Juno Pharygæa is there, called so from the Argive Juno at Pharygæ; and the inhabitants assert that they are of Argive origin.

7. Homer does not mention, at least not in express words, the Locri Hesperii, but only seems to distinguish them from the people of whom we have spoken;

“Locri, who dwell beyond the sacred Eubœa;”⁴

as if there were other Locri. They occupied the cities Amphissa⁵ and Naupactus.⁶ The latter still subsists near Antirrhium.⁷ It has its name from the ships that were built there, either because the Heraclidæ constructed their fleet at this place, or because the Locri, as Ephorus states, had built vessels there long before that time. At present it belongs to the Ætolians, by a decree of Philip.

8. There also is Chalcis, mentioned by the poet⁸ in the Ætolian Catalogue. It is below Calydon. There also is the hill Taphiassus, on which is the monument of Nessus, and of the other Centaurs. From the putrefaction of the bodies of these people there flows, it is said, from beneath the foot of that hill a stream of water, which exhales a foetid odour, and

¹ A conjecture by Groskurd.

² *βήσσα* and *νάπη*, wooded hollows.

³ In the island of Lesbos.

⁴ Il. ii. 535.

⁵ Salona, or Lampeni.

⁶ Lepanto.

⁷ Castel de Roumeli.

⁸ Il. ii. 640.

contains clots of blood. Hence also the nation had the name of Ozolæ.¹

Opposite Antirrhium is Molycreia,² a small Ætolian city.

Amphissa is situated at the extremity of the Crisæan plain. It was razed, as we have said before, by the Amphictyons. Cēanthia and Eupalium belong to the Locri. The whole voyage along the coast of the Locri is a little more than 200 stadia.

9. There is an Alope³ both here among the Locri Ozolæ, as also among the Epicnemidii, and in the Phthiotis. These are a colony of the Epicnemidii, and the Epizephyrii a colony of the Ozolæ.

10. Ætolians are continuous with the Locri Hesperii, and the Ænians, who occupy Cēta with the Epicnemidii, and between them Dorians. These last are the people who inhabited the Tetrapolis, which is called the capital of all the Dorians. They possessed the cities Erineus, Bœum, Pindus, Cytinium. Pindus is situated above Erineus. A river of the same name flows beside it, and empties itself into the Cephissus, not far from Lilæa. Some writers call Pindus, Acyphas.

Ægimius, king of these Dorians, when an exile from his kingdom, was restored, as they relate, by Hercules. He requited this favour after the death of Hercules at Cēta by adopting Hyllus, the eldest of the sons of Hercules, and both he and his descendants succeeded him in the kingdom. It was from this place that the Heracleidæ set out on their return to Peloponnesus.

11. These cities were for some time of importance, although they were small, and their territory not fruitful. They were afterwards neglected. After what they suffered in the Phocian war and under the dominion of the Macedonians, Ætolians, and Athamanes, it is surprising that even a vestige of them should have remained to the time of the Romans.

It was the same with the Ænians, who were exterminated by Ætolians and Athamanes. The Ætolians were a very powerful people, and carried on war together with the Acarnanians. The Athamanes were the last of the Epeirotæ, who attained distinction when the rest were declining, and acquired power by the assistance of their king Amynder. The Ænians, however, kept possession of Cēta.

¹ From ὀζειν, to smell.

² Maurolimne.

³ The site is unknown.

12. This mountain extends from Thermopylæ and the east, to the Ambracian Gulf and the west; it may be said to cut at right angles the mountainous tract, extending from Parnassus as far as Pindus, and to the Barbarians who live beyond. The portion of this mountain verging towards Thermopylæ¹ is called Ceta; it is 200 stadia in length, rocky and elevated, but the highest part is at Thermopylæ, for there it forms a peak, and terminates with acute and abrupt rocks, continued to the sea. It leaves a narrow passage for those who are going from Thessaly to Locris.

13. This passage is called Pylæ, or gates, straits, and Thermopylæ, because near the straits are hot springs, which are held in honour as sacred to Hercules. The mountain above is called Callidromus; but some writers call by the name of Callidromus the remaining part of the range extending through Ætolia and Acarnania to the Ambracian Gulf.

At Thermopylæ within the straits are strongholds, as Nicæa, on the sea of the Locri, Teichius and Heracleia above it, formerly called Trachin, founded by the Lacedæmonians. Heracleia is distant from the ancient Trachin about 6 stadia. Next follows Rhoduntia, strong by its position.

14. These places are rendered difficult of access by a rocky country, and by bodies of water, forming ravines through which they pass. For besides the Spercheius,² which flows past Anticyra, there is the Dyras, which, it is said, endeavoured to extinguish the funeral pile of Hercules, and another river, the Melas, distant about 5 stadia from Trachin. Herodotus says,³ that to the south of Trachin there is a deep fissure, through which the Asopus, (which has the same name as other rivers that we have mentioned,) empties itself into the sea without the Pylæ, having received the river Phœnix which flows from the south, and unites with it. The latter river bears the name of the hero, whose tomb is shown near it. From the Asopus (Phœnix?) to Thermopylæ are 15 stadia.

15. These places were of the greatest celebrity when they formed the keys of the straits. There were frequent contests for the ascendancy between the inhabitants without and those within the straits. Philip used to call Chalcis and Corinth the fetters of Greece with reference to the opportunity which they afforded for invasions from Macedonia; and persons in

¹ Near Dervend-Elapha. ² The Hellada. ³ B. vii. c. 198, and c. 200.

later times called both these places and Demetrius "the fetters," for Demetrius commanding Pelion and Ossa, commanded also the passes at Tempe. Afterwards, however, when the whole country was subject to one power, the passes were freely open to all.¹

16. It was at these straits that Leonidas and his companions, together with a small body of persons from the neighbourhood, resisted the numerous forces of the Persians, until the Barbarians, making a circuit of the mountains along narrow paths, surrounded and cut them to pieces. Their place of burial, the Polyandrium, is still to be seen there, and the celebrated inscription sculptured on the Lacedæmonian pillar; "Stranger, go tell Lacedæmon that we lie here in obedience to her laws."

17. There is also a large harbour here and a temple of Ceres, in which the Amphictyons at the time of every Pylæan assembly offered sacrifice. From the harbour to the Heraclæian Trachin are 40 stadia by land, but by sea to Cenæum² it is 70 stadia. The Spercheius empties itself immediately without the Pylæ. To Pylæ from the Euripus are 530 stadia. And here Locris terminates. The parts without the Pylæ towards the east, and the Maliac Gulf, belong to the Thessalians; those towards the west, to the Ætolians and Acarnanians. The Athamanes are extinct.

18. The Thessalians form the largest and most ancient community. One part of them has been mentioned by Homer, and the rest by many other writers. Homer constantly mentions the Ætolians under one name; he places cities, and not nations dependent upon them, if we except the Curetes, whom we must place in the division of Ætolians.

We must begin our account with the Thessalians, omitting very ancient and fabulous stories, and what is not generally admitted, (as we have done in other instances,) but propose to mention what appears suited to our purpose.

¹ Translated according to Kramer's proposed emendation. Demetrius, according to Leake, occupies the southern or maritime face of a height called Goritza, which projects from the coast of Magnesia between 2 and 3 miles to the southward of the middle of Volo. Pausanias, b. vii. c. 7, says that Philip called Chalcis, Corinth, and Magnesia in Thessaly, the "Keys of Greece." Livy, b. xxxii. c. 37.

² C. Lithada.

CHAPTER V.

1. THE sea-coast, extending from Thermopylæ to the mouths of the Peneius,¹ and the extremities of Pelion, looking towards the east, and the northern extremities of Eubœa, is that of Thessaly. The parts opposite Eubœa and Thermopylæ are occupied by Malienses, and by Achæan Phthiotæ; those towards Pelion by the Magnetes. This may be called the eastern and maritime side of Thessaly. From either side from Pelion, and the Peneius, towards the inland parts are Macedonians, who extend as far as Pæonia, (Pindus?) and the Epeirotic nations. From Thermopylæ, the Cætæan and Ætolian mountains, which approach close to the Dorians, and Parnassus, are parallel to the Macedonians. The side towards the Macedonians may be called the northern side; the other, the southern. There remains the western side, enclosed by Ætolians and Acarnanians, by Amphilochians and Athamanes, who are Epirotæ; by the territory of the Molotti, formerly said to be that of the Æthices, and, in short, by the country about Pindus. Thessaly,² in the interior, is a plain country for the most part, and has no mountains, except Pelion and Ossa. These mountains rise to a considerable height, but do not encompass a large tract of country, but terminate in the plains.

2. These are the middle parts of Thessaly, a district of very fertile country, except that part of it which is overflowed by rivers. The Peneius flows through the middle of the country, and receiving many rivers, frequently overflows. Formerly, according to report, the plain was a lake; it is enclosed on all sides inland by mountains, and the sea-coast is more elevated than the plains. When a chasm was formed, at the place now called Tempe, by shocks of an earthquake, and Ossa was riven from Olympus, the Peneius flowed out through it to the sea, and drained this tract of country. Still there remained the large lake Nessonis, and the lake Bœbeis; which is of less extent than the Nessonis, and nearer to the sea-coast.

¹ The Salambria.

² This paragraph is translated as proposed by Meineke, who has followed the suggestions of *Du Theil*, *Groskurd*, and *Kramer*, in correcting the text.

3. Such then is Thessaly, which is divided into four parts, Phthiotis, Hestiatotis, Thessaliotis, and Pelasgiotis.

Phthiotis comprises the southern parts, extending along Ceta from the Maliac and (or) Pylaic Gulf¹ as far as Dolopia and Pindus, increasing in breadth to Pharsalia and the Thessalian plains.

Hestiatotis comprises the western parts and those between Pindus and Upper Macedonia; the rest is occupied by the inhabitants of the plains below Hestiatotis, who are called Pelasgiotæ, and approach close to the Lower Macedonians; by the [Thessalians] also, who possess the country next in order, as far as the coast of Magnesia.

The names of many cities might here be enumerated, which are celebrated on other accounts, but particularly as being mentioned by Homer; few of them, however, but most of all Larisa, preserve their ancient importance.

4. The poet having divided the whole of the country, which we call Thessaly, into ten² parts and dynasties, and having taken in addition some portion of the Cætæan and Locrian territory, and of that also which is now assigned to the Macedonians, shows (what commonly happened to every country) the changes which, entirely or in part, they undergo according to the power possessed by their respective governors.

5. The poet first enumerates the Thessalians subject to Achilles, who occupied the southern side, and adjoined Ceta, and the Locri Epicnemidii;

“All who dwelt in Pelasgic Argos; they who occupied Alus, Alope, and Trachin; they who possessed Phthia, and Hellas, abounding with beautiful women, were called Myrmidones, Hellenes, and Achæi.”³

He joins together with these the people under the command of Phœnix, and makes them compose one common expedition. The poet nowhere mentions the Dolopian forces in the battles near Ilium, neither does he introduce their leader Phœnix, as undertaking, like Nestor, dangerous enterprises. But Phœnix is mentioned by others, as by Pindar,

¹ G. of Zeitun.

² The ten states or dynasties mentioned by Homer were those of, 1. Achilles. 2. Protesilaüs. 3. Eumelus. 4. Philoctetes. 5. Podalirius and Machaon. 6. Eurypylus. 7. Polypætetes. 8. Guneus. 9. Prothoüs. These are named in the Catalogue in the 2nd Book of the Iliad; the 10th, Dolopia, of which Phœnix was chief, in Il. xvi. 196.

³ Il. ii. 681.

“Who led a brave band of Dolopian slingers,
Who were to aid the javelins of the Danaï, tamers of horses.”

The words of the poet are to be understood according to the figure of the grammarians, by which something is suppressed, for it would be ridiculous for the king to engage in the expedition,

(“I live at the extremity of Phthia, chief of the Dolopians,”¹) and his subjects not to accompany him. For [thus] he would not appear to be a comrade of Achilles in the expedition, but only as the commander of a small body of men, and a speaker, and if so, a counsellor. The verses seem to imply this meaning, for they are to this effect,

“To be an eloquent speaker, and to achieve great deeds.”²

From this it appears that Homer considered the forces under Achilles and Phoenix as constituting one body; but the places mentioned as being under the authority of Achilles, are subjects of controversy.

Some have understood Pelasgic Argos to be a Thessalian city, formerly situated near Larisa, but now no longer in existence. Others do not understand a city to be meant by this name, but the Thessalian plain, and to have been so called by Abas, who established a colony there from Argos.

6. With respect to Phthia, some suppose it to be the same as Hellas and Achaia, and that these countries form the southern portion in the division of Thessaly into two parts. But others distinguish Phthia and Hellas. The poet seems to distinguish them in these verses;

“they who occupied Phthia and Hellas,”³

as if they were two countries. And, again,

“Then far away through wide Greece I fled and came to Phthia,”⁴
and,

“There are many Achæan women in Hellas and Phthia.”⁵

The poet then makes these places to be two, but whether cities or countries he does not expressly say. Some of the later writers, who affirm that it is a country, suppose it to have extended from Palæpharsalus to Thebæ Phthiotides. In this country also is Thetidium, near both the ancient and the modern Pharsalus; and it is conjectured from Theti-

¹ Il. ix. 480.

² Il. ix. 443.

³ Il. ii. 683.

⁴ Il. ix. 498.

⁵ Il. ix. 395.

dium that the country, in which it is situated, was a part of that under the command of Achilles. Others, who regard it as a city, allege that the Pharsalii show at the distance of 60 stadia from their own city, a city in ruins, which they believe to be Hellas, and two springs near it, Messeis and Hypereia. But the Melitæenses say, that at the distance of about 10 stadia from their city, was situated Hellas on the other side of the Enipeus,¹ when their own city had the name of Pyrrha, and that the Hellenes migrated from Hellas, which was built in a low situation, to theirs. They adduce in proof of this the tomb of Hellen, son of Deucalion and Pyrrha, which is in their market-place. For according to historians, Deucalion was king of Phthiotis and of all Thessaly. The Enipeus flows from Othrys² beside Pharsalus,³ and empties itself into the Apidanus,⁴ and the latter into the Peneius.

Thus much, then, respecting the Hellenes.

7. The people under the command of Achilles, Protesilaus, and Philoctetes, are called Phthii. The poet furnishes evidence of this. Having recited in the Catalogue of those under the command of Achilles,

“the people of Phthia,”⁵

he represents them at the battle at the ships, as remaining in the ships with Achilles, and inactive; but those under the command of Philoctetes, as fighting with Medon [as their leader], and those under the command of Protesilaus, with Podarces [as their chief]. Of these the poet speaks in general terms;

“there were Bœoti and Iæones wearing long robes, Locri, Phthii, and illustrious Epeii.”⁶

But here he particularizes them;

“at the head of the Phthii fought Medon and Podarces, firm in battle. These armed with breastplates fought together with Bœoti, at the head of the magnanimous Phthii, keeping away the enemy from the ships.”⁷

Perhaps the people with Eurypylus were called Phthii, as they bordered upon the country of the latter. At present, however, historians assign to Magnesia the country about Ormenium, which was subject to Eurypylus, and the whole of that subject to Philoctetes; but they regard the country un-

¹ The Vlacho.

² Part of the range of Mount Gura.

³ Satalda. The plain of Pharsalia is to the north. ⁴ The Gura.

⁵ Il. ii. 683.

⁶ Il. xiii. 685.

⁷ Il. xiii. 693, 699.

der the command of Protesilaus as belonging to Phthia, from Dolopia and Pindus to the sea of Magnesia; but as far as the city Antron, (now written in the plural number,) which was subject to Protesilaus, beginning from Trachinia and Ceta, is the width of the territory belonging to Peleus and Achilles. But this is nearly the whole length of the Maliac Gulf.

8. They entertain doubts respecting Halus and Alope, whether Homer means the places which are now comprised in the Phthiotic government, or those among the Locri, since the dominion of Achilles extended hither as well as to Trachin and the Cætæan territory. For Halus and Halius, as well as Alope, are on the coast of the Locri. But some substitute Halius for Alope, and write the verse in this manner;

“they who inhabited Halus, and Halius, and Trachin.”¹

But the Phthiotic Halus lies under the extremity of the mountain Othrys, which lies to the north of Phthiotis, and borders upon the mountain Typhrestus and the Dolopians, and thence stretches along to the country near the Maliac Gulf. Halus,² either masculine or feminine, for it is used in both genders, is distant from Itonus³ about 60 stadia. Athamas founded Halus; it was destroyed, but subsequently [restored by the Pharsalii]. It is situated above the Crocian plain, and the river Amphrysus⁴ flows by its walls. Below the Crocian plain lies Thebæ Phthiotides; Halus likewise, which is in Achaia, is called Phthiotis; this, as well as the foot of Mount Othrys, approaches close to the Malienses. As Phylace too, which was under the command of Protesilaus, so Halus also belongs to Phthiotis, which adjoins to the Malienses. Halus is distant from Thebes about 100 stadia, and lies in the middle between Pharsalus and Thebæ Phthiotides. Philip, however, took it from the latter, and assigned it to the Pharsalii. Thus it happens, as we have said before, that boundaries and the distribution of nations and places are in a state of continual change. Thus Sophocles also called Phthiotis, Trachinia, Artemidorus places Halus on the coast beyond the Maliac Gulf, but as belonging to Phthiotis. For proceeding thence in the direction of the Peneius, he places Pteleum after Antron, then Halus at the distance of 110 stadia from Pteleum.

¹ Il. ii. 682.

² ὁ Ἄλογ, or ἡ Ἄλογ.

³ Armyrus.

⁴ Hence Virgil, Geor. 3, calls Apollo, Pastor ab Amphryso.

I have already spoken of Trachin, and described the nature of the place. The poet mentions it by name.

9. As Homer frequently mentions the Spercheius as a river of the country, having its source in the Typhrestus, a Dryopian mountain, formerly called [Tymphrestus], and emptying itself near Thermopylæ, between Trachin and Lamia,¹ he might imply that whatever parts of the Maliac Gulf were either within or without the Pylæ, were subject to Achilles.

The Spercheius is distant about 30 stadia from Lamia, which lies above a plain, extending to the Maliac Gulf. That the Spercheius is a river of the country [subject to Achilles], appears from the words of Achilles, who says, that he had devoted his hair to the Spercheius; and from the circumstance, that Menesthius, one of his commanders, was said to be the son of Spercheius and the sister of Achilles.

It is probable that all the people under the command of Achilles and Patroclus, and who had accompanied Peleus in his banishment from Ægina, had the name of Myrmidons, but all the Phthiotæ were called Achæans.

10. They reckon in the Phthiotic district, which was subject to Achilles, beginning from the Malienses, a considerable number of towns, and among them Thebæ Phthiotides, Echinus, Lamia, near which the war was carried on between the Macedonians and Antipater, against the Athenians. In this war Leosthenes, the Athenian general, was killed, [and Leonatus,] one of the companions of Alexander the king. Besides the above-mentioned towns, we must add [Narthac]ium, Erineus, Coroneia, of the same name as the town in Bœotia, Melitæa, Thaumaci, Proerna, Pharsalus, Eretria, of the same name as the Euboic town, Paracheloïtæ, of the same name as those in Ætolia; for here also, near Lamia, is a river Achelous, on the banks of which live the Paracheloïtæ.

This district, lying to the north, extended to the north-western territory of the Asclepiadæ, and to the territory of Eurypylus and Protesilaus, inclining to the east; on the south it adjoined the Cætæan territory, which was divided into fourteen demi, and contained Heracleia and Dryopis, which was once a community of four cities, (a Tetrapolis,) like Doris, and accounted the capital of the Dryopes in Peloponnesus. To the Cætæan district belong also the Acyphas, Parasopias,

¹ Isdin or Zeitun.

Œneiadæ, and Anticyra, of the same name as the town among the Locri Hesperii. I do not mean that these divisions always continued the same, for they underwent various changes. The most remarkable, however, are worthy of notice.

11. The poet with sufficient clearness describes the situation of the Dolopes, as at the extremity of Phthia, and says that both they and the Phthiotæ were under the command of the same chief, Peleus ;

“ I lived,” he says, “ at the farthest part of Phthia, king of the Dolopes.”¹

Peleus, however, had conferred on him the authority.

This region is close to Pindus, and the places about it, most of which belong to the Thessalians. For in consequence of the renown and ascendancy of the Thessalians and Macedonians, those Epeirotæ, who bordered nearest upon them, became, some voluntarily, others by force, incorporated among the Macedonians and Thessalians. In this manner the Athamans, Æthices, and Talares were joined to the Thessalians, and the Orestæ, Pelagones, and Elimiotæ to the Macedonians.

12. Pindus is a large mountain, having on the north Macedonia, on the west Perrhæbi, settlers from another country, on the south Dolopes, [and on the east Hestixotis] which belongs to Thessaly. Close upon Pindus dwelt Talares, a tribe of Molotti, detached from the Molotti about Mount Tomarus, and Æthices, among whom the poet says the Centaurs took refuge when expelled by Peirithous.² They are at present, it is said, extinct. But this extinction is to be understood in two senses ; either the inhabitants have been exterminated, and the country deserted, or the name of the nation exists no longer, or the community does not preserve its ancient form. Whenever the community, which continues, is insignificant, we do not think it worth while to record either its existence or its change of name. But when it has any just pretensions to notice, it is necessary to remark the change which it has undergone.

13. It remains for us to describe the tract of sea-coast subject to Achilles : we begin from Thermopylæ, for we have spoken of the coast of Locris, and of the interior.

Thermopylæ is separated from the Cenæum by a strait 70 stadia across. Coasting beyond the Pylæ, it is at a distance from the Spercheius of about 10, (60 ?) and thence to Phalara

¹ Il. ix. 484.

² Il. ii. 744.

of 20 stadia. Above Phalara, 50 stadia from the sea, lies the city of the [Lamians]. Then coasting along the shore 100 stadia, we find above it, Echinus. At the distance of 20 stadia from the following tract of coast, in the interior, is Larisa Cremaste, which has the name also of Larisa Pelasgia.

14. Then follows a small island, Myonnesus; next Antron; which was subject to Protesilaus. Thus much concerning the territory subject to Achilles.

As the poet, in naming the chiefs, and cities under their rule, has divided the country into numerous well-known parts, and has given an accurate account of the whole circuit of Thessaly, we shall follow him, as before, in completing the description of this region.

Next to the people under the command of Achilles, he enumerates those under the command of Protesilaus. They were situated, next, along the sea-coast which was subject to Achilles, as far as Antron. The boundary of the country under the command of Protesilaus, is determined by its being situated without the Maliac Gulf, yet still in Phthiotis, though not within Phthiotis subject to Achilles.

Phylacē¹ is near Thebæ Phthiotides, which was subject to Protesilaus, as were also Halus, Larisa Cremaste, and Demetrium, all of which lie to the east of Mount Othrys.

The Demetrium he speaks of² as an enclosure sacred to Ceres, and calls it Pyrasus. Pyrasus was a city with a good harbour, having at the distance of 2 stadia from it a grove, and a temple consecrated to Ceres. It is distant from Thebæ 20 stadia. The latter is situated above Pyrasus. Above Thebæ in the inland parts is the Crocian plain at the extremity of the mountain Othrys. Through this plain flows the river Amphrysus. Above it is the Itonus, where is the temple of the Itonian Minerva, from which that in Bœotia has its name, also the river Cuarius. [Of this river and] of Arnē we have spoken in our account of Bœotia.

These places are in Thessaliotis, one of the four divisions of all Thessaly, in which were the possessions of Eurypylos. Phyllus, where is a temple of the Phyllæan Apollo, Ichnæ, where the Ichnæan Themis is worshipped, Cierus, and [all the places as far as] Athamania, are included in Thessaliotis.

At Antron, in the strait near Eubœa, is a sunk rock, called

¹ Above S. Theodoro.

² Il. ii. 695.

“the Ass of Antron.” Next are Pteleum and Halus; next the temple of Ceres, and Pyrasus in ruins; above these, Thebæ; then Pyrrha, a promontory, and two small islands near, one of which is called Pyrrha, the other Deucalion. Somewhere here ends the territory of Phthiotis.

15. The poet next mentions the people under Eumelus, and the continuous tract of coast which now belongs to Magnesia, and the Pelasgiotis.

Pheræ is the termination of the Pelasgic plains towards Magnesia, which plains extend as far as Pelion, a distance of 160 stadia. Pagasæ is the naval arsenal of Pheræ, from which it is distant 90 stadia, and 20 from Iolcus. Iolcus has been razed from ancient times. It was from this place that Pelias despatched Jason and the ship Argo. Pagasæ had its name,¹ according to mythologists, from the building of the ship Argo at this place. Others, with more probability, suppose that the name of the place was derived from the springs, (πηγαί,) which are very numerous and copious. Near it is Aphetæ, (so named) as the starting-place² from which the Argonauts set off. Iolcus is situated 7 stadia from Demetrias, overlooking the sea. Demetrias was founded by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who called it after his own name. It is situated between Nelia and Pagasæ on the sea. He collected there the inhabitants of the neighbouring small cities, Nelia, Pagasæ, Ormenium, and besides these, Rhizus, Sepias, Olizon, Bœbe, and Iolcus, which are at present villages belonging to Demetrias. For a long time it was a station for vessels, and a royal seat of the Macedonian kings. It had the command of Tempe, and of both the mountains Pelion and Ossa. At present its extent of power is diminished, yet it still surpasses all the cities in Magnesia.

The lake Bœbeis³ is near Pheræ,⁴ and approaches close to the extremities of Pelion and Magnesia. Bœbe is a small place situated on the lake.

As civil dissensions and usurpations reduced the flourishing condition of Iolcus, formerly so powerful, so they affected Pheræ in the same manner, which was raised to prosperity, and was destroyed by tyrants.

Near Demetrias flows the Anaurus. The continuous line

¹ πηγύνημι, to fasten.

³ Karlas.

² ἀφετήριον, a starting-place.

⁴ Veler.

of coast is called also Iolcus. Here was held the Pylaic (Peliac?) assembly and festival.

Artemidorus places the Gulf of Pagasæ farther from Demetrias, near the places subject to Philoctetes. In the gulf he says is the island Cicynethus,¹ and a small town of the same name.

16. The poet next enumerates the cities subject to Philoctetes.

Methone is not the Thracian Methone razed by Philip. We have already noticed the change of name these places and others in the Peloponnesus have undergone. Other places enumerated as subject to Philoctetes, are Thaumacia, Olizon, and Melibœa, all along the shore next adjacent.

In front of the Magnetes lie clusters of islands; the most celebrated are Sciathus,² Peparethus,³ Icus,⁴ Halonnesus, and Scyrus,⁵ which contain cities of the same name. Scyrus however is the most famous of any for the friendship which subsisted between Lycomedes and Achilles, and for the birth and education of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. In after times, when Philip became powerful, perceiving that the Athenians were masters of the sea, and sovereigns both of these and other islands, he made those islands which lay near his own country more celebrated than any of the rest. For as his object in waging war was the sovereignty of Greece, he attacked those places first which were near him; and as he attached to Macedonia many parts of Magnesia itself, of Thrace, and of the rest of the surrounding country, so also he seized upon the islands in front of Magnesia, and made the possession of islands which were before entirely unknown, a subject of warlike contention, and brought them into notice.

Scyrus however is particularly celebrated in ancient histories. It is also highly reputed for the excellence of its goats, and the quarries of variegated marble, such as the Carystian, the Deucallian, (Docimæan?) the Synnadic, and the Hierapolitic kinds. For there may be seen at Rome columns, consisting of a single stone, and large slabs of variegated marble, (from Scyrus,) with which the city is embellished both at the public charge and at the expense of individuals, which has caused works of white marble to be little esteemed.

Trikeri.

⁴ Selidromi?

² Sciathos.

³ Scopelo?

⁵ Scyrus.

17. The poet having proceeded so far along the Magnesian coast, returns to Upper Thessaly, for beginning from Dolopia and Pindus he goes through the region extending along Phthiotis to Lower Thessaly.

“They who occupy Tricca and rocky Ithome.”¹

These places belong to Histiaotis, which was formerly called Doris. When it was in the possession of the Perrhæbi, who destroyed Histiaotis in Eubœa, and had removed the inhabitants by force to the continent, they gave the country the name of Histiaotis, on account of the great numbers of Histiaans among the settlers. This country and Dolopia are called Upper Thessaly, which is in a straight line with Upper Macedonia, as Lower Thessaly is in a straight line with Lower Macedonia.

Tricca,² where there is a very ancient and famous temple of Æsculapius, borders upon the Dolopes, and the parts about Pindus.

Ithome, which has the same name as the Messenian Ithome, ought not, they say, to be pronounced in this manner, but should be pronounced without the first syllable, Thome, for this was its former name. At present, it is changed to [Thumæum]. It is a spot strong by nature, and in reality rocky. It lies between four strong-holds, which form a square, Tricca, Metropolis, Pelinnæum, and Gomphi.³ Ithome belongs to the district of the Metropolitæ. Metropolis was formed at first out of three small obscure cities, and afterwards more were included, and among these Ithome. Callimachus says in his Iambics,

“among the Venuses, (for the goddess bears several titles,) Venus Castnetis surpasses all others in wisdom,”

for she alone accepts the sacrifice of swine. Certainly Callimachus, if any person could be said to possess information, was well informed, and it was his object, as he himself says, all his life to relate these fables. Later writers, however, have proved that there was not one Venus only, but several, who accepted that sacrifice, from among whom the goddess worshipped at Metropolis came, and that this [foreign] rite was delivered down by one of the cities which contributed to form that settlement.

¹ Il. ii. 729.

² Tricala.

³ The ruins are pointed out to the south of Stagus Kalabak.

Pharcadon also is situated in the Hestiaotis. The Peneius and the Curalius flow through it. The Curalius, after flowing beside the temple of the Itonian Minerva, empties itself into the Peneius.

The Peneius itself rises in Mount Pindus, as I have before said. It leaves Tricca, Pelinnæum, and Pharcadon on the left hand, and takes its course beside Atrax and Larisa. After having received the rivers of the Thessalotis it flows onwards through Tempe, and it empties itself into the sea.

Historians speak of Œchalia, the city of Eurytus, as existing in these parts, in Eubœa also, and in Arcadia; but some give it one name, others another, as I have said in the description of Peloponnesus.

They inquire particularly, which of these was the city taken by Hercules, and which was the city intended by the author of the poem, "The Capture of Œchalia?"

The places, however, were subject to the Asclepiadæ.

18. The poet next mentions the country which was under the dominion of Eurypylus;

"They who possessed Ormenium and the spring Hypereia,
And they who occupied Asterium and the white peaks of Titanus."¹

Ormenium is now called Orminium. It is a village situated below Pelion, near the Pagasitic Gulf, but was one of the cities which contributed to form the settlement of Demetrius, as I have before said.

The lake Bœbeis must be near, because both Bœbe and Ormenium belonged to the cities lying around Demetrius.

Ormenium is distant by land 27 stadia from Demetrius. The site of Iolcus, which is on the road, is distant 7 stadia from Demetrius, and the remaining 20 from Ormenium.

Demetrius of Scepsis says, that Phœnix came from Ormenium, and that he fled thence from his father Amyntor, the son of Ormenus, to Phthia, to king Peleus. For this place was founded by Ormenus, the son of Cercaphus, the son of Æolus. The sons of Ormenus were Amyntor and Euæmon; the son of the former was Phœnix, and of the latter, Eurypylus. The succession to his possessions was preserved secure for Eurypylus, after the departure of Phœnix from his home, and we ought to write the verse of the poet in this manner:

¹ Il. ii. 734.

“as when I first left Ormenium, abounding with flocks,”¹
instead of

“left Hellas, abounding with beautiful women.”

But Crates makes Phoenix a Phocæan, conjecturing this from the helmet of Meges, which Ulysses wore on the night expedition; of which helmet the poet says,

“Autolycus brought it away from Eleon, out of the house of Amyntor, the son of Ormenus, having broken through the thick walls.”²

Now Eleon was a small city on Parnassus, and by Amyntor, the son of Ormenus, he could not mean any other person than the father of Phoenix, and that Autolycus, who lived on Parnassus, was in the habit of digging through the houses of his neighbours, which is the common practice of every house-breaker, and not of persons living at a distance. But Demetrius the Scepsian says, that there is no such place on Parnassus as Eleon, but Neon, which was built after the Trojan war, and that digging through houses was not confined to robbers of the neighbourhood. Other things might be advanced, but I am unwilling to insist long on this subject. Others write the words

“from Heleon;”

but this is a Tanagrian town; and the words

“Then far away I fled through Hellas and came to Pthia,”³
would make this passage absurd.

Hyperæia is a spring in the middle of the city of the Pheræi [subject to Eumelus]. It would therefore be absurd [to assign it to Eurypylus].

Titanus⁴ had its name from the accident of its colour, for the soil of the country near Arne and [Aph]ætæ is white, and Asterium is not far from these places.

19. Continuous with this portion of Thessaly are the people subject to Polypætes.

“They who possessed Argissa; those who inhabited Gyrtone,⁵
Orthe, Elone, and the white city Oloosson.”⁶

This country was formerly inhabited by Perrhæbi, who

¹ Il. ix. 447.

² Il. x. 226.

³ Il. ix. 424.

⁴ *ρίραρος*, chalk.

⁵ Tcheritchiano.

⁶ Il. ii. 738.

possessed the part towards the sea and the Peneius, as far as¹ its mouth and the city Gyrtou, belonging to the district Per-rhæbis. Afterwards the Lapithæ, Ixion and his son Peirithous, having reduced the Perrhæbi,² got possession of these places. Peirithous took possession also of Pelion, having expelled by force the Centaurs, a savage tribe, who inhabited it. These

“he drove from Pelion to the neighbourhood of the Æthices,”³

but he delivered up the plains to the Lapithæ. The Perrhæbi kept possession of some of these parts, those, namely, towards Olympus, and in some places they lived intermixed altogether with the Lapithæ.

Argissa, the present Argura, is situated upon the banks of the Peneius. Atrax lies above it at the distance of 40 stadia, close to the river. The intermediate country along the side of the river was occupied by Perrhæbi.

Some call Orthe the citadel of the Phalannæi. Phalanna is a Perrhæbic city on the Peneius, near Tempe.

The Perrhæbi, oppressed by the Lapithæ, retreated in great numbers to the mountainous country about Pindus, and to the Athamanes and Dolopes; but the Larisæi became masters of the country and of the Perrhæbi who remained there. The Larisæi lived near the Peneius, but in the neighbourhood of the Perrhæbi. They occupied the most fertile portion of the plains, except some of the very deep valleys near the lake Nessonis, into which the river, when it overflowed, usually carried away a portion of the arable ground belonging to the Larisæi, who afterwards remedied this by making embankments.

These people were in possession of Perrhæbia, and levied imposts until Philip became master of the country.

Larisa is a place situated on Ossa, and there is Larisa Cremaste, by some called Pelasgia. In Crete also is a city Larisa, the inhabitants of which were embodied with those of Hierapytna; and from this place the plain below is called the Larisian plain. In Peloponnesus the citadel of the Argives is

¹ Meineke suggests the reading *μεταξύ*, between, instead of *μέχρι*, as far as.

² The words after Perrhæbi, *εἰς τὴν ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ποταμίαν*, into the country in the interior lying along the river, are omitted, as suggested by Meineke.

³ Il. ii. 744.

called Larisa, and there is a river Larisus, which separates Eleia from Dyme. Theopompus mentions a city Larisa, situated on the immediate confines of this country. In Asia is Larisa Phriconis near Cume, and another Larisa near Hamaxitus, in the Troad. There is also an Ephesian Larisa, and a Larisa in Syria. At 50 stadia from Mitylene are the Larisæan rocks, on the road to Methymne. There is a Larisa in Attica; and a village of this name at the distance of 30 stadia from Tralleis, situated above the city, on the road to the plain of the Cayster, passing by Mesogis towards the temple of Mater Isodroma. This Larisa has a similar position, and possesses similar advantages to those of Larisa Cremaste; for it has abundance of water and vineyards. Perhaps Jupiter had the appellation of Larisæus from this place. There is also on the left side of the Pontus (Euxine) a village called Larisa, near the extremities of Mount Hæmus, between Naulochus [and Odessus].¹

Oloosson, called the White, from its chalky soil, Elone, and Gonnus are Perrhæbic cities. The name of Elone was changed to that of Leimone. It is now in ruins. Both lie at the foot of Olympus, not very far from the river Eurotas, which the poet calls Titaresius.

20. The poet speaks both of this river and of the Per-rhæbi in the subsequent verses, when he says,

“Guneus brought from Cyphus two and twenty vessels. His followers were Enienes and Peræbi, firm in battle. They dwelt near the wintry Dodona, and tilled the fields about the lovely Titaresius.”²

He mentions therefore these places as belonging to the Per-rhæbi, which comprised a part of the Hestiaotis.³ They were in part Perrhæbic towns, which were subject to Polypoetes. He assigned them however to the Lapithæ, because these people and the Perrhæbi lived intermixed together, and the Lapithæ occupied the plains. The country, which belonged to the Perrhæbi, was, for the most part, subject to the Lapithæ, but the Perrhæbi possessed the more mountainous tracts towards Olympus and Tempe, such as Cyphus, Dodonē, and the country about the river Titaresius. This river rises

¹ Groskurd suggests the insertion here of Messembria or Odessus. Kramer is inclined to adopt the latter.

² Il. ii. 748.

³ Or Pelasgiotis. *Groskurd.*

in the mountain Titarius, which is part of Olympus. It flows into the plain near Tempe belonging to Perrhæbia, and somewhere there enters the Peneius.

The water of the Peneius is clear, that of the Titaresius is unctuous; a property arising from some matter, which prevents the streams mingling with each other,

“but runs over the surface like oil.”¹

Because the Perrhæbi and Lapithæ lived intermingled together, Simonides calls all those people Pelasgiotæ, who occupy the eastern parts about Gyrtion and the mouths of the Peneius, Ossa, Pelion, and the country about Demetrius, and the places in the plain, Larisa, Crannon, Scotussa, Mopsium, Atrax, and the parts near the lakes Nessonis and Bœbeis. The poet mentions a few only of these places, either because they were not inhabited at all, or badly inhabited on account of the inundations which had happened at various times. For the poet does not mention even the lake Nessonis, but the Bœbeis only, which is much smaller, for its water remained constant, and this alone remains, while the former probably was at one time filled irregularly to excess, and at another contained no water.

We have mentioned Scotussa in our accounts of Dodona, and of the oracle, in Thessaly, when we observed that it was near Scotussa. Near Scotussa is a tract called Cynoscephalæ. It was here that the Romans with their allies the Ætolians, and their general Titus Quintius, defeated in a great battle Philip, son of Demetrius, king of Macedon.

21. Something of the same kind has happened in the territory of Magnetis. For Homer having enumerated many places of this country, calls none of them Magnetes, but those only whom he indicates in terms obscure, and not easily understood;

“They who dwelt about Peneius and Pelion with waving woods.”²

Now about the Peneius and Pelion dwell those (already mentioned by Homer) who occupied Gyrtion, and Ormenium, and many other nations. At a still greater distance from Pelion, according to later writers, were Magnetes, beginning from the people, that were subject to Eumelus. These

¹ IL. ii. 754.

² IL. ii. 756.

writers, on account of the continual removals from one settlement to another, alterations in the forms of government, and intermixture of races, seem to confound both names and nations, which sometimes perplexes persons in these times, as is first to be observed in the instances of Crannon and Gyrtion.

Formerly they called the Gyrtionians Phlegyæ, from Phlegyas, the brother of Ixion; and the Crannonii, Ephyri, so that there is a doubt, when the poet says,

“These two from Thrace appeared with breastplates armed against Ephyri, or haughty Phlegyæ,”¹

what people he meant.

22. The same is the case with the Perrhæbi and Ænians, for Homer joins them together, as if they dwelt near each other; and it is said by later writers, that, for a long period, the settlement of the Ænians was in the Dotian plain. Now this plain is near Perrhæbia, which we have just mentioned, Ossa, and the lake Bœbeis: it is situated about the middle of Thessaly, but enclosed by itself within hills. Hesiod speaks of it in this manner;

“Or, as a pure virgin, who dwells on the sacred heights of the Twin hills, comes to the Dotian plain, in front of Amyrus, abounding with vines, to bathe her feet in the lake Bœbias.”

The greater part of the Ænians were expelled by the Lapithæ, and took refuge in Ceta, where they established their power, having deprived the Dorians and the Malienses of some portions of country, extending as far as Heracleia and Echinus. Some of them however remained about Cyphus, a Perrhæbic mountain, where is a settlement of the same name. As to the Perrhæbi, some of them collected about the western parts of Olympus and settled there, on the borders of the Macedonians. But a large body took shelter among the mountains near Athamania, and Pindus. But at present few, if any, traces of them are to be found.

The Magnetes, who are mentioned last in the Thessalian catalogue of the poet, must be understood to be those situated within Tempe, extending from the Peneius and Ossa to Pelion, and bordering upon the Pieriotæ in Macedonia, who occupy the country on the other side the Peneius as far as the sea.

Homolium, or Homolê, (for both words are in use,) must

¹ Il xiii. 301.

be assigned to the Magnetes. I have said in the description of Macedonia, that Homolium is near Ossa at the beginning of the course which the Peneius takes through Tempe.

If we are to extend their possessions as far as the sea-coast, which is very near Homolium, there is reason for assigning to them Rhizus, and Erymnæ, which lies on the sea-coast in the tract subject to Philoctetes and Eumelus. Let this however remain unsettled. For the order in which the places as far as the Peneius follow one another, is not clearly expressed, and as the places are not of any note, we need not consider that uncertainty as very important. The coast of Sepias, however, is mentioned by tragic writers, and was chaunted in songs on account of the destruction of the Persian fleet. It consists of a chain of rocks.

Between Sepias and Casthanæa, a village situated below Pelion, is the sea-shore, where the fleet of Xerxes was lying, when an east wind began to blow violently; some of the vessels were forced on shore, and immediately went to pieces; others were driven on Hipnus, a rocky spot near Pelion, others were lost at Melibœa, others at Casthanæa.

The whole of the coasting voyage along Pelion, to the extent of about 80 stadia, is among rocks. That along Ossa is of the same kind and to the same extent.

Between them is a bay of more than 200 stadia in extent, upon which is situated Melibœa.

The whole voyage from Demetrias, including the winding of the bays, to the Peneius is more than 1000 stadia, from the Spercheius 800 stadia more, and from the Euripus 2350 stadia.

Hieronymus assigns a circuit of 3000 stadia to the plain country in Thessaly and Magnesia, and says, that it was inhabited by Pelasgi, but that these people were driven into Italy by Lapithæ, and that the present Pelasgic plain is that in which are situated Larisa, Gyrtion, Pheræ, Mopsium, Bœbeis, Ossa, Homole, Pelion, and Magnetis. Mopsium has not its name from Mopsus, the son of Manto the daughter of Teiresias, but from Mopsus, one of the Lapithæ, who sailed with the Argonauts. Mopsopus, from whom Attica is called Mopsopia, is a different person.

23. This then is the account of the several parts of Thessaly.

In general we say, that it was formerly called Pyrrhæa, from Pyrrha, the wife of Deucalion ; Hæmonia, from Hæmon ; and Thettalia, from Thettalus, the son of Hæmon. But some writers, after dividing it into two portions, say, that Deucalion obtained by lot the southern part, and called it Pandora, from his mother ; that the other fell to the share of Hæmon, from whom it was called Hæmonia ; that the name of one part was changed to Hellas, from Hellen, the son of Deucalion, and of the other to Thettalia, from Thettalus, the son of Hæmon. But, according to some writers, it was the descendants of Antiphus and Pheidippus, sons of Thettalus, descended from Hercules, who invaded the country from Ephyra in Thesprotia, and called it after the name of Thettalus their progenitor. It has been already said that once it had the name of Nessonis, as well as the lake, from Nesson, the son of Thettalus.

BOOK X.

GREECE.

SUMMARY.

The Tenth Book contains Ætolia and the neighbouring islands; also the whole of Crete, on which the author dwells some time in narrating the institutions of the islanders and of the Curetes. He describes at length the origin of the Idæan Dactyli in Crete, their customs and religious rites. Strabo mentions the connexion of his own family with Crete. The Book contains an account of the numerous islands about Crete, including the Sporades and some of the Cyclades.

CHAPTER I.

1. SINCE Eubœa¹ stretches along the whole of this coast from Sunium to Thessaly, except the extremity on each side,² it may be convenient to connect the description of this island with that of Thessaly. We shall then pass on to Ætolia and Acarnania, parts of Europe of which it remains to give an account.

2. The island is oblong, and extends nearly 1200 stadia from Cenæum³ to Geræstus.⁴ Its greatest breadth is about 150 stadia, but it is irregular.⁵

¹ In the middle ages Eubœa was called Egripo, a corruption of Euripus, the name of the town built upon the ruins of Chalcis. The Venetians, who obtained possession of the island upon the dismemberment of the Byzantine empire by the Latins, called it Negropont, probably a corruption of *Egripo* and *Ponte*, a bridge. *Smith*.

² This expression is obscure; probably it may mean that Eubœa is not equal in length to the coast comprehended between Sunium and the southern limits of Thessaly.

³ C. Lithada. The mountain Lithada above the cape, rises to the height of 2837 feet above the sea.

⁴ C. Mantelo.

⁵ The real length of the island from N. to S. is about 90 miles, its extreme breadth is 30 miles, but in one part it is not more than 4 miles across. See *Smith* art. Eubœa.

Cenæum is opposite to Thermopylæ, and in a small degree to the parts beyond Thermopylæ: Geræstus¹ and Petalia² are opposite to Sunium.

Eubœa then fronts³ Attica, Bœotia, Locris, and the Malisenses. From its narrowness, and its length, which we have mentioned, it was called by the ancients Macris.⁴

It approaches nearest to the continent at Chalcis. It projects with a convex bend towards the places in Bœotia near Aulis, and forms the Euripus,⁵ of which we have before spoken at length. We have also mentioned nearly all the places on either side of the Euripus, opposite to each other across the strait, both on the continent and on the island. If anything is omitted we shall now give a further explanation.

And first, the parts lying between Aulis (Chalcis?) and the places about Geræstus are called the Hollows of Eubœa, for the sea-coast swells into bays, and, as it approaches Chalcis, juts out again towards the continent.

3. The island had the name not of Macris only, but of Abantis also. The poet in speaking of Eubœa never calls the inhabitants from the name of the island, Eubœans, but always Abantes;

“they who possessed Eubœa, the resolute Abantes;”⁶

“in his train Abantes were following.”

Aristotle says that Thracians, taking their departure from Aba, the Phocian city, settled with the other inhabitants in the island, and gave the name of Abantes to those who already occupied it; other writers say that they had their name from a hero,⁷ as that of Eubœa was derived from a heroine.⁸ But perhaps as a certain cave on the sea-coast fronting the

¹ Cape Mantelo.

² Strabo is the only ancient author who describes a place of this name as existing in Eubœa. Kiepert and the Austrian map agree in giving the name Petaliæ, which may here be meant, to the Spili islands.

³ ἀντίπροθμος.

⁴ Eubœa has various names. Formerly (says Pliny, b. iv. c. 12) it was called Chalcedontis or Macris, according to Dionysius and Ephorus; Macra, according to Aristides; Chalcis, from brass being there first discovered, according to Callidemus; Abantias, according to Menæchmus; and Asopis by the poets in general.

⁵ The narrow channel between the island and the mainland.

⁶ Il. ii. 536, 542.

⁷ From Abas, great grandson of Erectheus.

⁸ From Eubœa, daughter of the river Asopus and mistress of Neptune

Ægean Sea is called Boos-Aule, (or the Cow's Stall,) where Io is said to have brought forth Epaphus, so the island may have had the name Eubœa¹ on this account.

It was also called Oché, which is the name of one of the largest mountains² there.

It had the name of Ellopia, from Ellops, the son of Ion; according to others, he was the brother of Æclus, and Cothus, who is said to have founded Ellopia,³ a small place situated in the district called Oria of the Histiaëotis, near the mountain Telethrius.⁴ He also possessed Histiaëa, Perias, Cerinthus, Ædepsus,⁵ and Orobisæ, where was an oracle very free from deception. There also was an oracle of Apollo Selinuntius.

The Ellopians, after the battle of Leuctra, were compelled by the tyrant Philistides to remove to the city Histiaëa, and augmented the number of its inhabitants. Demosthenes⁶ says that Philistides was appointed by Philip tyrant of the Oreitæ also, for afterwards the Histiaëans had that name, and the city, instead of Histiaëa, was called Oreus. According to some writers, Histiaëa was colonized by Athenians from the demus of the Histiaëeis, as Eretria was from the demus of the Eretrieis. But Theopompus says, that when Pericles had reduced Eubœa, the Histiaëans agreed to remove into Macedonia, and that two thousand Athenians, who formerly composed the demus of the Histiaëans, came, and founded Oreus.⁷

4. It is situated below Mount Telethrius, at a place called Drymus, near the river Callas, on a lofty rock;⁸ whence perhaps because the Ellopians, the former inhabitants, were a mountain tribe,⁹ the city had the name of Oreus. Orion, who was brought up there, seems to have had his name from the place. But according to some writers, the Oreitæ, who had a

¹ From εὔ, well, and βοῦς, a cow. The ancient coins of the island bear the head of an ox.

² Mount St. Elias, 4748 feet above the level of the sea. Bochart derives the name from an eastern word signifying "narrow."

³ At the base of Plôko Vuno.

⁴ Mount Galzades, celebrated for producing medicinal plants. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant. b. ix. c. 15 and 20.

⁵ Dipso, according to Kiepert.

⁶ Philipp. iii.

⁷ Not the town named Histiaëa-Oreus, which was on the sea-coast.

⁸ Livy, b. xxxi. c. 46.

⁹ διὰ τὸ ὀρείους εἶναι.

city of their own, being attacked by the Ellopians, migrated, and settled with the Histiaæans, and although it was a single city it had both appellations, as Lacedæmon and Sparta were the same city. We have said, that the Histiaëtis in Thesaly had its name from the people who were carried away from this country by the Perrhæbi.

5. As Ellopia induced us to commence our description with Histiaæa and Oreus, we shall proceed with the places continuous with these.

The promontory Cenæum is near Oreus, and on the promontory is situated Dium,¹ and Athenæ Diades, a town founded by Athenians, and overlooks the passage across the strait to Cynus. Canæ in Æolia received colonists from Dium. These places are situated near Histiaæa, and besides these Cerinthus, a small city, close to the sea. Near it is a river Budorus, of the same name as the mountain in Salamis on the side of Attica.

6. Carystus² lies at the foot of the mountain Oche, and near it are Styra³ and Marmarium,⁴ where is a quarry, from which are obtained the Carystian columns. It has a temple of Apollo Marmarinus, where there is a passage across to Halæ-Araphenides. At Carystus there is found in the earth a stone,⁵ which is combed like wool, and woven, so that napkins are made of this substance, which, when soiled, are thrown into the fire, and cleaned, as in the washing of linen.⁶ These places are said to be inhabited by colonists from the Tetrapolis of Marathon, and by Steiricis. Styra was destroyed in the Maliac (Lamiac?) war by Phædrus, the general of the Athenians. But the Eretrians are in possession of the territory. There is also a Carystus in Laconia, a place belonging to Ægys, towards Arcadia; from whence comes the Carystian wine, spoken of by Alcman.

7. Geræstus⁷ is not mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue of the Ships; it is however mentioned by him elsewhere;

¹ Kiepert accordingly places Dium near the modern Jaitra, but the Austrian map places it to the N. E. of Ploko Vuno.

² Castel Rosso. The landing-place of the Persian expedition under Datis and Artaphernes, B. C. 490. Herod. b. vi. c. 99.

³ Sturæ.

⁴ The ruins are indicated as existing opposite the Spili islands.

⁵ λιθος φύεται. ⁶ τῆ τῶν λίνων πλύσει. ⁷ C. Mantelo.

“The vessels came to Geræstus by night ;”¹

which shows, that the place being near Sunium lies conveniently for persons who cross from Asia to Attica. It has a temple of Neptune the most remarkable of any in that quarter, and a considerable number of inhabitants.

8. Next to Geræstus is Eretria, which, after Chalcis, is the largest city in Eubœa. Next follows Chalcis, the capital as it were of the island, situated immediately on the Euripus. Both these cities are said to have been founded by Athenians before the Trojan war; [but it is also said that] after the Trojan war, Æclus and Cothus took their departure from Athens; the former to found Eretria, and Cothus, Chalcis. A body of Æolians who belonged to the expedition of Penthilus remained in the island. Anciently, even Arabians² settled there, who came over with Cadmus.

These cities, Eretria and Chalcis, when their population was greatly augmented, sent out considerable colonies to Macedonia, for Eretria founded cities about Pallene and Mount Athos; Chalcis founded some near Olynthus, which Philip destroyed. There are also many settlements in Italy and Sicily, founded by Chalcidians. These colonies were sent out, according to Aristotle,³ when the government of the Hippobataë, (or Knights,) as it is called, was established; it was an aristocratical government, the heads of which held their office by virtue of the amount of their property. At the time that Alexander passed over into Asia, they enlarged the compass of the walls of their city, including within them Canethus,⁴ and the Euripus, and erected towers upon the bridge, a wall, and gates.

9. Above the city of the Chalcidians is the plain called Lelantum, in which are hot springs, adapted to the cure of diseases, and which were used by Cornelius Sylla, the Roman general. There was also an extraordinary mine which produced both copper and iron; such, writers say, is not to be found elsewhere. At present, however, both are exhausted.

¹ Od. iii. 177.

² As this statement is unsupported by any other authority, Meineke suggests that the word Arabians (*Ἀραβες οἱ*) is an error for Aradii (*Ἀράδιοι*).

³ Repub. b. iv. c. 3.

⁴ According to the Scholiast in Apollon. Rhod. Argon. b. i. v. 7, Canethus was a mountain on the Bœotian side of the Euripus.

The whole of Eubœa is subject to earthquakes, especially the part near the strait. It is also exposed to violent subterraneous blasts, like Bœotia, and other places of which I have before spoken at length.¹ The city of the same name as the island is said to have been swallowed up by an earthquake.² It is mentioned by Æschylus in his tragedy of Glaucus Pontius;

“Euboïs near the bending shore of Jupiter Cenæus, close to the tomb of the wretched Lichas.”

There is also in Ætolia a town of the name of Chalcis,

“Chalcis on the sea-coast, and the rocky Calydon,”³

and another in the present Eleian territory;

“they passed along Cruni, and the rocky Chalcis,”⁴

speaking of Telemachus and his companions, when they left Nestor to return to their own country.

10. Some say, that the Eretrians were a colony from Masticus in Triphylia, under the conduct of Eretricus; others, that they came from Eretria, in Attica, where now a market is held. There is an Eretria also near Pharsalus. In the Eretrian district there was a city, Tamynæ, sacred to Apollo. The temple (which was near the strait) is said to have been built by Admetus, whom the god, according to report, served a year⁵ for hire.

Eretria,⁶ formerly, had the names of Melaneïs and Arotria. The village Amarynthus, at the distance of 7 stadia from the walls, belongs to it.

The Persians razed the ancient city, having enclosed with multitudes the inhabitants, according to the expression of Herodotus,⁷ in a net, by spreading the Barbarians around the walls. The foundations are still shown, and the place is called ancient Eretria. The present city is built near it.

The power which the Eretrians once possessed, is evinced by a pillar which was placed in the temple of Diana Amarynthia. There is an inscription on it to this effect, that their processions upon their public festivals consisted of three thousand heavy-armed soldiers, six hundred horsemen, and

¹ B. i. c. iii. § 16.

² B. ix. c. ii. § 13.

³ Il. ii. 640.

⁴ Od. xv. 295.

⁵ *ἐνιαυτόν* for *ἀντόν*. *Meineke*.

Near Palæo-castro.

⁷ Herod. b. iii. c. 149, and b. vi. c. 101.

sixty chariots. They were masters, besides other islands, of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos. They received colonists from Elis, whence their frequent use of the letter R, (ρ ,)¹ not only at the end, but in the middle of words, which exposed them to the railery of comic writers.

Echalia,² a village, the remains of a city destroyed by Hercules, belongs to the district of Eretria. It has the same name as that in Trachinia, as that near Tricca,³ as that in Arcadia, (which later writers call Andania,) and as that in Ætolia near the Eurytanes.

11. At present Chalcis⁴ is allowed, without dispute, to hold the first rank, and is called the capital of the Eubœans. Eretria holds the second place. Even in former times these cities had great influence both in war and peace, so that they afforded to philosophers an agreeable and tranquil retreat. A proof of this is the establishment at Eretria of the school of Eretrian philosophers, disciples of Menedemus; and at an earlier period the residence of Aristotle⁵ at Chalcis, where he also died.

12. These cities generally lived in harmony with each other, and when a dispute arose between them respecting Lelantum, they did not even then suspend all intercourse so as to act in war entirely without regard to each other, but they agreed upon certain conditions, on which the war was to be conducted. This appears by a column standing in the Amarnythium, which interdicts the use of missiles. [For with respect to warlike usages and armour, there neither is nor was any common usage; for some nations employ soldiers who use missile weapons, such as bows, slings, and javelins; others employ men who engage in close fight, and use a sword, or charge with a spear.⁶ For there are two methods of using the spear; one is to retain it in the hand; the other, to hurl it like a dart; the pike⁷ answers both purposes, for it is used in close encounter and is hurled to a distance. The sarissa and the hyssus are similarly made use of.]⁸

¹ A common practice of the Dorians.

² B. viii. c. iii. § 6.

³ In Thessaly.

⁴ Negropont. It was one of the three cities which Philip of Macedon called the chains of Greece. Brass ($\chiαλκός$) was said to have been first found there.

⁵ He retired there B. C. 322.

⁶ δόρυ.

⁷ κοντός.

⁸ ἡ σάρισσα καὶ ὁ ὑσσός. Probably an interpolation. *Groskurd.*

13. The Eubœans excelled in standing¹ fight, which was also called close fight,² and fight hand to hand.³ They used spears extended at length according to the words of the poet; "warriors eager to break through breastplates with extended ashen spears."⁴

The missile weapons were perhaps of different kinds, as, probably, was the ashen spear of Pelion, which, as the poet says,

"Achilles alone knew how to hurl."⁵

When the poet says,

"I strike farther with a spear than any other person with an arrow,"⁶

he means with a missile spear. They, too, who engage in single combat, are first introduced as using missile spears, and then having recourse to swords. But they who engage in single combat do not use the sword only, but a spear also held in the hand, as the poet describes it,

"he wounded him with a polished spear, pointed with brass, and unbraced his limbs."⁷

He represents the Eubœans as fighting in this manner; but he describes the Locrian mode as contrary to this;

"It was not their practice to engage in close fight, but they followed him to Ilium with their bows, clothed in the pliant fleece of the sheep."⁸

An answer of an oracle is commonly repeated, which was returned to the Ægienses;

"a Thessalian horse, a Lacedæmonian woman, and the men who drink the water of the sacred Arethusa,"

meaning the Chalcideans as superior to all other people, for Arethusa belongs to them.

14. At present the rivers of Eubœa are the Cereus and Neleus. The cattle which drink of the water of the former become white, and those that drink of the water of the latter become black. We have said that a similar effect is produced by the water of the Crathis.⁹

15. As some of the Eubœans, on their return from Troy, were driven out of their course among the Illyrians; pursued their journey homewards through Macedonia, and stopped in the neighbourhood of Edessa; having assisted the people in a war, who had received them hospitably; they founded a city,

¹ μάχην τὴν σταδίαν.

² συστάδην.

³ ἐκ χειρός.

⁴ Il. ii. 543.

⁵ Il. xix. 389.

⁶ Od. viii. 229.

⁷ Il. iv. 469.

⁸ Il. xiii. 713, 716.

⁹ B. vi. c. i. § 13.

Eubœa. There was a Eubœa in Sicily, founded by the Chalcideans, who were settled there. It was destroyed by Gelon, and became a strong-hold of the Syracusans. In Corcyra also, and at Lemnus, there was a place called Eubœa, and a hill of this name in the Argive territory.

16. We have said, that Ætoliens, Acarnanians, and Athamans are situated to the west of the Thessalians and Cætæans, if indeed we must call the Athamans,¹ Greeks. It remains, in order that we may complete the description of Greece, to give some account of these people, of the islands which lie nearest to Greece, and are inhabited by Greeks, which we have not yet mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

1. ÆTOLIANS and Acarnanians border on one another, having between them the river Achelous,² which flows from the north, and from Pindus towards the south, through the country of the Agræi, an Ætolian tribe, and of the Amphilochians.

Acarnanians occupy the western side of the river as far as the Ambracian Gulf,³ opposite to the Amphilochians, and the temple of Apollo Actius. Ætoliens occupy the part towards the east as far as the Locri Ozolæ, Parnassus, and the Cætæans.

Amphilochians are situated above the Acarnanians in the interior towards the north; above the Amphilochians are situated Dolopes, and Mount Pindus; above the Ætoliens are Perrhæbi, Athamans, and a body of the Ænians who occupy Ceta.

The southern side, as well the Acarnanian as the Ætolian, is washed by the sea, forming the Corinthian Gulf, into which the Achelous empties itself. This river (at its mouth) is the boundary of the Ætolian and the Acarnanian coast. The Achelous was formerly called Thoas. There is a river of this name near Dyme,⁴ as we have said, and another near Lamia.⁵ We have also said,⁶ that the mouth of this river is

¹ B. viii. c. vii. § 1.

⁴ B. viii. c. iii. § 11.

² The Aspropotamo.

⁵ B. ix. c. v. § 10.

³ G. of Arta.

⁶ B. viii. c. ii. § 3.

considered by some writers as the commencement of the Corinthian Gulf.

2. The cities of the Acarnanians are, Anactorium, situated upon a peninsula¹ near Actium, and a mart of Nicopolis, which has been built in our time; Stratus,² to which vessels sail up the Achelous, a distance of more than 200 stadia; and Cœniadæ³ is also on the banks of the river. The ancient city is not inhabited, and lies at an equal distance from the sea and from Stratus. The present city is at the distance of 70 stadia above the mouth of the river.

There are also other cities, Palærus,⁴ Alyzia,⁵ Leucas,⁶ the Amphilocheian Argos,⁷ and Ambracia:⁸ most of these, if not all, are dependent upon Nicopolis.

Stratus lies half-way between Alyzia and Anactorium.⁹

3. To the Ætolians belong both Calydon¹⁰ and Pleuron, which at present are in a reduced condition, but, anciently, these settlements were an ornament to Greece.

Ætolia was divided into two portions, one called the Old, the other the Epictetus (the Acquired). The Old comprised the sea-coast from the Achelous as far as Calydon, extending far into the inland parts, which are fertile, and consist of plains. Here are situated Stratus and Trichonium, which has an excellent soil. The Epictetus, that reaches close to the Locri in the direction of Naupactus¹¹ and Eupalium,¹²

¹ The promontory bears the name C. Madonna, and the ruins of Anactorium are pointed out as existing at the bottom of the small bay of Prevesa. The modern town, Azio, which is not the ancient Actium, is near these ruins.

² Near Lepenu.

³ Correction by Groskurd. Trigardon is given in the Austrian map as the ancient site of Cœniadæ, but this position does not agree with the text.

⁴ Porto-fico according to D'Anville.

⁵ Kandili, opposite the island Kalamo.

⁶ Santa Maura.

⁷ Neochori.

⁸ Arta, but the Austrian map gives Rogus as the site.

⁹ This is an error either of the author or in the text. Groskurd proposes to read Antirrhium (Castel Rumeli) in place of Anactorium. Kramer proposes to follow Tzschucke, and to exchange the positions of the words Stratus and Alyzia in the text.

¹⁰ There has been some dispute respecting the site of Calydon. Leake supposes the ruins which he discovered at Kurtaga, or Kortaga, to the west of the Evenus, (Fidari,) to be those of Calydon.

¹¹ Lepanto.

¹² Leake supposes it to have stood in the plain of Marathia, opposite the island Trissonia.

is a rugged and sterile tract, extending as far as C̄t̄æa, to the territory of the Athamanes, and the mountains and nations following next in order, and which lie around towards the north.

4. There is in Ætolia a very large mountain, the Corax,¹ which is contiguous to C̄ta. Among the other mountains, more in the middle of the country, is the Aracynthus,² near which the founders built the modern Pleuron, having abandoned the ancient city situated near Calydon, which was in a fertile plain country, when Demetrius, surnamed Ætolicus, laid waste the district.

Above Molycreia³ are Taphiassus⁴ and Chalcis,⁵ mountains of considerable height, on which are situated the small cities, Macynia and Chalcis, (having the same name as the mountain,) or, as it is also called, Hypochalcis. Mount Curium is near the ancient Pleuron, from which some supposed the Pleuronii had the appellation of Curetes.

5. The river Evenus rises in the country of the Bomianæses, a nation situated among the Ophienses, and an Ætolian tribe like the Eurytanes, Agræi, Curetes, and others. It does not flow, at its commencement, through the territory of the Curetes, which is the same as Pleuronia, but through the country more towards the east along Chalcis and Calydon; it then makes a bend backwards to the plains of the ancient Pleuron, and having changed its course to the west, turns again to the south, where it empties itself. It was formerly called Lycormas. There Nessus, who had the post of ferryman, is said to have been killed by Hercules for having attempted to force Deïaneira while he was conveying her across the river.

6. The poet calls Olenus and Pylene Ætolian cities, the former of which, of the same name as the Achæan city, was razed by the Æolians. It is near the new city Pleuron. The Acarnanians disputed the possession of the territory. They transferred Pylene to a higher situation, and changed its name to Proschium. Hellanicus was not at all acquainted with the history of these cities, but speaks of them as still existing in their ancient condition, but Macynia and Molycria, which were built subsequent to the return of the Heracleidæ,

¹ M. Coraca.⁴ Kaki-scala.² M. Zigos.³ Xerolimne.⁵ Varassova.

he enumerates among ancient cities, and shows the greatest carelessness in almost every part of his work.

7. This, then, is the general account of the country of the Acarnanians and Ætolians. We must annex to this some description of the sea-coast and of the islands lying in front of it.

If we begin from the entrance of the Ambracian Gulf, the first place we meet with in Acarnania is Actium. The temple of Apollo Actius has the same name as the promontory, which forms the entrance of the Gulf, and has a harbour on the outside.

At the distance of 40 stadia from the temple is Anactorium, situated on the Gulf; and at the distance of 240 stadia is Leucas.¹

8. This was, anciently, a peninsula belonging to the territory of the Acarnanians. The poet calls it the coast of Epirus, meaning by Epirus the country on the other side of Ithaca,² and Cephallenia,³ which country is Acarnania; so that by the words of the poet,

“the coast of Epirus,”

we must understand the coast of Acarnania.

To Leucas also belonged Neritus, which Laertes said he took—

“as when I was chief of the Cephallenians, and took Nericus, a well-built city, on the coast of Epirus,”⁴

and the cities which he mentions in the Catalogue,

“and they who inhabited Crocyleia, and the rugged Ægilips.”⁵

But the Corinthians who were despatched by Cypselus and Gorgus, obtained possession of this coast, and advanced as far as the Ambracian Gulf. Ambracia and Anactorium were both founded. They cut through the isthmus of the peninsula, converted Leucas into an island, transferred Neritus to the spot, which was once an isthmus, but is now a channel connected with the land by a bridge, and changed the name to Leucas from Leucatas, as I suppose, which is a white rock, projecting from Leucas into the sea towards Cephallenia, so that it might take its name from this circumstance.

¹ Santa Maura.

² Theaki.

³ Cephalonia.

⁴ Od. xxiv. 376.

⁵ Il. ii. 633.

9. It has upon it the temple of Apollo Leucatas, and the Leap, which, it was thought, was a termination of love.

“Here Sappho first ’tis said,” (according to Menander,) “in pursuit of the haughty Phaon, and urged on by maddening desire, threw herself¹ from the aerial rock, imploring Thee, Lord, and King.”

Menander then says that Sappho was the first who took the leap, but persons better acquainted with ancient accounts assert that it was Cephalus, who was in love with Pterelas, the son of Deïoneus.² It was also a custom of the country among the Leucadians at the annual sacrifice performed in honour of Apollo, to precipitate from the rock one of the condemned criminals, with a view to avert evil. Various kinds of wings were attached to him, and even birds were suspended from his body, to lighten by their fluttering the fall of the leap. Below many persons were stationed around in small fishing boats to receive, and to preserve his life, if possible, and to carry him beyond the boundaries of the country. The author of the Alcæonius says that Icarius, the father of Penelope, had two sons, Alyzeus, and Leucadius, who reigned after their father in Acarnania, whence Ephorus thinks that the cities were called after their names.

10. At present those are called Cephallenians who inhabit Cephallenia. But Homer calls all those under the command of Ulysses by this name, among whom are the Acarnanians; for when he says,

“Ulysses led the Cephallenians, those who possessed Ithaca, and Neritum, waving with woods,”³

(the remarkable mountain in this island; so also,

“they who came from Dulichium, and the sacred Echinades,”⁴
for Dulichium itself was one of the Echinades; and again,

“Buprasium and Elis,”⁵

when Buprasium is situated in Elis; and so,

“they who inhabited Eubœa, Chalcis, and Eretria,”⁶

when the latter places are in Eubœa; so again,

“Trojans, Lycians, and Dardanians,”⁷

¹ I follow the proposed reading, *ἄλμα* for *ἀλλὰ*.

² Du Theil says, Strabo should have said “a daughter of Pterelas who was in love with Cephalus.” See below, § 14.

³ Il. ii. 631.

⁴ Il. ii. 625.

⁵ Il. ii. 615.

⁶ Il. ii. 536.

⁷ Il. viii. 173.

and these also were Trojans): but after mentioning Neritum, he says,

“and they who inhabited Crocyleia and rocky Ægilips, Zacynthus, Samos, Epirus, and the country opposite to these islands;”¹

he means by Epirus the country opposite to the islands, intending to include together with Leucas the rest of Acarnania, of which he says,

“twelve herds, and as many flocks of sheep in Epirus,”²

because the district of Epirus (the Epirotis) extended anciently perhaps as far as this place, and was designated by the common name, Epirus.

The present Cephallenia he calls Samos, as when he says,

“in the strait between Ithaca and the hilly Samos,”³

he makes a distinction between places of the same name by an epithet, assigning the name not to the city, but to the island. For the island contains four cities, one of which, called Samos, or Same, for it had either appellation, bore the same name as the island. But when the poet says,

“all the chiefs of the islands, Dulichium, Same, and the woody Zacynthus,”⁴

he is evidently enumerating the islands, and calls that Same which he had before called Samos.

But Apollodorus at one time says that the ambiguity is removed by the epithet, which the poet uses, when he says,

“and hilly Samos,”

meaning the island; and at another time he pretends that we ought to write

“Dulichium, and Samos,”

and not

“Same,”

and evidently supposes that the city is called by either name, Samos or Samé, but the island by that of Samos only. That the city is called Samé is evident from the enumeration of the suitors from each city, where the poet says,

“there are four and twenty from Samé,”⁵

and from what is said about Ctimene,

¹ Il. ii. 633.

² Od. xiv. 100.

³ Od. iv. 671

⁴ Od. i. 246.

⁵ Od. xvi. 249.

“they afterwards gave her in marriage at Samé.”¹

There is reason in this. For the poet does not express himself distinctly either about Cephallenia, or Ithaca, or the other neighbouring places, so that both historians and commentators differ from one another.

11. For instance, with respect to Ithaca, when the poet says,

“and they who possessed Ithaca, and Neritum with its waving woods,”²

he denotes by the epithet, that he means Neritum the mountain. In other passages he expressly mentions the mountain ;

“I dwell at Ithaca, turned to the western sun ; where is a mountain, Neritum, seen from afar with its waving woods ;”³

but whether he means the city, or the island, is not clear, at least from this verse ;

“they who possessed Ithaca, and Neritum.”

Any one would understand these words in their proper sense to mean the city, as we speak of Athens, Lycabettus, Rhodes, Atabyris, Lacedæmon, and Taygetus, but in a poetical sense the contrary is implied.

In the verses,

“I dwell at Ithaca, turned to the western sun, in which is a mountain Neritum,”

the meaning is plain, because the mountain is on the island and not in the city ; and when he says,

“we came from Ithaca situated under Neium,”⁴

it is uncertain whether he means that Neium was the same as Neritum, or whether it is another, either mountain or place. [He, who writes Nericum for Neritum, or the reverse, is quite mistaken. For the poet describes the former as “waving with woods ;” the other as a “well-built city ;” one in Ithaca, the other on the sea-beach of Epirus.]⁵

12. But this line seems to imply some contradiction ;

“it lies in the sea both low, and very high,”⁶

for *χθαμαλή* is low, and depressed, but *πανυπερτάτη* expresses great height, as he describes it in other passages, calling it Cranae, (or rugged,) and the road leading from the harbour, as,

¹ Od. xv. 366. ² Il. ii. 632. ³ Od. ix. 21. ⁴ Od. iii. 81.

⁵ Probably interpolated. *Kramer.* ⁶ Od. ix. 25.

“a rocky way through a woody spot,”¹

and again,

“for there is not any island in the sea exposed to the western sun,² and with good pastures, least of all Ithaca.”³

The expression does imply contradictions, which admit however of some explanation. They do not understand *χαμαλή* to signify in that place “low,” but its contiguity to the continent, to which it approaches very close; nor by *πανυπερτάτη* great elevation, but the farthest advance towards darkness, (*πρὸς ζόφον*,) that is, placed towards the north more than all the other islands, for this is what the poet means by “towards darkness,” the contrary to which is towards the south, (*πρὸς νότον*,)

“the rest far off (*ἀνευθε*) towards the morning, and the sun.”⁴

For the word *ἀνευθε* denotes “at a distance,” and “apart,” as if the other islands lay to the south, and more distant from the continent, but Ithaca near the continent and towards the north. That the poet designates the southern part (of the heavens) in this manner appears from these words,

“whether they go to the right hand, towards the morning and the sun, or to the left, towards cloudy darkness;”⁵

and still more evidently in these lines,

“my friends, we know not where darkness nor where morning lie, nor where sets nor where rises the sun which brings light to man.”⁶

We may here understand the four climates,⁷ and suppose the morning to denote the southern part (of the heavens), and this has some probability; but it is better to consider what is near to the path of the sun to be opposite to the northern part (of the heavens). For the speech in Homer is intended to indicate some great change in the celestial appearances, not a mere obscuration of the *climates*. For this must happen

¹ Od. xiv. 1.

² *εὐδείελος* is the reading of the text, but the reading in Homer is *ἱππήλατος*, adapted for horses, and thus translated by Horace, Epist. lib. I. vii. 41, Non est aptus equis Ithacæ locus.

³ Od. iv. 607.

⁴ Od. ix. 26.

⁵ Il. xii. 239.

⁶ Od. x. 190.

⁷ For the explanation of *climate*, see book ii. ch. i. § 20, but in this passage the word has a different sense, and implies the division of the heavens into north, south, east, and west. The idea of Strabo seems to be that of a straight line drawn from east to west, dividing the celestial horizon into two parts, the one northern, (or arctic,) the other southern. The sun in its course from east to west continues always as regards us in the southern portion. *Gossellin*.

during every cloudy season either by day or by night. Now the celestial appearances alter very much as we advance more or less towards the south, or the contrary; but this alteration does not prevent our observing the setting and rising of the sun, for in fine weather these phenomena are always visible whether in the south or the north. For the pole is the most northerly point: when this moves, and is sometimes over our heads and sometimes below the earth, the arctic circles change their position with it. Sometimes they disappear during these movements, so that you cannot discern the position of the northern *climate*, nor where it commences;¹ and if this is so, neither can you distinguish the contrary *climate*.

The circuit of Ithaca is about 80² stadia. So much then concerning Ithaca.

13. The poet does not mention Cephallenia, which contains four cities, by its present name, nor any of the cities except one, either Samé or Samos, which no longer exists, but traces of it are shown in the middle of the Strait near Ithaca. The inhabitants have the name of Samæ. The rest still exist at present, they are small cities, Paleis, Pronesus, and Cranii. In our time Caius Antonius, the uncle of Marcus Antonius, founded an additional city, when (being an exile after his consulship in which he was the colleague of Cicero the orator) he lived at Cephallenia, and was master of the whole island, as if it had been his own property. He returned from exile before he completed the foundation of the settlement, and died when engaged in more important affairs.

14. Some writers do not hesitate to affirm, that Cephallenia and Dulichium are the same; others identify it with Taphos, and the Cephallenians with Taphians, and these again with Teleboæ. They assert that Amphitryon, with the aid of Cephalus, the son of Deïoneus, an exile from Athens, undertook an expedition against the island, and having got possession of it, delivered it up to Cephalus; hence this city bore his name, and the rest those of his children. But this is not in accordance with Homer, for the Cephallenians were subject to Ulysses and Laertes, and Taphos to Mentès;

“I boast that I am Mentès, son of the valiant Anchialus,
And king of the Taphians, skilful rowers.”³

¹ οὐδ' ὄρον ἀρχή.

² So in the text, but there is manifestly an error.
³ Od. i. 181.

Taphos is now called Taphius.¹ Nor does Hellanicus follow Homer when he calls Cephallenia, Dulichium, for Dulichium, and the other Echinades, are said to be under the command of Meges, and the inhabitants, Epeii, who came from Elis; wherefore he calls Otus the Cyllenian,

“companion of Phyleides, chief of the magnanimous Epeii;”²

“but Ulysses led the magnanimous Cephallenes.”³

Neither, as Andro asserts, is Cephallenia, according to Homer, Dulichium, nor does Dulichium belong to Cephallenia, for Epeii possessed Dulichium, and Cephallians the whole of Cephallenia, the former of whom were under the command of Ulysses, the latter of Meges. Paleis is not called Dulichium by Homer, as Pherecydes says. But he who asserts that Cephallenia and Dulichium are the same contradicts most strongly the account of Homer; for as fifty-two of the suitors came from Dulichium, and twenty-four from Samé, would he not say, that from the whole island came such a number of suitors, and from a single city of the four came half the number within two? If any one should admit this, we shall inquire what the Samé could be, which is mentioned in this line,

“Dulichium and Samé, and the woody Zacynthus.”⁴

15. Cephallenia is situated opposite to Acarnania, at the distance from Leucatas of about 50, or according to others, of 40 stadia, and from Chelonatas⁵ of about 80 stadia. It is about 300 stadia (1300?) in circumference. It extends in length towards the south-east (Eurus). It is mountainous; the largest mountain in it is the Ænus,⁶ on which is the temple of Jupiter Ænesius. Here is the narrowest part of the island, which forms a low isthmus, that is frequently overflowed from sea to sea.⁷ Cranii⁸ and Paleis⁹ are situated near the straits in the Gulf.

16. Between Ithaca and Cephallenia is the small island

¹ I. Meganisi.

² Il. xv. 519.

³ Il. ii. 631.

⁴ Od. i. 246.

⁵ C. Tornese.

⁶ Monte Nero.

⁷ We may hence conjecture that Cephallenia in the time of Homer was divided into two parts, Dulichium and Samé. It may explain at least the uncertainty of the ancients respecting the position of Dulichium. Pausanias, b. vi. c. 15, speaking of the Paleis says, that formerly they were called Dulichii; and Hesychius, that Dulichium is a city of Cephallenia.

⁸ Situated near the modern capital Argostoli.

⁹ Probably the site of the ruins in the harbour of Viscard

Asteria,¹ or Asteris, as it is called by the poet, which, according to Demetrius, the Scepsian, does not remain in the state described by the poet,

“there are harbours in it, open on both sides, for the reception of vessels.”²

But Apollodorus says that it exists even at present, and mentions a small city in it, Alalcomenæ, situated quite upon the isthmus.

17. The poet also gives the name of Samos to Thracia, which we now call Samothracé. He was probably acquainted with the Ionian island, for he seems to have been acquainted with the Ionian migration. He would not, otherwise, have made a distinction between islands of the same names, for in speaking of Samothrace, he makes the distinction sometimes by the epithet,

“on high, upon the loftiest summit of the woody Samos, the Thracian,”³ sometimes by uniting it with the neighbouring islands,

“to Samos, and Imbros, and inaccessible Lemnos;”⁴

and again,

“between Samos and rocky Imbros.”⁵

He was therefore acquainted with the Ionian island, although he has not mentioned its name. Nor had it formerly always the same name, but was called Melamphylus, then Anthemis, then Parthenia, from the river Parthenius, the name of which was changed to Imbrasus. Since then both Cephallenia and Samothracé were called Samos⁶ at the time of the Trojan war, (for if it had not been so Hecuba would not have been introduced saying, that Achilles would sell any of her children that he could seize at Samos and Imbros,⁷) Ionian Samos was not yet colonized (by Ionians), which is evident from its having the same name from one of the islands earlier (called Samos), that had it before; whence this also is clear, that those persons contradict ancient history, who assert, that colonists came from Samos after the Ionian migration, and the arrival of Tembrion, and gave the name of Samos to Samothracé. The Samians invented this story out of vanity. Those are more entitled to credit, who say, that heights are

¹ I. Dascaglio.

² Od. iv. 846.

³ Il. xiii. 12.

⁴ Il. xxiv. 753.

⁵ Il. xxiv. 78.

⁶ In the Valle d' Alessandria, in Cephalonia, there is still a place called Samo.

⁷ Il. xxiv. 752.

called Sami,¹ and that the island obtained its name from this circumstance, for from thence

“was seen all Ida, the city of Priam, and the ships of the Greeks.”²

But according to some writers, Samos had its name from the Saii, a Thracian tribe, who formerly inhabited it, and who occupied also the adjoining continent, whether they were the same people as the Sapæ, or the Sinti, whom the poet calls Sinties, or a different nation. Archilochus mentions the Saii ;

“one of the Saii is exulting in the possession of an honourable shield, which I left against my will near a thicket.”

18. Of the islands subject to Ulysses there remains to be described Zacynthus.³ It verges a little more than Cephallenia to the west of Peloponnesus, but approaches closer to it. It is 160 stadia in circumference, and distant from Cephallenia about 60 stadia. It is woody, but fertile, and has a considerable city of the same name. Thence to the Hesperides belonging to Africa are 3300⁴ stadia.

19. To the east of this island, and of Cephallenia, are situated the Echinades⁵ islands ; among which is Dulichium, at present called Dolicha, and the islands called Oxeiæ, to which the poet gives the name of Thoæ.⁶

Dolicha is situated opposite to the Cœniadæ, and the mouth of the Achelous : it is distant from Araxus,⁷ the promontory of Elis, 100 stadia. The rest of the Echinades are numerous, they are all barren and rocky, and lie in front of the mouth of the Achelous, the most remote of them at the distance of 15, the nearest at the distance of 5 stadia ; they formerly were farther out at sea, but the accumulation of earth, which is brought down in great quantity by the Achelous, has already joined some, and will join others, to the continent. This accumulation of soil anciently formed the tract Paracheloitis, which the river overflows, a subject of contention, as it was continually confounding boundaries, which had been determined by the Acarnanians and the Ætolians. For want of arbitrators they decided their dispute by arms. The most

¹ Σάμοι.

² Il. xiii. 13.

³ Zante.

⁴ 3600 stadia? see b. xvii. c. iii. § 20.

⁵ Curzolari, Oxia, Petala, &c.

⁶ Od. xv. 298.

⁷ C. Papa.

powerful gained the victory. This gave occasion to a fable, how Hercules overcame the Achelous in fight, and received in marriage as the prize of his victory, Deianeira, daughter of Ceneus. Sophocles introduces her, saying,

“ My suitor was a river, I mean the Achelous, who demanded me of my father under three forms ; one while coming as a bull of perfect form, another time as a spotted writhing serpent, at another with the body of a man and the forehead of a bull.”¹

Some writers add, that this was the horn of Amaltheia, which Hercules broke off from the Achelous, and presented to Ceneus as a bridal gift. Others, conjecturing the truth included in this story, say, that Achelous is reported to have resembled a bull, like other rivers, in the roar of their waters, and the bendings of their streams, which they term horns ; and a serpent from its length and oblique course ; and bull-fronted because it was compared to a bull's head ; and that Hercules, who, on other occasions, was disposed to perform acts of kindness for the public benefit, so particularly, when he was desirous of contracting an alliance with Ceneus, performed for him these services ; he prevented the river from overflowing its banks, by constructing mounds and by diverting its streams by canals, and by draining a large tract of the Paracheloitis, which had been injured by the river ; and this is the horn of Amaltheia.

Homer says, that in the time of the Trojan war the Echinades, and the Oxeiæ were subject to Meges,

“ son of the hero Phyleus, beloved of Jupiter, who formerly repaired to Dulichium on account of a quarrel with his father.”²

The father of Phyleus was Augeas, king of Elis, and of the Epeii. The Epeii then, who possessed these islands, were those who had migrated to Dulichium with Phyleus.

20. The islands of the Taphii, and formerly of the Teleboæ, among which was Taphus, now called Taphius, were distinct from the Echinades, not separated by distance, (for they lie near one another,) but because they were ranged under different chiefs, Taphii and Teleboæ. In earlier times Amphitryon, in conjunction with Cephalus, the son of Deïoneus, an exile from Athens, attacked, and then delivered them up to the government of Cephalus. But the poet says that

¹ Sophocles, Trachiniæ, v. 9.

² Il. ii. 628.

Mentes was their chief, and calls them robbers, which was the character of all the Teleboæ.

So much then concerning the islands off Acarnania.

21. Between Leucas and the Ambracian gulf is a sea-lake, called Myrtuntium.¹ Next to Leucas followed Palærus, and Alyzia, cities of Acarnania, of which Alyzia is distant from the sea 15 stadia. Opposite to it is a harbour sacred to Hercules, and a grove from whence a Roman governor transported to Rome "the labours of Hercules," the workmanship of Lysippus, which was lying in an unsuitable place, being a deserted spot.²

Next are Crithote,³ a promontory, and the Echinades, and Astacus, used in the singular number, a city of the same name as that near Nicomedia, and the Gulf of Astacus, Crithote, a city of the same name as that in the Thracian Chersonesus. All the coast between these places has good harbours. Then follows Cœniadæ, and the Achelous; then a lake belonging to the Cœniadæ, called Melite, 30 stadia in length, and in breadth 20; then another Cynia, of double the breadth and length of Melite; a third Uria,⁴ much less than either of the former. Cynia even empties itself into the sea; the others are situated above it at the distance of about half a stadium.

Next is the river Evenus, which is distant from Actium 670 stadia.

Then follows the mountain Chalcis, which Artemidorus calls Chalcia; [next Pleuron, then Licyrna, a village, above which in the interior is situated Calydon at the distance of 30 stadia. Near Calydon is the temple of Apollo Laphrius;]⁵ then the mountain Taphiassus; then Macynia, a city; then Molycria, and near it Antirrhium, the boundary of Ætolia and of Locris. To Antirrhium from the Evenus are about 120 stadia.

Artemidorus does not place the mountain, whether Chalcis or Chalcia, between the Achelous and Pleuron, but Apollo-

¹ Not identified.

² Gosselin remarks the double error committed by Winkelmann, who, on the authority of this passage, states that the Hercules (not the Labours of Hercules) of Lysippus was transferred to Rome in the time of Nero, long after this Book was written.

³ Dramidest.

⁴ The lake Xerolimne.

⁵ Kramer proposes the transposition of the sentence within brackets to the beginning of the paragraph.

dorus, as I have said before, places Chalcis and Taphiassus above Molycria; and Calydon between Pleuron and Chalcis. Are we then to place one mountain of the name of Chalcia near Pleuron, and another of the name of Chalcis near Molycria?

Near Calydon is a large lake, abounding with fish. It belongs to the Romans of Patræ.

22. Apollodorus says, that there is in the inland parts of Acarnania, a tribe of Erysichæi, mentioned by Alcman,

“not an Erysichæan, nor a shepherd; but I came from the extremities of Sardis.”

Olenus belonged to Ætolia; Homer mentions it in the Ætolian Catalogue,¹ but traces alone remain of it near Pleuron below Aracynthus.²

Lysimachia also was near Olenus. This place has disappeared. It was situated upon the lake, the present Lysimachia, formerly Hydra, between Pleuron and the city Arsinoë,³ formerly a village of the name of Conopa. It was founded by Arsinoë, wife and also sister of the second Ptolemy. It is conveniently situated above the passage across the Achelous.

Pylene has experienced nearly the same fate as Olenus.

When the poet describes Calydon⁴ as lofty, and rocky, we must understand these epithets as relating to the character of the country. For we have said before, that when they divided the country into two parts, they assigned the mountainous portion and the Epictetus⁵ to Calydon, and the tract of plains to Pleuron.

23. The Acarnanians, and the Ætolians, like many other nations, are at present worn out, and exhausted by continual wars. The Ætolians however, in conjunction with the Acarnanians, during a long period withstood the Macedonians and the other Greeks, and lastly the Romans, in their contest for independence.

But since Homer, and others, both poets and historians, frequently mention them, sometimes in clear and undisputed terms, and sometimes less explicitly, as appears from what we have already said of these people, we must avail ourselves of some of the more ancient accounts, which will supply us with

¹ Il. ii. 639.

² M. Zigos.

³ Angelo Castron.

⁴ Near Mauro Mati.

⁵ See c. ii. § 3, Epictetus.

a beginning, or with an occasion of inquiring into what is controverted.

24. First then with respect to Acarnania. We have already said, that it was occupied by Laertes and the Cephallenians; but as many writers have advanced statements respecting the first occupants in terms sufficiently clear, indeed, but contradictory, the inquiry and discussion are left open to us.

They say, that the Taphii and Teleboæ, as they are called, were the first inhabitants of Acarnania, and that their chief, Cephalus, who was appointed by Amphitryon sovereign of the islands about Taphus, was master also of this country. Hence is related of him the fable, that he was the first person who took the reputed leap from Leucatas. But the poet does not say, that the Taphii inhabited Acarnania before the arrival of the Cephallenians and Laertes, but that they were friends of the Ithacenses; consequently, in his time, either they had not the entire command of these places, or had voluntarily retired, or had even become joint settlers.

A colony of certain from Lacedæmon seems to have settled in Acarnania, who were followers of Icarus, father of Penelope, for the poet in the *Odyssey* represents him and the brothers of Penelope as then living;

“who did not dare to go to the palace of Icarus with a view of his disposing of his daughter in marriage.”¹

And with respect to the brothers;

“for now a long time both her father and her brothers were urging her to marry Eurymachus.”²

Nor is it probable that they were living at Lacedæmon, for Telemachus would not, in that case, have been the guest of Menelaus upon his arrival, nor is there a tradition, that they had any other habitation. But they say that Tyndareus and his brother Icarus, after being banished from their own country by Hippocoon, repaired to Thestius, the king of the Pleuronii, and assisted in obtaining possession of a large tract of country on the other side of the Achelous on condition of receiving a portion of it; that Tyndareus, having espoused Leda the daughter of Thestius, returned home; that Icarus continued there in possession of a portion of Acarnania, and had Penelope and her brothers by his wife Polycasta, daughter of Lygæus.

¹ *Od.* ii. 52.

² *Od.* xv. 16.

We have shown by the Catalogue of the Ships in Homer, that the Acarnanians were enumerated among the people who took part in the war of Troy; and among these are reckoned the inhabitants of the Acté, and besides these,

“they who occupied Epirus, and cultivated the land opposite.”

But Epirus was never called Acarnania, nor Acté, Leucas.

25. Ephorus does not say that they took part in the expedition against Troy; but he says that Alcmaëon, the son of Amphiaraus, who was the companion of Diomede, and the other Epigoni in their expedition, having brought the war against the Thebans to a successful issue, went with Diomede to assist in punishing the enemies of CENEUS, and having delivered up Ætolia to Diomede, he himself passed over into Acarnania, which country also he subdued. In the mean time Agamemnon attacked the Argives, and easily overcame them, the greatest part having attached themselves to the followers of Diomede. But a short time afterwards, when the expedition took place against Troy, he was afraid, lest, in his absence with the army, Diomede and his troops should return home, (for there was a rumour that he had collected a large force,) and should regain possession of a territory to which they had the best right, one being the heir of Adrastus, the other of his father. Reflecting then on these circumstances, he invited them to unite in the recovery of Argos, and to take part in the war. Diomede consented to take part in the expedition, but Alcmaëon was indignant and refused; whence the Acarnanians were the only people who did not participate in the expedition with the Greeks. The Acarnanians, probably by following this account, are said to have imposed upon the Romans, and to have obtained from them the privilege of an independent state, because they alone had not taken part in the expedition against the ancestors of the Romans, for their names are neither in the Ætolian Catalogue, nor are they mentioned by themselves, nor is their name mentioned anywhere in the poem.

26. Ephorus then having represented Acarnania as subject to Alcmaëon before the Trojan war, ascribes to him the foundation of Amphiloichian Argos, and says that Acarnania had its name from his son Acarnan, and the Amphiloichians from his brother Amphiloichus; thus he turns aside to reports contrary to the history in Homer. But Thucydides and other

writers say, that Amphiloclus, on his return from the Trojan expedition, being displeased with the state of affairs at Argos, dwelt in this country; according to some writers, he obtained it by succeeding to the dominions of his brother; others represent it differently. So much then respecting the Acarnanians considered by themselves. We shall now speak of their affairs where they are intermixed in common with those of the Ætoliens, and we shall then relate as much of the history of the Ætoliens as we proposed to add to our former account of this people.

CHAPTER III.

1. SOME writers reckon the Curetes among the Acarnanians, others among the Ætoliens; some allege that they came from Crete, others that they came from Eubœa. Since, however, they are mentioned by Homer, we must first examine his account of them. It is thought that he does not mean the Acarnanians, but the Ætoliens, in the following verses, for the sons of Porthaon were,

“Agius, Melas, and the hero CENEUS,
These dwelt at Pleuron, and the lofty Calydon,”¹

both of which are Ætolian cities, and are mentioned in the Ætolian Catalogue; wherefore since those who inhabited Pleuron appear to be, according to Homer, Curetes, they might be Ætoliens. The opponents of this conclusion are misled by the mode of expression in these verses,

“Curetes and Ætoliens, firm in battle, were fighting for the city Calydon,”²
for neither would he have used appropriate terms if he had said,

“Bœotians and Thebans were contending against each other,”
nor

“Argives and Peloponnesians.”

But we have shown in a former part of this work, that this mode of expression is usual with Homer, and even trite among other poets. This objection then is easily answered. But let the objectors explain, how, if these people were not Æto-

¹ Il. xiv. 116.

² Il. ix. 525.

lians, the poet came to reckon the Pleuronii among the Ætoli-ans.

2. Ephorus, after having asserted that the nation of the Ætoli-ans were never in subjection to any other people, but, from all times of which any memorial remains, their country continued exempt from the ravages of war, both on account of its local obstacles and their own experience in warfare, says, that from the beginning Curetes were in possession of the whole country, but on the arrival of Ætölus, the son of Endymion, from Elis, who defeated them in various battles, the Curetes retreated to the present Acarnania, and the Ætoli-ans returned with a body of Epeii, and founded ten of the most ancient cities in Ætolia; and in the tenth generation afterwards Elis was founded, in conjunction with that people, by Oxylus, the son of Hæmon, who had passed over from Ætolia. They produce, as proofs of these facts, inscriptions, one sculptured on the base of the statue of Ætölus at Therma in Ætolia, where, according to the custom of the country, they assemble to elect their magistrates;

“this statue of Ætölus, son of Endymion, brought up near the streams of the Alpheius, and in the neighbourhood of the stadia of Olympia, Ætoli-ans dedicated as a public monument of his merits.”

And the other inscription on the statue of Oxylus is in the market-place of Elis;

“Ætölus, having formerly abandoned the original inhabitants of this country, won by the toils of war the land of the Curetes. But Oxylus, the son of Hæmon, the tenth scion of that race, founded this ancient city.”

3. He rightly alleges, as a proof of the affinity subsisting reciprocally between the Eleii and the Ætoli-ans, these inscriptions, both of which recognise not the affinity alone, but also that their founders had established settlers in each other's country. Whence he clearly convicts those of falsehood who assert, that the Eleii were a colony of Ætoli-ans, and that the Ætoli-ans were not a colony of Eleii. But he seems to exhibit the same inconsistency in his positions here, that we proved¹ with regard to the oracle at Delphi. For after asserting that Ætolia had never been ravaged by war from all time of which there was any memorial, and saying, that from the first the Curetes were in possession of this country, he

¹ B. ix. c. iii. § 11.

ought to have inferred from such premises, that the Curetes continued to occupy the country of Ætolia to his days. For in this manner it might be understood never to have been devastated, nor in subjection to any other nation. But forgetting his position, he does not infer this, but the contrary, that Ætolus came from Elis, and having defeated the Curetes in various battles, these people retreated into Acarnania. What else then is there peculiar to the devastation of a country than the defeat of the inhabitants in war and their abandonment of their land, which is evinced by the inscription among the Eleii; for speaking of Ætolus the words are,

“he obtained possession of the country of the Curetes by the continued toils of war.”

4. But perhaps some person may say, that he means Ætolia was not laid waste, reckoning from the time that it had this name after the arrival of Ætolus; but he takes away the ground of this supposition, by saying afterwards, that the greatest part of the people, that remained among the Ætolians, were those called Epeii, with whom Ætolians were afterwards intermingled, who had been expelled from Thessaly together with Bœotians, and possessed the country in common with these people. But is it probable that, without any hostilities, they invaded the country of another nation and divided it among themselves and the original possessors, who did not require such a partition of their land? If this is not probable, is it to be believed that the victors agreed to an equal division of the territory? What else then is devastation of a country, but the conquest of it by arms? Besides, Apollodorus says that, according to history, the Hyantes abandoned Bœotia and came and settled among the Ætolians, and concludes as confident that his opinion is right by saying it is our custom to relate these and similar facts exactly, whenever any of them is altogether dubious, or concerning which erroneous opinions are entertained.

5. Notwithstanding these faults in Ephorus, still he is superior to other writers. Polybius himself, who has studiously given him so much praise, has said that Eudoxus has written well on Grecian affairs, but that Ephorus has given the best account of the foundation of cities, of the relationship subsisting between nations, of changes of settlements, and of leaders of colonies, in these words, “but I shall explain the

present state of places, both as to position and distances; for this is the peculiar province of chorography."¹

But you, Polybius, who introduce popular hearsay, and rumours on the subject of distances, not only of places beyond Greece, but in Greece itself, have you not been called to answer the charges sometimes of Posidonius, sometimes of Artemidorus, and of many other writers? ought you not therefore to excuse us, and not to be offended, if in transferring into our own work a large part of the historical poets from such writers we commit some errors, and to commend us when we are generally more exact in what we say than others, or supply what they omitted through want of information.

6. With respect to the Curetes, some facts are related which belong more immediately, some more remotely, to the history of the Ætolians and Acarnanians. The facts more immediately relating to them, are those which have been mentioned before, as that the Curetes were living in the country which is now called Ætolia, and that a body of Ætolians under the command of Ætolus came there, and drove them into Acarnania; and these facts besides, that Ætolians invaded Pleuronia, which was inhabited by Curetes, and called Curetis, took away their territory, and expelled the possessors.

But Archemachus² of Eubœa says that the Curetes had their settlement at Chalcis, but being continually at war about the plain Lelantum, and finding that the enemy used to seize and drag them by the hair of the forehead, they wore their hair long behind, and cut the hair short in front, whence they had the name of Curetes, (or the shorn,) from cura, (κουρά,) or the tonsure which they had undergone; that they removed to Ætolia, and occupied the places about Pleuron; that others, who lived on the other side of the Achelous, because they kept their heads unshorn, were called Acarnanians.³

But according to some writers each tribe derived its name from some hero;⁴ according to others, that they had the

¹ As distinguished from geography. See b. i. c. i. § 16, note ¹.

² The author of a work in several books on Eubœa. Athenæus, b. vi. c. 18.

³ The unshorn.

⁴ From Acarnan, son of Alcmaeon. Thucyd. b. ii. c. 102. But the hero from whom the Curetes obtained their name is not mentioned.

name of Curetes from the mountain Curium,¹ which is situated above Pleuron, and that this is an Ætolian tribe, like the Ophieis, Agræi, Eurytanes, and many others.

But, as we have before said, when Ætolia was divided into two parts, the country about Calydon was said to be in the possession of Ceneus; and a portion of Pleuronia in that of the Porthaonidæ of the branch of Agrius,² for

“they dwelt at Pleuron, and the lofty Calydon.”³

Thestius however, father-in-law of Ceneus, and father of Althæa, chief of the Curetes, was master of Pleuronia. But when war broke out between the Thestiadæ, Ceneus, and Meleager about a boar's head and skin, according to the poet,⁴ following the fable concerning the boar of Calydon, but, as is probable, the dispute related to a portion of the territory; the words are these,

“Curetes and Ætolians, firm in battle, fought against one another.”⁵

These then are the facts more immediately connected (with geography).

7. There⁶ are others more remote from the subject of this

¹ The position of this mountain is not determined.

² Ceneus and his children were themselves Porthaonidæ. Ceneus had possession only of Calydon, his brother Agrius and his children had a part of Pleuronia. Thestius, cousin-german of Ceneus and of Agrius, received as his portion the remainder of Pleuronia and transmitted it to his children, (the Thestiadæ,) who probably succeeded in gaining possession of the whole country. The Porthaonidæ of the branch of Agrius, were Thersites, Onchestus, Prothous, Celeulor, Lycopæus, and Melanippus. *Apollodorus*, b. i. c. 7, 8.

³ Il. xiv. 117.

⁴ Il. ix. 544.

⁵ Il. ix. 525.

⁶ “Cette digression est curieuse, sans doute * * * * Plusieurs critiques ont fait de ce morceau l'objet de leur étude; néanmoins il demeure hérissé de difficultés, et dernièrement M. Heyne (quel juge!) a prononcé que tout y restait à éclaircir. *Du Theil*.”

The myths relating to the Curetes abound with different statements and confusion. The following are the only points to be borne in mind. The Curetes belong to the most ancient times of Greece, and probably are to be counted among the first inhabitants of Phrygia. They were the authors and expositors of certain religious rites, which they celebrated with dances. According to mythology they played a part at the birth of Jupiter. They were sometimes called Idæan Dactyli. Hence their name was given to the ministers of the worship of the Great Mother among the Phrygians, which was celebrated with a kind of religious frenzy. The Curetes were also called Corybantes. Hence also arose the confusion between the religious rites observed in Crete, Phrygia, and

work, which have been erroneously placed by historians under one head on account of the sameness of name: for instance, accounts relating to "Curetic affairs" and "concerning the Curetes" have been considered as identical with accounts "concerning the people (of the same name) who inhabited Ætolia and Acarnania." But the former differ from the latter, and resemble rather the accounts which we have of Satyri and Silenes, Bacchæ and Tityri; for the Curetes are represented as certain dæmons, or ministers of the gods, by those who have handed down the traditions respecting Cretan and Phrygian affairs, and which involve certain religious rites, some mystical, others the contrary, relative to the nurture of Jupiter in Crete; the celebration of orgies in honour of the mother of the gods, in Phrygia, and in the neighbourhood of the Trojan Ida. There is however a very great variety¹ in these accounts. According to some, the Corybantes, Cabeiri, Idæan Dactyli, and Telchines are represented as the same persons as the Curetes; according to others, they are related to, yet distinguished from, each other by some slight differences; but to describe them in general terms and more at length, they are inspired with an enthusiastic and Bacchic frenzy, which is exhibited by them as ministers at the celebration of the sacred rites, by inspiring terror with armed dances, accompanied with the tumult and noise of cymbals, drums, and armour, and with the sound of pipes and shouting; so that these sacred ceremonies are nearly the same as those that are performed among the Samothracians in Lemnus, and in many other places; since the ministers of the god are said to be the same.² The whole of this kind of

Samothrace. Again, on the other hand, the Curetes have been mistaken for an Ætolian people, bearing the same name. Heyne, Not. ad Virgil. Æn. iii. 130. Religion. et Sacror. cum furore peract. Orig. Comm. Soc. R. Scient. Gotting. vol. viii. Dupuis, origin de tous les cultes, tom. 2. Sainte Croix Mém. pour servir à la religion Secrète, &c., Job. Guberleth. Diss. philol. de Myster. deorum Cabir. 1703. Freret. Recher. pour servir à l'histoire des Cyclopes, &c. Acad. des Inscript. &c., vol. xxiii. His. pag. 27. 1749.

¹ *ποσάυτη ποικιλία*, will bear also to be translated, *id tantum varietatis*, "this difference only," as Groskurd observes.

² M. de Saint Croix (Recherches sur les Mystères, &c. sect. 2, page 25) is mistaken in asserting that "Strabo clearly refutes the statements of those who believed that the Cabeiri, Dactyli, Curetes, Corybantes, and Telchines, were not only the same kind of persons, but ever separate

discussion is of a theological nature, and is not alien to the contemplation of the philosopher.

8. But since even the historians, through the similarity of the name Curetes, have collected into one body a mass of dissimilar facts, I myself do not hesitate to speak of them at length by way of digression, adding the physical considerations which belong to the history.¹ Some writers however endeavour to reconcile one account with the other, and perhaps they have some degree of probability in their favour. They say, for instance, that the people about Ætolia have the name of Curetes from wearing long dresses like girls, (κόραι,) and that there was, among the Greeks, a fondness for some such fashion. The Ionians also were called "tunic-trailers,"² and the soldiers of Leonidas,³ who went out to battle with their hair dressed, were despised by the Persians, but subjects of their admiration in the contest. In short, the application of art to the hair consists in attending to its growth, and the manner of cutting it,⁴ and both these are the peculiar care of girls and youths;⁵ whence in several ways it is easy to find a derivation of the name Curetes. It is also probable, that the practice of armed dances, first introduced by persons who paid so much attention to their hair and their dress, and who were called Curetes, afforded a pretence for men more warlike than others, and who passed their lives in arms, to be themselves called by the same name of Curetes, I mean those in Eubœa, Ætolia, and Acarnania. Homer also gives this name to the young soldiers;

"selecting Curetes, the bravest of the Achæans, to carry from the swift ship, presents, which, yesterday, we promised to Achilles."⁶

members of the same family." It appears to me, on the contrary, that this was the opinion adopted by our author. *Du Theil*.

¹ προσθεῖς τὸν οἰκείον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ φυσικὸν λόγον. rationem naturalem, utpote congruentum huc, historiæ adjiciens. *Xylander*. Or paraphrased, "The history of this people will receive additional and a fitting illustration by a reference to physical facts," such as the manner of wearing their hair, tonsure, &c.

² ἐλκεχίτωνας. The words καὶ κρόβυλον καὶ τέττιγα ἐμπλεχθῆναι appear, according to Berkel. ad Steph. p. 74, to be here wanting, "and to bind the hair in the form of the Crobulus and ornamented with a grasshopper." The hair over the forehead of the Apollo Belvidere is an example of the crobulus.

³ Herod. vii. 208.

⁴ κορὰν τριχός.

⁵ κόραις καὶ κόροις.

⁶ Strabo therefore considered the 193, 194, 195 verses of Il. xix. as

And again ;

“Curetes Achæi carried the presents.”¹

So much then on the subject of the etymology of the name Curetes. [The dance in armour is a military dance ; this is shown by the Pyrrhic dance and by Pyrrichus, who, it is said, invented this kind of exercise for youths, to prepare them for military service.]²

9. We are now to consider how the names of these people agree together, and the theology, which is contained in their history.

Now this is common both to the Greeks and the Barbarians, to perform their religious ceremonies with the observance of a festival, and a relaxation from labour ; some are performed with enthusiasm, others without any emotion ; some accompanied with music, others without music ; some in mysterious privacy, others publicly ; and these are the dictates of nature.³ For relaxation from labour withdraws the thoughts from human occupations, and directs the reflecting mind to the divinity : enthusiasm seems to be attended with a certain divine inspiration, and to approach the prophetic character ; the mystical concealment of the sacred rites excites veneration for the divinity, and imitates his nature, which shuns human senses and perception ; music also, accompanied with the dance, rhythm, and song, for the same reason brings us near the deity by the pleasure which it excites, and by the charms of art. For it has been justly said, that men resemble the gods chiefly in doing good, but it may be said more properly, when they are happy ; and this happiness consists in rejoicing, in festivals, in philosophy, and in music.⁴ For let not the art be blamed, if it should sometimes be abused by the musician employing it to excite voluptuousness in convivial

authentic. Heyne was inclined to consider them as an interpolation, in which he is supported by other critics.

¹ Il. xix. 248. The text is probably mutilated, and Strabo may have quoted the verses in Homer in which Merion is represented as dancing in armour. Il. xvi. 617.

² Kramer suspects this passage to be an interpolation.

³ The reading in the text is τὸν δ' ὄντως νοῦν. The translation adopts Meineke's reading, νοῦνρα.

⁴ Quam præclare philosophatus sit Strabo, me non monente, unusquisque assequitur ; præclarior, utique, quam illi, qui ex nostro ritu religioso omnem hilaritatem exulare voluere. Heyne, Virg. iii. 130.

meetings at banquets, on the stage, or under other circumstances, but let the nature of the institutions which are founded on it be examined.¹

10. Hence Plato, and, before his time, the Pythagoreans, called music philosophy. They maintained that the world subsisted by harmony, and considered every kind of music to be the work of the gods. It is thus that the muses are regarded as deities, and Apollo has the name of President of the Muses, and all poetry divine, as being conversant about the praises of the gods. Thus also they ascribe to music the formation of manners, as everything which refines the mind approximates to the power of the gods.

The greater part of the Greeks attribute to Bacchus, Apollo, Hecate, the Muses, and Ceres, everything connected with orgies and Bacchanalian rites, dances, and the mysteries attended upon initiation. They call also Bacchus, Dionysus, and the chief Dæmon of the mysteries of Ceres.² The carrying about of branches of trees, dances, and initiations are common to the worship of these gods. But with respect to Apollo and the Muses, the latter preside over choirs of singers and dancers; the former presides both over these and divination. All persons instructed in science, and particularly those who have cultivated music, are ministers of the Muses; these and also all who are engaged in divination are ministers of Apollo. Those of Ceres, are the *Mystæ*, torch-bearers and Hierophants; of Dionysus, *Seileni*, *Satyri*, *Tityri*, *Bacchæ*, *Lenæ*, *Thyiaæ*, *Mimallones*, *Naïdes*, and *Nymphæ*, as they are called.

11. But in Crete both these, and the sacred rites of Jupiter in particular, were celebrated with the performance of orgies, and by ministers, like the *Satyri*, who are employed in the worship of Dionysus. These were called *Curetes*, certain youths who executed military movements in armour, accompanied with dancing, exhibiting the fable of the birth of Jupiter, in which Saturn was introduced, whose custom it was to devour his children immediately after their birth; Rhea attempts to conceal the pains of childbirth, and to remove the new-born infant out of sight, using her utmost endeavours to preserve it.

¹ The original, as Du Theil observes, is singularly obscure, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις, ἢ τῶν παιδευμάτων, ἕξεταζέσθω, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθὲνδε ἔχουσα.

² Following the reading suggested by Groskurd.

In this she has the assistance of the Curetes who surround the goddess, and by the noise of drums and other similar sounds, by dancing in armour and by tumult, endeavour to strike terror into Saturn, and escape notice whilst removing his child. The child is then delivered into their hands to be brought up with the same care by which he was rescued. The Curetes therefore obtained this appellation, either because they were boys (*κόροιοι*), or because they educated Jupiter in his youth (*κουροτροφεῖν*), for there are two explanations, inasmuch as they acted the same part with respect to Jupiter as the Satyri (with respect to Dionysus). Such then is the worship of the Greeks, as far as relates to the celebration of orgies.

12. But the Berecyntes, a tribe of Phrygians, the Phrygians in general, and the Trojans, who live about Mount Ida, themselves also worship Rhea, and perform orgies in her honour; they call her mother of gods, Agdistis, and Phrygia,¹ the Great Goddess; from the places also where she is worshipped, Idæa, and Dindymene,² Sipylene,³ Pessinuntis,⁴ and Cybele.⁵ The Greeks call her ministers by the same name Curetes, not that they follow the same mythology, but they mean a different kind of persons, a sort of agents analogous to the Satyri. These same ministers are also called by them Corybantēs.

13. We have the testimony of the poets in favour of these opinions. Pindar, in the Dithyrambus, which begins in this manner;

“formerly the dithyrambus used to creep upon the ground, long and trailing.”

After mentioning the hymns, both ancient and modern, in honour of Bacchus, he makes a digression, and says,

“for thee, O Mother, resound the large circles of the cymbals, and the ringing crotala; for thee, blaze the torches of the yellow pine;”

where he combines with one another the rites celebrated among the Greeks in honour of Dionysus with those performed among the Phrygians in honour of the mother of the

¹ This word appears here misplaced.

² The chain of mountains extending from the sources of the Sagaris (the Zagari) to the Propontis was called Dindymene.

³ Sipuli Dagh.

⁴ Possene.

⁵ This name is not derived from any place.

gods. Euripides, in the *Bacchæ*, does the same thing, conjoining, from the proximity of the countries,¹ Lydian and Phrygian customs.

“Then forsaking Tmolus, the rampart of Lydia, my maidens, my pride, [whom I took from among barbarians and made the partners and companions of my way, raise on high the tambourine of Phrygia, the tambourine of the great mother Rhea,] my invention.

“Blest and happy he who, initiated into the sacred rites of the gods, leads a pure life; who celebrating the orgies of the Great Mother Cybele, who brandishing on high the thyrsus and with ivy crowned, becomes Dionysus’ worshipper. Haste, Bacchanalians, haste, and bring Bromius Dionysus down from the Phrygian mountains to the wide plains of Greece.”

And again, in what follows, he combines with these the Cretan rites.

“Hail, sacred haunt of the Curetes, and divine inhabitants of Crete, progenitors of Jove, where for me the triple-crested Corybantes in their caves invented this skin-stretched circle [of the tambourine], who mingled with Bacchic strains the sweet breath of harmony from Phrygian pipes, and placed in Rhea’s hands this instrument which re-echoes to the joyous shouts of Bacchanalians: from the Mother Rhea the frantic Satyri succeeded in obtaining it, and introduced it into the dances of the Trieterides, among whom Dionysus delights to dwell.”²

¹ *διὰ τὸ ὄμορον*, for *διὰ τὴν Ὀμηρον*. *Meineke*.

² The literal translation has been preserved in the text for the sake of the argument. The following is Potter’s translation, in which, however, great liberty is taken with the original.

“To whom the mysteries of the gods are known,
 By these his life he sanctifies,
 And, deep imbibed their chaste and cleaning lore,
 Hallows his soul for converse with the skies.
 Enraptur’d ranging the wild mountains o’er,
 The mighty mother’s orgies leading,
 He his head with ivy shading,
 His light spear wreath’d with ivy twine,
 To Bacchus holds the rites divine.
 Haste then, ye Bacchæ, haste.
 Attend your god, the son of heaven’s high king.
 From Phrygia’s mountains wild and waste
 To beauteous-structur’d Greece your Bacchus bring

* * * * *

O ye Curetes, friendly band,
 You, the blest natives of Crete’s sacred land,
 Who tread those groves, which, dark’ning round,
 O’er infant Jove their shelt’ring branches spread,
 The Corybantes in their caves profound,
 The triple crest high waving on their head,

And the chorus in Palamedes says,

“Not revelling with Dionysus, who together with his mother was cheered with the resounding drums along the tops of Ida.”

14. Conjoining then Seilenus, Marsyas, and Olympus, and ascribing to them the invention of the flute, they thus again combine Dionysiac and Phrygian rites, frequently confounding Ida and Olympus,¹ and making them re-echo with their noise, as if they were the same mountain. There are four peaks of Ida called Olympi, opposite Antandros.² There is also a Mysian Olympus, bordering upon Ida, but not the same mountain. Sophocles represents Menelaus in the Polyxena as setting sail in haste from Troy, and Agamemnon as wishing to remain behind a short time, with a view to propitiate Minerva. He introduces Menelaus as saying,

“But do thou remain there on the Idaean land,
Collect the flocks on Olympus, and offer sacrifice.”³

15. They invented terms appropriate to the sounds of the pipe, of the crotala, cymbals, and drums; to the noise also of shouts; to the cries of Evœ; and to the beating of the ground with the feet. They invented certain well-known names also to designate the ministers, dancers, and servants employed about the sacred rites, as Cabeiri, Corybantes, Pans, Satyri, Tityri, the god Bacchus; Rhea, Cybele, Cybebe, and Dindymene, from the places where she was worshipped. [The god] Sabazius belongs to the Phrygian rites, and may be considered the child as it were of the [Great] Mother. The traditional ceremonies observed in his worship are those of Bacchus.⁴

16. The rites called Cotytia, and Bendideia,⁵ celebrated

This timbrel framed, whilst clear and high
Swelled the Bacchic symphony.
The Phrygian pipe attemp'ring sweet,
Their voices to response meet,
And placed in Rhea's hands.
The frantic satyrs to the rites advance,
The Bacchæ join the festive bands,
And raptur'd lead the Trieteric dance.”

¹ There were several mountains bearing the name of Olympus. 1. In Thessaly. 2. In Peloponnesus. 3. Of Ida. 4. In Mysia. 5. In Crete.

² San Dimitri.

³ Od. iii. 144.

⁴ Adopting Kramer's suggestion of *παπαδὸνς τὰ* for *παπαδόνρα*.

⁵ Bendis, Diana of the Thracians; among the Athenians there was a festival called Bendideia.

among the Thracians, resemble these. The Orphic ceremonies had their origin among these people. Æschylus mentions the goddess Cotys, and the instruments used in her worship among the Edoni.¹ For after saying,

“O divine Cotys, goddess of the Edoni,
With the instruments of the mountain worship;”

immediately introduces the followers of Dionysus,

“one holding the bombyces, the admirable work of the turner, with the fingers makes the loud notes resound, exciting frenzy; another makes the brass-bound cotylæ to re-echo.”

And in another passage;

“The song of victory is poured forth; invisible mimes low and bellow from time to time like bulls, inspiring fear, and the echo of the drum rolls along like the noise of subterranean thunder;”²

for these are like the Phrygian ceremonies, nor is it at all improbable that, as the Phrygians themselves are a colony of Thracians, so they brought from Thrace their sacred ceremonies, and by joining together Dionysus and the Edonian Lycurgus they intimate a similarity in the mode of the worship of both.

17. From the song, the rhythm, and the instruments, all Thracian music is supposed to be Asiatic. This is evident also from the places where the Muses are held in honour. For Pieria, Olympus, Pimpla, and Leibethrum were anciently places, and mountains, belonging to the Thracians, but at present they are in the possession of the Macedonians. The Thracians, who were settled in Bœotia, dedicated Helicon to the Muses, and consecrated the cave of the Nymphs, Leibethriades. The cultivators of ancient music are said to have been Thracians, as Orpheus, Musæus, Thamyris; hence also Eumolpus had his name. Those who regard the whole of Asia as far as India as consecrated to Bacchus, refer to that country as the origin of a great portion of the present music. One author speaks of “striking forcibly the Asiatic cithara;” another calls the pipes Berecynthian and Phry-

¹ Athenæus, b. xi. c. 8. Æschylus in the Edoni (a fragment) calls cymbals cotylæ.

² Probably from a passage in the *Erectheus*, a lost play of Euripides.

gian. Some of the instruments also have barbarous names, as Nabras, Sambyce,¹ Barbitus,² Magadis,³ and many others.

18. As in other things the Athenians always showed their admiration of foreign customs, so they displayed it in what respected the gods. They adopted many foreign sacred ceremonies, particularly those of Thrace and Phrygia; for which they were ridiculed in comedies. Plato mentions the Bendidean, and Demosthenes the Phrygian rites, where he is exposing Æschines and his mother to the scorn of the people; the former for having been present when his mother was sacrificing, and for frequently joining the band of Bacchanians in celebrating their festivals, and shouting, *Evoï*, *Saboï*, *Hyes Attes*, and *Attes Hyes*, for these cries belong to the rites of Sabazius and the Great Mother.

19. But there may be discovered respecting these dæmons, and the variety of their names, that they were not called ministers only of the gods, but themselves were called gods. For Hesiod says that Hecaterus and the daughter of Phoroneus had five daughters,

“From whom sprung the goddesses, the mountain nymphs,
And the worthless and idle race of satyrs,
And the gods Curetes, lovers of sport and dance.”

The author of the Phoronis calls the Curetes, players upon the pipe, and Phrygians; others call them “earth-born, and wearing brazen shields.” Another author terms the Corybantes, and not the Curetes, Phrygians, and the Curetes, Cretans. Brazen shields were first worn in Eubœa, whence the people had the name of Chalcidenses.⁴ Others say, that the Corybantes who came from Bactriana, or, according to some writers, from the Colchi, were given to Rhea, as a band of armed ministers, by Titan. But in the Cretan history the Curetes are called nurses and guardians of Jove, and are described as having been sent for from Phrygia to Crete by Rhea. According to other writers, there were nine Telchines in Rhodes, who accompanied Rhea to Crete, and from nursing⁵ Jupiter had the name of Curetes;⁶ that Corybus, one of their party, was the founder of Hierapytna, and furnished the

¹ Nabras and Sambyce are Syriac words. Athenæus, b. iv. c. 24.

² The invention of Anacreon, according to Neanthus Cyzicenus.

³ Athenæus, b. xiv. c. 8, 9.

⁴ See above, ch. iii. § 1, 6, 8.

⁵ *κουροτροφήσαντες*.

⁶ *κουρήτες*.

Prasians¹ in Rhodes with the pretext for saying that Corybantes were certain dæmons, children of Minerva and the sun. By others, the Corybantes are represented to be the children of Saturn; by others, of Jupiter and Calliope, or to be the same persons as the Cabeiri; that they went away² to Samothrace,³ which was formerly called Melite; but their lives and actions are mysterious.

20. The Scepsian (Demetrius) who has collected fabulous stories of this kind, does not receive this account because no mysterious tradition about the Cabeiri is preserved in Samothrace, yet he gives the opinion of Stesimbrotus of Thasus, to the effect that the sacred rites in Samothrace were celebrated in honour of the Cabeiri.⁴ Demetrius, however, says that they had their name from Cabeirus, the mountain in Bercynthia. According to others, the Curetes were the same as the Corybantes, and were ministers of Hecate.

The Scepsian says in another place, in contradiction to Euripides, that it is not the custom in Crete to pay divine honours to Rhea, and that these rites were not established there, but in Phrygia only, and in the Troad, and that they who affirm the contrary are mythologists rather than historians; and were probably misled by an identity of name, for Ida is a mountain both in the Troad and in Crete; and Dicte is a spot in the Scepsian territory, and a mountain in Crete.⁵ Pytna is a peak of Ida, (and a mountain in Crete,) whence the city Hierapytna has its name. There is Hippocorona in the territory of Adramyttium, and Hippocoronium⁶ in Crete. Samonium also is the eastern promontory of the island, and a plain in the Neandris,⁷ and in the territory of the Alexandrians (Alexandria Troas).

21. But Acusilaus, the Argive, mentions a Camillus, the

¹ Who were the Prasians of Rhodes I confess I cannot say. *Palmer.*

² From whence Strabo does not inform us.

³ The Scholiast of Apollonius remarks that it was formerly called Leucosia, afterwards Samos from a certain Saiis, and Samothrace when it came into possession of the Thracians. It had also the name of Dardania.

⁴ The true origin of the word, according to Casaubon, is to be found in the Hebrew word Cabir, signifying powerful. Tobias Gutberlethus, *De mysteriis deorum Cabiroto.*

⁵ M. Sitia.

⁶ Places unknown.

⁷ In the plain of Troy.

son of Cabeira and Vulcan; who had three sons, Cabeiri, (and three daughters,) the Nymphs Cabeirides.¹

According to Pherecydes, there sprung from Apollo and Rhetia nine Corybantes, who lived in Samothrace; that from Cabeira, the daughter of Proteus and Vulcan, there were three Cabeiri, and three Nymphs, Cabeirides, and that each had their own sacred rites. But it was at Lemnos and Imbros that the Cabeiri were more especially the objects of divine worship, and in some of the cities of the Troad; their names are mystical.

Herodotus² mentions, that there were at Memphis temples of the Cabeiri as well as of Vulcan, which were destroyed by Cambyses. The places where these dæmons received divine honours are uninhabited, as Corybantium in the territory Hamaxitia belonging to the country of the Alexandrians, near Sminthium;³ and Corybissa in the Scepsian territory about the river Eureis, and a village of the same name, and the winter torrent Æthaloeis.⁴

The Scepsian says, that it is probable that the Curetes and Corybantes are the same persons, who as youths and boys were employed to perform the armed dance in the worship of the mother of the gods. They were called Corybantes⁵ from their dancing gait, and butting with their head (*κορύπτοντας*); by the poet they were called *βητάρμονες*,

“Come hither, you who are the best skilled Betarmones among the Phæacians.”⁶

Because the Corybantes are dancers, and are frantic, we call those persons by this name whose movements are furious.

22. Some writers say that the first inhabitants of the country at the foot of Mount Ida were called Idæan Dac-

¹ According to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhod., Arg. 5, 917 persons were initiated into the mysteries of the Cabeiri in Samothrace. The Cabeiri were four in number; Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos, and Casmilos. Axieros corresponded to Demeter or Ceres, Axiokersa to Persephone or Proserpine, Axiokersos to Hades or Pluto, and Casmilos to Hermes or Mercury. See Ueber die Gottheiten von Samothrace, T. W. I. Schelling, 1815; and the Classical Journal, vol. xiv. p. 59.

² Herod. iii. 37.

³ Probably a temple of Apollo Smintheus.

⁴ Corybissa, Eureis, and Æthaloeis are unknown.

⁵ They were called Curetes because they were boys, and *κουρήτες μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόρου εἶναι καλούμενοι*. Groskurd suspects these or similar words to have followed “Corybantes.”

⁶ Od. viii. 250.

tyli, for the country below mountains is called the foot, and the summits of mountains their heads; so the separate extremities of Ida (and all are sacred to the mother of the gods) are called Idæan Dactyli.¹

But Sophocles² supposes, that the first five were males, who discovered and forged iron,³ and many other things which were useful for the purposes of life; that these persons had five sisters, and from their number had the name of Dactyli.⁴ Different persons however relate these fables differently, connecting one uncertainty with another. They differ both with respect to the numbers and the names of these persons; some of whom they call Celmis, and Damnameus, and Hercules, and Acmon, who, according to some writers, were natives of Ida, according to others, were settlers, but all agree that they were the first workers in iron, and upon Mount Ida. All writers suppose them to have been magicians, attendants upon the mother of the gods, and to have lived in Phrygia about Mount Ida. They call the Troad Phrygia, because, after the devastation of Troy, the neighbouring Phrygians became masters of the country. It is also supposed that the Curetes and the Corybantes were descendants of the Idæan Dactyli, and that they gave the name of Idæan Dactyli to the first hundred persons who were born in Crete; that from these descended nine Curetes, each of whom had ten children, who were called Idæan Dactyli.⁵

23. Although we are not fond of fabulous stories, yet we have expatiated upon these, because they belong to subjects of a theological nature.

All discussion respecting the gods requires an examination of ancient opinions, and of fables, since the ancients expressed enigmatically their physical notions concerning the nature of things, and always intermixed fable with their discoveries. It is not easy therefore to solve these enigmas exactly, but if we lay before the reader a multitude of fabulous tales, some consistent with each other, others which are contradictory, we

¹ i. e. toes. ² In a lost play, *The Deaf Satyrs*.

³ In hoc quoque dissentio, sapientes fuisse, qui ferri metalla et æris invenerunt, cum incendio silvarum adusta tellus, in summo venas jacentes liquefacta fudisset. Seneca, *Epist.* 90.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, b. v., says that they obtained the name from being equal in number to the ten fingers or toes (Dactyli).

⁵ Groskurd proposes Corybantes for these latter Idæan Dactyli.

may thus with less difficulty form conjectures about the truth. For example, mythologists probably represented the ministers of the gods, and the gods themselves, as coursing over the mountains, and their enthusiastic behaviour, for the same reason that they considered the gods to be celestial beings, and to exercise a providential care over all things, and especially over signs and presages. Mining, hunting, and a search after things useful for the purposes of life, appeared to have a relation to this coursing over the mountains, but juggling and magic to be connected with enthusiastic behaviour, religious rites, and divination. Of such a nature, and connected in particular with the improvement of the arts of life, were the Dionysiac and Orphic arts. But enough of this subject.

CHAPTER IV.

1. HAVING described the islands about the Peloponnesus, and other islands also, some of which are upon, and others in front of, the Corinthian Gulf, we are next to speak of Crete,¹ (for it belongs to the Peloponnesus,) and the islands near Crete, among which are the Cyclades and the Sporades. Some of these are worthy of notice, others are inconsiderable.

2. At present we are to speak first of Crete.

¹ The common European name Candia is unknown in the island; the Saracenic "Kandax," Megalo Kastron, became with the Venetian writers Candia; the word for a long time denoted only the principal city of the island, which retained its ancient name in the chroniclers and in Dante, *Inferno* xiv. 94. It is described by Strabo as lying between Cyrenaica and that part of Hellas which extends from Sunium to Laconia, and parallel in its length from W. to E. of these two points. The words *μέχρι Λακωνικῆς* may be understood either of Malea or Tænarum; it is probable that this geographer extended Crete as far as Tænarum, as from other passages in his work (ii. c. v. § 20; viii. c. v. § 1) it would appear that he considered it and the W. points of Crete as under the same meridian. It is still more difficult to understand the position assigned to Crete with regard to Cyrenaica (xvii. c. iii. § 22). Strabo is far nearer the truth, though contradicting his former statements, where he makes Cimarum, the N.W. promontory of Crete, 700 stadia from Malea, and Cape Sammonium 1000 stadia from Rhodes, (ii. c. iv. § 3,) which was one of the best ascertained points of ancient geography. *Smith*, v. Crete.

According to Eudoxus, it is situated in the Ægæan sea, but he ought not to have described its situation in that manner, but have said, that it lies between Cyrenaica and the part of Greece comprehended between Sunium and Laconia,¹ extending in length in the direction from west to east, and parallel to these countries;² that it is washed on the north by the Ægæan and Cretan seas, and on the south by the African, which joins the Ægyptian sea.

The western extremity of the island is near Phalasarna;³ its breadth is about 200 stadia, and divided into two promontories; of which the southern is called Criu-Metopon, (or Ram's head,) and that on the north, Cimarus.⁴ The eastern promontory is Samonium,⁵ which does not stretch much further towards the east than Sunium.⁶

3. Sosicrates, who, according to Apollodorus, had an exact knowledge of this island, determines its length (not?)⁷ to exceed 2300 stadia, and its breadth (about 300),⁸ so that according to Sosicrates the circuit of the island is not more than 5000 stadia, but Artemidorus makes it 4100. Hieronymus

¹ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῆς ἀπὸ Σουνίου μέχρι Λακωνικῆς.

² Gosselin observes that the false position assigned to these countries, and the contradiction perceptible in the measures in stadia, given by Strabo, and above all the impossibility of reconciling them upon one given plan, is a proof that the author consulted different histories, and different maps, in which the distances were laid down in stadia differing in length.

³ The ruins are indicated as existing a little to the north of Hagios Kurghianis, in the Austrian map.

⁴ Cimarus is given in Kiepert, as the island Grabusa Agria, at the extremity of Cape Buso, and also in the Austrian map. Kramer remarks that the promontory Cimarus is mentioned by no other author. Corycus on the other hand is placed by Strabo below, § 5, in these parts, although the reading is suspicious, and in b. viii. c. v. § 1, and in b. xvii. c. iii. § 22; but the reading again in this last reference is doubtful. Cape Cimarus is now C. Buso or Grabusa.

⁵ In b. ii. c. iv. § 3, it is written Salmonium, (c. Salamoni,) in which passage Kramer has retained the spelling of the name, on the ground that this form is to be found in Apollonius, Arg. 4, 1693, and Dionys. Perieg. 110. Salmone in the Acts, xxvii. 7.

⁶ C. Colonna.

⁷ Not in the text of Kramer. Casaubon's conjecture.

⁸ The words of the text are, πλάτει δὲ ὑπὸ τὸ μέγεθος, which Meineke translates, "Its width is not in proportion to its length." Kramer says that the preposition ὑπὸ suggests the omission of the words τετρακοσίων or τριακοσίων πον, and that the words τ. μ. are probably introduced from the margin, and are otherwise inadmissible.

says, that its length is 2000 stadia, and its breadth irregular, and that the circuit would exceed the number of stadia assigned by Artemidorus. Throughout one-third of its length, (beginning from the western parts, the island is of a tolerable width).¹ Then there is an isthmus of about 100 stadia, on the northern shore of which is a settlement, called Amphimalla;² on the southern shore is Phoenix,³ belonging to the Lampeis.

The greatest breadth is in the middle of the island.

Here again the shores approach, and form an isthmus narrower than the former, of about 60 stadia in extent, reckoning from Minoa,⁴ in the district of the Lyctii,⁵ to Therapytna,⁶ and the African sea. The city is on the bay. The shores then terminate in a pointed promontory, the Samonium, looking towards Ægypt and the islands of the Rhodians.⁷

4. The island is mountainous and woody, but has fertile valleys.

The mountains towards the west are called Leuca, or the White Mountains,⁸ not inferior in height to the Taÿgetum,⁹ and extending in length about 300 stadia. They form a ridge, which terminates at the narrow parts (the isthmus). In the middle of the island, in the widest part, is (Ida),¹⁰ the highest of the mountains there. Its compass is about 600 stadia. It is surrounded by the principal cities. There are other mountains equal in height to the White Mountains, some of which terminate on the south, others towards the east.

5. From the Cyrenæan¹¹ territory to Criu-metopon¹² is a

¹ It is impossible to say what words should fill up the hiatus in the text, but probably something to this effect, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων μερῶν ἀρξαμένοις ἡ νῆσος πλατεῖά ἐστι. *Kramer*. *Groskurd* proposes ἡ νῆσος αἰφνυδίως στενοχωρεῖ, the island suddenly narrows.

² On the bay of Armiro.

³ Castel Franco. Acts of Apostles, xxvii. 12.

⁴ Porto Trano. At the bottom of the bay of Mirabel.

⁵ Near Lytto.

⁶ Girapetra.

⁷ By the islands of the Rhodians are meant Caso, Nisari, Scarpanto, &c.

⁸ Aspra-vuna, or Sfakia.

⁹ Mt. Penta-Dactylon in the Morea.

¹⁰ Psiloriti.

¹¹ From what point in the Cyrenæica is not said. From b. viii. c. iii. § 1, it would appear to be Phycus, (Ras al Sem,) but from b. xvii. c. iii. § 20, it would seem to be Apollonias, (Marsa-susa,) the maritime arsenal of the Cyrenæans, situated at about 170 stadia to the east of Phycus, and 80 stadia to the west of Cyrene.

¹² C. Crio

voyage of two days and nights. From Cimarus [to Malea] are 700 stadia.¹ In the midway is Cythera.² From the promontory Samonium³ to Ægypt a ship sails in four days and nights, but, according to other writers, in three. Some say that it is a voyage of 5000 stadia; others, of still less than this. According to Eratosthenes, the distance from Cyrenaica to Criu-Metopon is 2000 stadia, and thence to Peloponnesus less than [1000].⁴

6. One language is intermixed with another, says the poet; there are in Crete,

“Achæi, the brave Eteocretans, Cydones, Dorians divided into three bands,⁵ and the divine Pelasgi.”⁶

Of these people, says Staphylus, the Dorians occupy the eastern parts of the island, Cydonians the western, Eteocretans the southern, to whom Prasus, a small town, belonged, where is the temple of the Dictæan Jupiter; the other nations, being more powerful, inhabited the plains. It is probable that the Eteocretans⁷ and Cydonians were aboriginal inhabitants, and that the others were foreigners, who Andron says came from Thessaly, formerly called Doris, but now Hestiatotis, from which country he says the Dorians, who were settled about Parnassus, migrated, and founded Erineum, Bœum, and Cytinium, whence they are called by the poet Trichæices, or tripartite. But the account of Andron is not generally admitted, who represents the Tetrapolis Doris as composed of three cities, and the metropolis of the Dorians as a colony of Thesalians. The epithet Trichæices⁸ is understood to be derived either from their wearing a triple crest,⁹ or from having crests of hair.¹⁰

7. There are many cities in Crete, but the largest and most distinguished are Cnossus,¹¹ Gortyna,¹² Cydonia.¹³ Both Homer and later writers celebrate Cnossus¹¹ above the rest,

¹ Of 700 stadia to a degree. *Gossellin*.

² Cerigo.

³ The distance from Samonium (Cape Salamone) to Alexandria, in a straight line, is about 5500 stadia of $1111\frac{1}{3}$ to the degree. *Gossellin*.

⁴ *Gossellin*'s conjecture, for the number is wanting in the text.

⁵ τριχάϊκες.

⁶ Od. xix. 175.

⁷ So also Diod. Sic. b. v.

⁸ τριχάϊκας.

⁹ τριλοφίας.

¹⁰ τριχίνους.

¹¹ The ruins are situated at Makro Teikhos, to the south-east of Candia, the modern capital.

¹² Il. ii. 646; Od. xix. 178. Hagius Dheka. Pashley.

¹³ Near Jerami, in the Austrian map. Pashley places it at Khania.

calling it vast, and the palace of Minos. It maintained its pre-eminence for a long period. It afterwards lost its ascendancy, and was deprived of many of its customs and privileges. The superiority was transferred to Gortyna and Lyctus.¹ But it afterwards recovered its ancient rank of the capital city. Cnossus lies in a plain, with its ancient circumference of 30 stadia, between the Lyctian and Gortynian territory; [distant] 200 stadia from Gortyna, and from Lyctus 120, which the poet² calls Lyctus. Cnossus is at the distance of 25 stadia from the northern sea; Gortyna 90, and Lyctus 80, stadia from the African sea. Cnossus has a marine arsenal, Heracleium.³

8. Minos, it is said, used as an arsenal Amnisus,⁴ where is a temple of Eileithyia. Cnossus formerly had the name of Cæratus, which is the name of the river⁵ which runs beside it.

Minos⁶ is regarded as an excellent legislator, and the first who possessed the sovereignty of the sea. He divided the island into three portions, in each of which he built a city; Cnossus * * * * *,⁷ opposite to Peloponnesus, which lies toward the north.

According to Ephorus, Minos was an imitator of Rhadamanthus, an ancient personage, and a most just man. He had the same name as his brother, who appears to have been the first to civilize the island by laws and institutions, by founding cities, and by establishing forms of government. He pretended to receive from Jupiter the decrees which he promulgated. It was probably in imitation of Rhadamanthus that Minos went up to the cave of Jupiter, at intervals of nine years, and brought from thence a set of ordinances, which he said were the commands of Jove; for which reason the poet thus expresses himself;

“There reigned Minos, who every ninth year conversed with the great Jupiter.”⁸

¹ Lytto.

² Il. ii. 647.

³ Cartero, a maritime town on the river of the same name.

⁴ At the mouth of the Aposelemi.

⁵ Now the Cartero.

⁶ Pausanias, b. ix. c. 11, says that the ships of Minos were unprovided with sails, which were the subsequent invention of Dædalus.

⁷ Groskurd proposes to supply the hiatus in the text thus: Cnossus [towards the north, inclining to the Ægæan sea, Phæstus turned towards the south and the African sea, Cydonia in the western part of the island] opposite.

⁸ Od. xix. 178.

Such is the statement of Ephorus; the ancients on the other hand give a different account, and say that he was tyrannical and violent, and an exactor of tribute, and speak in the strain of tragedy about the Minotaur, the Labyrinth, and the adventures of Theseus and Dædalus.

9. It is difficult to determine which is right. There is another story also not generally received; some persons affirming that Minos was a foreigner, others that he was a native of the island. Homer seems to support the latter opinion, when he says, that

“Minos, the guardian of Crete, was the first offspring of Jupiter.”¹

It is generally admitted with regard to Crete that in ancient times it was governed by good laws, and induced the wisest of the Greeks to imitate its form of government, and particularly the Lacedæmonians, as Plato shows in his “Laws,” and Ephorus has described in his work “Europe.” Afterwards there was a change in the government, and for the most part for the worse. For the Tyrrheni, who chiefly infested our sea, were followed by the Cretans, who succeeded to the haunts and piratical practices of the former people, and these again afterwards were subject to the devastations of the Cilicians. But the Romans destroyed them all after the conquest of Crete,² and demolished the piratical strongholds of the Cilicians. At present Cnossus has even a colony of Romans.

10. So much then respecting Cnossus, a city to which I am no stranger; but owing to the condition of human affairs, their vicissitudes and accidents, the connexion and intercourse that subsisted between ourselves and the city is at an end. Which may be thus explained. Dorylaüs, a military tactician, a friend of Mithridates Euergetes, was appointed, on account of his experience in military affairs, to levy a body of foreigners, and was frequently in Greece and Thrace, and often in the company of persons who came from Crete, before the Romans were in possession of the island. A great multitude of mercenary soldiers was collected there, from whom

¹ Il. xiii. 450.

² The Cretan war was conducted by Q. Metellus, proconsul, who from thence obtained the cognomen of Creticus.

even the bands of pirates were recruited. During the stay of Dorylaüs in the island, a war happened to break out between the Cnossians and the Gortynians. He was appointed general by the Cnossians, and having finished the war speedily and successfully, he obtained the highest honours. A short time afterwards, being informed that Euergetes had been treacherously put to death by his courtiers at Sinope, and that he was succeeded in the government by his wife and children, he abandoned everything there, remained at Cnossus, and married a Macedonian woman of the name of Sterope, by whom he had two sons, Lagetas and Stratarchas, (the latter I myself saw when in extreme old age,) and one daughter. Of the two sons of Euergetes, he who was surnamed Eupator succeeded to the throne when he was eleven years of age; Dorylaüs, the son of Philetærus, was his foster-brother. Philetærus was the brother of Dorylaüs the Tactician. The king had been so much pleased with his intimacy with Dorylaüs when they lived together as children, that on attaining manhood he not only promoted Dorylaüs to the highest honours, but extended his regard to his relations and sent for them from Cnossus. At this time Lagetas and his brother had lost their father, and were themselves grown up to manhood. They quitted Cnossus, and came to Mithridates. My mother's mother was the daughter of Lagetas. While he enjoyed prosperity, they also prospered; but upon his downfall (for he was detected in attempting to transfer the kingdom to the Romans with a view to his own appointment to the sovereignty) the affairs of Cnossus were involved in his ruin and disgrace; and all intercourse with the Cnossians, who themselves had experienced innumerable vicissitudes of fortune, was suspended.

So much then respecting Cnossus.

11. After Cnossus, the city Gortyna seems to have held the second place in rank and power. For when these cities acted in concert they held in subjection all the rest of the inhabitants, and when they were at variance there was discord throughout the island; and whichever party Cydonia espoused, to them she was a most important accession.

The city of the Gortynians lies in a plain, and was perhaps anciently protected by a wall, as Homer also intimates,

“and Gortyna, a walled city;”¹

it lost afterwards its walls, which were destroyed from their foundation, and it has remained ever since without walls; for Ptolemy Philopator, who began to build a wall, proceeded with it to the distance only of about 8 stadia. Formerly the building occupied a considerable compass, extending nearly 50 stadia. It is distant from the African sea, and from Leben its mart, 90 stadia. It has also another arsenal, Matalum.² It is distant from that 130 stadia. The river Lethæus³ flows through the whole of the city.

12. Leucocomas and Euxynthetus his erastes (or lover), whom Theophrastus mentions in his discourse on Love, were natives of Leben.⁴ One of the tasks enjoined Euxynthetus by Leucocomas was this, according to Theophrastus, to bring him his dog from Prusus.⁵ The Prasiî border upon the Lebenii at the distance of 60 stadia from the sea, and from Gortyn 180. We have said that Prusus was subject to the Eteocretans, and that the temple of the Dictæan Jupiter was there. For Dicte⁶ is near; not, as Aratus⁷ alleges, near Ida; since Dicte is distant 1000 stadia from Mount Ida, and situated at that distance from it towards the rising sun; and 100 stadia from the promontory Samonium. Prusus was situated between the promontory Samonium, and the Cherrhonesus, at the distance of 60 stadia from the sea. It was razed by the Hierapytnii. He says, too, that Callimachus⁸ is not right in asserting that Britomartis, in her escape from the violence offered by Minos, leaped from Dicte among the nets of the fishermen (*δίκτυα*), and that hence she had the name of Dictynna from the Cydoniatæ, and the mountain that of

¹ Il. ii. 646.

² Letima or Matala, Cape Theodosia.

³ The Maloniti or Messara.

⁴ On C. Lionda.

⁵ Strabo must have confounded two totally distinct cities, (Priusius and Prusus,) when he spoke of them under a common name, and assigned them a single situation, both close to Mount Dikte, and at the same time continuous with the Lebenians, whose city was three days' journey from the mountain. Pashley, Travels in Crete, vol. i. p. 290. Kramer does not agree with Pashley, and, until further information shall be obtained, rests upon the authority of Boeckh, C. I. No. 2556, who affirms that there is some doubt about the name Priusius, which is only found on coins and inscriptions; both Hoeck (v. Kreta I. p. 413) and Boeckh (C. I. ii. p. 405) consider Priusius and Prusus as the same place.

⁶ M. Sitia.

⁷ Phæn. 33.

⁸ Callim. Hymn to Diana, 195.

Dicte. For Cydonia is not at all situated in the neighbourhood of these places, but lies at the western extremity of the island. The mountain Tityrus¹ belongs to the Cydonian territory; upon it is situated a temple, not called Dictæan, but Dictynnæan.

13. Cydonia is situated on the sea, fronting Laconia, at an equal distance from both Cnossus and Gortyn, about 800 stadia, and from Aptera 80, and from the sea in this quarter 40 stadia. Cisamus² is the naval arsenal of Aptera.³ The Polyrrhenii border upon the Cydoniatæ towards the west; in their territory is the temple of Dictynna. They are at the distance of about 30 stadia from the sea, and 60 from Phalassarna. Formerly they lived in villages; then Achæans and Laconians settled there together, and fortified with a wall a strong site fronting the south.

14. Of the three cities founded by Minos, the last, which was Phæstus,⁴ was razed by the Gortynians; it was at the distance of 60 stadia from Gortyn, 20 from the sea, and from Matalum, the arsenal, 40 stadia. They who razed the city possess the territory. Rhytium also together with Phæstus belongs to the Gortynians,

“both Phæstus and Rhytium.”⁵

Epimenides, who performed lustrations by the means of his poetry, is said to have been a native of Phæstus. Olyssa (Lisses?) also belonged to the territory of Phæstus.

Cherrhonesus,⁶ as it is called, is the arsenal of Lyttus or (Lyctus), which we have before mentioned; on the former is the temple of Britomartis.

Miletus and Lycastus, the cities which were enumerated together with Lyctus, no longer exist; but the territory, after they had razed the city (Lyctus), was partitioned among Lyctians and Cnossians.

15. As the poet in one place speaks of Crete as having a hundred, and in another ninety, cities, Ephorus says, that ten were founded in later times after the Trojan war by the Dori-

¹ Tityrus is the ridge of mountains which terminates in Cape Spada.

² Kisamos.

³ See Pashley, Travels in Crete, vol. i. c. 4, who places Aptera at Palæocastron, on the south of the bay of Siedh and Polyrrhenia, at the Palæocastron, to the south of the Gulf of Kisamos.

⁴ Hodyitra.

⁵ Il. ii. 648.

⁶ Episcopiano.

ans, who accompanied Althæmenes the Argive, and that hence Ulysses speaks of its ninety cities. This account is probable. But others say, that the ten were razed by the enemies of Idomeneus; but the poet does not say that Crete had a hundred cities at the time of the Trojan war, but in his own age, for he speaks in his own person; but if the words had been those of some person then living, as those in the *Odyssey*, where Ulysses says, Crete had ninety cities, they might have been properly understood in this manner. But even if we admit this, the subsequent verses will not be exempt from objection. For neither at the time of the expedition, nor after the return of Idomeneus, is it probable that these cities were destroyed by his enemies, for the poet says, "but Idomeneus brought back all his companions who had survived the war to Crete; the sea had not deprived him of any of them;"¹

for he would have mentioned such a misfortune. Ulysses indeed might not have been acquainted with the destruction of these cities, for he had not had any intercourse with any of the Greeks either during or after his wanderings; but (Nestor), who had been the companion of Idomeneus in the expedition and in his escape from shipwreck, could not be ignorant of what had happened at home during the expedition and before his return. But he must certainly have been aware of what occurred after his return. For if he and all his companions escaped, he returned so powerful that their enemies were not in a position to deprive them of ten cities.

Such then is the general description of the country of Crete.

16. With respect to the form of government, which Ephorus has described at large, it will be sufficient to give a cursory account of the principal parts. The law-giver, says Ephorus, seems to lay, as the foundation of his constitution, the greatest good that states can enjoy, namely, liberty; for it is this alone which makes the property of every kind which a man possesses his own; in a state of slavery it belongs to the governor, and not to the governed. The liberty also which men enjoy must be guarded. Unanimity ensues, when the dissensions that arise from covetousness and luxury² are

¹ *Od.* iii. 191.

² Sordid avarice and covetousness have taken such hold upon them, that among the Cretans alone, of all nations, nothing in the form of gain is considered dishonourable. Polybius, b. vi.

removed. Now where all live temperately and frugally, neither envy, nor injuries, nor hatred have place among equals. Whence the young were enjoined to repair to the Agelæ, and those of mature age to assemble at the Syssitia, or common meals, called Andreia, in order that the poorer sort, who were fed at the public charge, might partake of the same fare as the rich.

With a view that courage, and not fear, should predominate, they were accustomed from childhood to the use of arms, and to endure fatigue. Hence they disregarded heat and cold, rugged and steep roads, blows received in gymnastic exercises and in set battles.

They practised archery, and the dance in armour, which the Curetes first invented, and was afterwards perfected by Pyrrichus, and called after him Pyrrhiche. Hence even their sports were not without their use in their training for war. With the same intention they used the Cretan measures in their songs; the tones of these measures are extremely loud; they were invented by Thales, to whom are ascribed the pæans and other native songs and many of their usages. They adopted a military dress also, and shoes, and considered armour as the most valuable of all presents.

17. Some, he says, alleged that many of the institutions supposed to be Cretan were of Lacedæmonian origin; but the truth is, they were invented by the former, but perfected by the Spartans. The Cretans, when their cities, and particularly Cnossus, were ravaged, neglected military affairs, but some usages were more observed by the Lyttii and Gortynii, and some other small cities, than by the Cnossians. Those persons, who maintain the priority of the Laconian institutions, adduce as evidence of this those of the Lyttii, because as colonists they would retain the customs of the parent state. Otherwise, it would be absurd for those, who lived under a better form of constitution and government, to be imitators of a worse. But this is not correct. For we ought not to form conjectures respecting the ancient from the present state of things, for each has undergone contrary changes. The Cretans were formerly powerful at sea, so that it was a proverbial saying addressed to those who pretended to be ignorant of what they knew, "a Cretan, and not know the sea;" but at present they have abandoned nautical affairs.

Nor did it follow necessarily that, because there were some cities in Crete colonized by Spartans, they should continue to observe Spartan usages, since many of the cities of colonists do not preserve the customs of the mother country; and there are many cities in Crete, the inhabitants of which are not colonists, and yet have the same usages as those that have received colonies.

18. Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, he says, was five generations later than Althæmenes, who conducted the colony into Crete. He is said by historians to have been the son of Cissus, who founded Argos¹ about the same time that Procles was engaged in establishing a colony at Sparta. It is also generally admitted that Lycurgus was the sixth in descent from Procles.² Copies do not precede the models, nor modern precede ancient things. The usual kind of dancing practised among the Lacedæmonians, the measures, and the pæans sung according to a certain mood, and many other usages, are called among them Cretan, as if they came from Crete. But among the ancient customs, those relative to the administration of the state have the same designations as in Crete,³ as the council of Gerontes⁴ and that of the Knights,⁵ except that in Crete the knights had horses; whence it is conjectured, that the council of Knights in Crete is more ancient, since the origin of the appellation is preserved. But the Spartan knight did not keep a horse. They who perform the same functions as the Cosmi in Crete, have the different title of Ephori [in Sparta]. The Syssitia, or common meal, is even at present called Andreia among the Cretans; but among the Spartans they did not continue to call it by its former name, as it is found in the poet Alcman;

“In festivals and in joyous assemblies of the Andreia, it is fit to begin the pæan in honour of the guests.”

19. The occasion of the journey of Lycurgus to Crete is said by the inhabitants to be as follows. The elder brother of Lycurgus was Polydectes, who, at his death, left his wife pregnant. Lycurgus reigned in place of his brother till the

¹ His father, Temenus, was the founder of Argos. See b. viii.

² There is, however, diversity of opinions on the subject.

³ Aristotle, Politics, b. ii. c. 10, where he compares the Cretan with the Lacedæmonian constitution.

⁴ τῶν γερόντων.

⁵ ἰππίων.

birth of a son. He then became the guardian of the child, who was heir to the kingdom. Some one said to him insultingly, he was sure Lycurgus would be king. Suspecting that by this speech he might be accused of contriving a plot against the child, and fearing that, if the child should die by any accident, his enemies might impute its death to him, he departed to Crete. This is said to have been the cause of his journey. Upon his arrival in Crete he became acquainted with Thales, the lyric poet and legislator. He learnt from this person the plan adopted by Rhadamanthus in former times, and afterwards by Minos in promulgating their laws, so as to procure a belief that they proceeded from Jupiter. He was also in Ægypt, and obtained information respecting the laws and customs of that country.¹ According to some writers, he met at Chios with Homer, who was living there, and then returned to his own country, where he found Charilaus, the son of his brother Polydectes, upon the throne. He then began to frame laws, repairing to the god at Delphi, and bringing thence ordinances, as Minos brought his from the cave of Jupiter.² The greater part of these ordinances were similar to those of Minos.

20. The following are the principal of the laws of Crete, which Ephorus has given in detail.

All the Cretans, who are selected at the same time from the troop (*ἀγέλη*) of youths, are compelled to marry at once. They do not however take the young women whom they have married immediately to their homes, until they are qualified to administer household affairs.

The woman's dower, if she has brothers, is half of the brother's portion.

The children are taught to read, to chaunt songs taken from the laws, and some kinds of music.

While they are still very young they are taken to the *Sysitia*, called *Andreia*. They sit on the ground, eating their food together, dressed in mean garments, which are not changed in winter or summer. They wait upon themselves and on the men. Both those of the same and those of different messes have battles with one another. A trainer of boys presides over each *Andreion*. As they grow older they are formed into

¹ According to Plutarch, with the poems of Homer.

² Herod. i. 65.

(Ἀγέλαι) or troops of youths. The most illustrious and powerful of the youths form Agelæ, each individual assembling together as many as he can collect. The governor of the troop is generally the father of the youth who has assembled them together, and has the power of taking them to hunt and to exercise themselves in running, and of punishing the disobedient. They are maintained at the public charge.

On certain set days troop encounters troop, marching in time to the sound of the pipe and lyre, as is their custom in actual war. They inflict blows, some with the hand, and some even with iron weapons.

21. They have a peculiar custom with respect to their attachments. They do not influence the objects of their love by persuasion, but have recourse to violent abduction. The lover apprizes the friends of the youth, three or more days beforehand, of his intention to carry off the object of his affection. It is reckoned a most base act to conceal the youth, or not to permit him to walk about as usual, since it would be an acknowledgment that the youth was unworthy of such a lover. But if they are informed that the ravisher is equal or superior in rank, or other circumstances, to the youth, they pursue and oppose the former slightly, merely in conformity with the custom. They then willingly allow him to carry off the youth. If however he is an unworthy person, they take the youth from him. This show of resistance does not end, till the youth is received into the Andreium to which the ravisher belongs. They do not regard as an object of affection a youth exceedingly handsome, but him who is distinguished for courage and modesty. The lover makes the youth presents, and takes him away to whatever place he likes. The persons present at the abduction accompany them, and having passed two months in feasting, and in the chase, (for it is not permitted to detain the youth longer,) they return to the city. The youth is dismissed with presents, which consist of a military dress, an ox, and a drinking cup; the last are prescribed by law, and besides these many other very costly gifts, so that the friends contribute each their share in order to diminish the expense.

The youth sacrifices the ox to Jupiter, and entertains at a feast those who came down with him from the mountains. He then declares concerning the intercourse with the lover,

whether it took place with his consent or not, since the law allows him, if any violence is used in the abduction, to insist upon redress, and set him free from his engagement with the lover. But for the beautiful and high-born not to have lovers is disgraceful, since this neglect would be attributed to a bad disposition.

The parastathentes, for this is the name which they give to those youths who have been carried away, enjoy certain honours. At races and at festivals they have the principal places. They are permitted to wear the stole, which distinguishes them from other persons, and which has been presented to them by their lovers; and not only at that time, but in mature age, they appear in a distinctive dress, by which each individual is recognised as Kleinos, for this name is given to the object of their attachment, and that of Philetor to the lover.

These then are the usages respecting attachments.

22. They elect ten Archons. On matters of highest moment they have recourse to the counsel of the Gerontes, as they are called. They admit into this council those who have been thought worthy of the office of Cosmi, and who were otherwise persons of tried worth.

I considered the form of government among the Cretans as worthy of description, on account both of its peculiarity and its fame. Few of these institutions are now in existence, and the administration of affairs is chiefly conducted according to the orders of the Romans, as is the case also in their other provinces.

CHAPTER V.

1. THE islands about Crete are Thera,¹ the capital of the Cyrenæans, and a colony of the Lacedæmonians; and near Thera is Anaphe,² in which is the temple of Apollo Ægletes. Callimachus speaks of it in one place, thus,

¹ Anciently Calliste, Herod., now Santorino, a corruption of Santa Irene, to whom it was dedicated.

² Nanphio, or Anafi.

“And Æglete Anaphe, close to the Lacedæmonian Thera;”
and in another, he mentions Thera only,

“Mother of my country, celebrated for its fine breed of horses.”

Thera is a long island, about 200 stadia in circumference. It lies opposite to the island Dia,¹ towards the Cnossian Heraeleium. It is distant about 700 stadia from Crete. Near it are Anaphe and Therasia.² The little island Ios³ is distant from the latter about 100 stadia. Here according to some authors the poet Homer was buried.⁴ In going from Ios towards the west are Sicen⁵ and Lagusa,⁶ and Pholegandrus,⁷ which Aratus calls the iron island, on account of its rocks. Near these islands is Cimolus,⁸ whence is obtained the Cimolian earth. From Cimolus Siphnus⁹ is visible. To this island is applied the proverb, “a Siphnian bone (astragalus),” on account of its insignificance. Still nearer, both to Cimolus and Crete, is Melos,¹⁰ more considerable than these. It is distant from the Hermionic promontory, the Scyllæum,¹¹ 700 stadia, and nearly as many from the Dictynnæan promontory. The Athenians formerly despatched an army to Melos,¹² and put to death the inhabitants from youth upwards.

These islands are situated in the Cretan sea. Delos,¹³ the Cyclades about it, and the Sporades adjacent to these, belong rather to the Ægæan sea. To the Sporades also are to be referred the islands about Crete, which I have already mentioned.

2. The city of Delos is in a plain. Delos contains the temple of Apollo, and the Latoum, or temple of Latona. The Cynthus,¹⁴ a naked and rugged mountain, overhangs the city.

¹ Standia.

² Therasia, on the west of Santorino.

³ Nio.

⁴ According to Herodotus, in the Life of Homer.

⁵ Sikio, anciently Cenoë. Pliny iv. 12.

⁶ Cardiodissa, or Cardiana.

⁷ Policandro.

⁸ Argentiere. Cretæ plura genera. Ex iis Cimoliæ duo ad medicos pertinentia, candidum et ad purpurissimum inclinans. Pliny, b. v. c. 17. Cretosaque rura Cimoli. Ovid. Met. vii. 464. But from Aristophanes, the Frogs, it would appear to have been a kind of fullers' earth.

⁹ Siphanto, anciently also Meropia and Acis. There were once gold and silver mines in it, which were destroyed by inundation. There is also another proverb, which alluded to its poverty, “a Siphnian pledge,” Σίφνιος ἀρραβών. Herodotus speaks of its being once the most wealthy of the islands, iii. 57.

¹⁰ Milo.

¹¹ Cape Skylli.

¹² Thucyd. b. v. c. 115, 116.

¹³ Dhiles.

¹⁴ Thermia. Hence Apollo Cynthus.

The Inopus,¹ not a large river, for the island is small, flows through it. Anciently, even from the heroic times, this island has been held in veneration on account of the divinities worshipped here. Here, according to the fable, Latona was relieved from the pains of labour, and gave birth to Apollo and Diana.

“Before this time,” (says Pindar,²) “Delos was carried about by the waves, and by winds blowing from every quarter, but when the daughter of Cœus set her foot upon it, who was then suffering the sharp pangs of approaching child-birth, at that instant four upright columns, resting on adamant, sprang from the depths of the earth and retained it fast on the rugged rock; there she brought forth, and beheld her happy offspring.”

The islands lying about it, called Cyclades, gave it celebrity, since they were in the habit of sending at the public charge, as a testimony of respect, sacred delegates, (Theori,) sacrifices, and bands of virgins; they also repaired thither in great multitudes to celebrate festivals.³

3. Originally, there were said to be twelve Cyclades, but many others were added to them. Artemidorus enumerates (fifteen?) where he is speaking of the island Helena,⁴ and of which he says that it extends from Thoricus⁵ to Sunium,⁶ and is about 60 stadia in length; it is from this island, he says, the Cyclades, as they are called, begin. He names Ceos,⁷ as the nearest island to Helena, and next to this Cythnus, Seriphus,⁸ Melos, Siphnus, Cimolus, Prepesinthus,⁹ Oliarus,¹⁰ and besides these Paros,¹¹ Naxos,¹² Syros,¹³ Myconus,¹⁴ Tenos,¹⁵ Andros,¹⁶ Gyarus.¹⁷ The rest I consider as belonging to the Twelve, but not Prepesinthus, Oliarus, and Gyarus. When I put in at the latter island I found a small village inhabited by fishermen. When we left it we took in a fisherman, deputed from the inhabitants to go to Cæsar, who was at Corinth on his way to celebrate his triumph after the victory at Actium.¹⁸ He told his fellow-passengers, that he was

¹ Mentioned in b. vi. c. ii. § 4, as connected with the Nile. Bryant, Mytho. v. i. p. 206, derives the name from Ain Opus, The fountain of the Serpent, i. e. Python.

² Boeckh, Fragm. Pind. 58. ii. 2, p. 587.

³ Thucyd. iii. 104.

⁴ Isola Longa, or Macronisi.

⁵ It was situated in the bay of Mandri.

⁶ C. Colonna.

⁷ Zia.

⁸ Serpho.

⁹ Polino.

¹⁰ Antiparos.

¹¹ Bara.

¹² Naxia.

¹³ Syra.

¹⁴ Myconi.

¹⁵ Tino.

¹⁶ Andro.

¹⁷ Jura. Pliny, viii. 29, says the inhabitants were driven from the island by mice.

¹⁸ B. c. 31.

deputed to apply for an abatement of the tribute, for they were required to pay 150 drachmæ, when it was with difficulty they could pay 100.

Aratus,¹ in his Details, intimates how poor they were ;

“O Latona, thou art shortly going to pass by me [*an insignificant island*] like to the iron-bound Pholegandrus, or to unhappy Gyarus.

4. Although Delos² was so famous, yet it became still more so, and flourished after the destruction of Corinth by the Romans.³ For the merchants resorted thither, induced by the immunities of the temple, and the convenience of its harbour. It lies favourably⁴ for those who are sailing from Italy and Greece to Asia. The general festival held there serves the purposes of commerce, and the Romans particularly frequented it even before the destruction of Corinth.⁵ The Athenians, after having taken the island, paid equal attention to the affairs both of religion and of commerce. But the generals⁶ of Mithridates, and the tyrant,⁷ who had occasioned the defection of (Athens from the Romans), ravaged it entirely. The Romans received the island in a desolate state on the departure of the king to his own country ; and it has continued in an impoverished condition to the present time.⁸ The Athenians are now in possession of it.

5. Rheneia⁹ is a small desert island 4 stadia from Delos, where are the sepulchral monuments of the Delians. For it is not permitted to bury the dead in Delos, nor to burn a

¹ The title (which has been much questioned by critics) of this lost work of Aratus appears to have been, from this passage, *Tὰ κατὰ λεπτόν*, which Latin translators have rendered, *Minuta*, or *Details*. Casaubon is of opinion that it is the same as referred to by Callimachus, under the title *Ῥήσεις λέπται*, *Clever Sayings*. Ernest. ad Callim. Ep. 29. T. 1. p. 333. The translation of the lines quoted follows the corrections of Coray.

² In the middle of the Cyclades, and by far the most remarkable, is Delos, celebrated for the temple of Apollo, and for its commerce. Pliny iv. 12.

³ Under L. Mummius, B. C. 146.

⁴ Thucyd. i. 36.

⁵ *Καὶ ὅτε συνεστήκει ἡ Κόρινθος.*

⁶ Archelaus and Metrophanes.

⁷ Aristion, B. C. 87.

⁸ Pausanias, viii. 33, § 2, (writing in the time of Hadrian,) says of Delos, that with the exception of the persons who came from Athens, for the purpose of protecting the temple and to perform the Delian ceremonies; it was deserted.

⁹ Rhena, called also Dhiles; but it is the largest of the two islands now bearing that name. Pliny says it was anciently called also *Celadussa*, from the noise of the waves, *κελαδεῖν*.

dead body there. It is not permitted even to keep a dog in Delos.

Formerly it had the name of Ortygia.¹

6. Ceos² once contained four cities. Two remain, Iulis and Carthæ, to which the inhabitants of the others were transferred; those of Pœëssa to Carthæ, and those of Coressia to Iulis. Simonides the lyric poet, and Bacchylides his nephew, and after their times Erasistratus the physician, and Ariston the Peripatetic philosopher, the imitator of Bion,³ the Borysthenite, were natives of this city.

There was an ancient law among these people, mentioned by Menander.

“Phanias, that is a good law of the Ceans; who cannot live comfortably (or well), let him not live miserably (or ill).”⁴

For the law, it seems, ordained that those above sixty years old should be compelled to drink hemlock, in order that there might be sufficient food for the rest. It is said that once when they were besieged by the Athenians, a decree was passed to the effect that the oldest persons, fixing the age, should be put to death, and that the besiegers retired in consequence.

The city lies on a mountain, at a distance from the sea of about 25 stadia. Its arsenal is the place on which Coressia was built, which does not contain the population even of a village. Near the Coressian territory and Pœëssa is a temple of Apollo Sminthius. But between the temple and the ruins of Pœëssa is the temple of Minerva Nedusia, built by Nestor, on his return from Troy. The river Elixus runs around the territory of Coressia.

7. After Ceos are Naxos⁵ and Andros,⁶ considerable islands, and Paros, the birth-place of the poet Archilochus. Thasos⁷ was founded by Parians, and Parium,⁸ a city in the Propontis. In this last place there is said to be an altar worthy of notice, each of whose sides is a stadium in length.

¹ Virg. *Æn.* iii. 124, *Linquimus Ortygiæ portus pelagoque volamus.*

² Zia. *Pinguia Cææ,*

Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta juvenci.

Virg. *Geor.* i. 14, 15.

³ Of Olbia or Olbiopolis, on the Borysthenes or Bog.

⁴ *ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ζῆν καλῶς οὐ ζῆ κακῶς.*

⁵ Naxia.

⁶ Andro.

⁷ Taschos.

⁸ Kemars.

In Paros is obtained the Parian marble, the best adapted for statuary work.¹

8. Here also is Syros, (the first syllable is long,) where Pherecydes the son of Babys was born. The Athenian Pherecydes is younger than the latter person. The poet seems to have mentioned this island under the name of Syria;

“above Ortygia is an island called Syria.”²

9. Myconus³ is an island beneath which, according to the mythologists, lie the last of the giants, destroyed by Hercules; whence the proverb, “all under one Myconus,” applied to persons who collect under one title things that are disjoined by nature. Some also call bald persons Miconians, because baldness is frequent among the inhabitants of the island.⁴

10. Seriphos⁵ is the island where is laid the scene of the fable of Dictys, who drew to land in his net the chest in which were enclosed Perseus and his mother Danaë, who were thrown into the sea by order of Acrisius, the father of Danaë. There it is said Perseus was brought up, and to this island he brought the head of the Gorgon; he exhibited it to the Seriphians, and turned them all into stone. This he did to avenge the wrongs of his mother, because their king Polydectes, with the assistance of his subjects, desired to make her his wife by force. Seriphus abounds so much with rocks, that they say in jest that it was the work of the Gorgon.

11. Tenos⁶ has a small city, but there is, in a grove beyond it, a large temple of Neptune worthy of notice. It contains large banqueting rooms, a proof of the great multitudes that repair thither from the neighbouring places to celebrate a feast, and to perform a common sacrifice in honour of Neptune.

12. To the Sporades belongs Amorgos,⁷ the birth-place of

¹ The marble was taken from Mt. Marpeesus. Pliny xxxvi. 5; Virg Æn. 6, Marpesia cautes.

² Od. xv. 402.

³ Myconi.

⁴ Myconi calva omnis juventus. Terence, Hecy. a. 3, s. 4; Pliny, b. xi. c. 37.

⁵ It was an erroneous opinion entertained by the ancients, that frogs did not croak in this island (Sirpho); hence the proverb, a Seriphian frog, βάρραχος Σερίφιος.

⁶ Tine. Anciently it had also the names Hydrussa and Ophiussa.

⁷ Amorgo.

Simonides, the Iambic poet; Lebinthus¹ also, and Leria (Leros).² Phocylides refers to Leria in these lines;

“the Lerians are bad, not some, but all, except Procles; but Procles is a Lerian;”

for the Lerians are reputed to have bad dispositions.

13. Near these islands are Patmos,³ and the Corassiæ⁴ islands, situated to the west of Icaria,⁵ as the latter is with respect to Samos.

Icaria has no inhabitants, but it has pastures, of which the Samians avail themselves. Notwithstanding its condition it is famous, and gives the name of Icarian to the sea in front of it, in which are situated Samos, Cos, and the islands just mentioned,⁶ the Corassiæ, Patmos, and Leros⁷ [in Samos is the mountain the Cerceteus, more celebrated than the Ampelus, which overhangs the city of the Samians].⁸ Continuous to the Icarian sea, towards the south, is the Carpathian sea, and the Ægyptian sea to this; to the west are the Cretan and African seas.

14. In the Carpathian sea, between Cos, Rhodes, and Crete, are situated many of the Sporades, as Astypalæa,⁹ Telos,¹⁰ Chalcia,¹¹ and those mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue.

“They who occupied Nisyros, Crapathus, Casus, and Cos,
The city of Eurypylos, and the Calydnae islands.”¹²

Except Cos, and Rhodes, of which we shall speak hereafter,

¹ Levita.

² Lero.

³ Patmo.

⁴ The Furni; called in b. xiv. c. i. § 13, Corsiæ. ⁵ Nicaria.

⁶ According to the enumeration here made by Strabo, of the islands comprehended in the Icarian sea, it appears that in his opinion none of the islands situated to the north of Cos belonged to the Carpathian sea; for according to his own statement, which immediately follows, the Carpathian sea to the north was bounded by the Icarian sea.

⁷ All the manuscripts and all editions give Δέρος. Is the island spoken of in this passage the same as the one mentioned just above by the name of Leria? Pliny, Hist. Nat. b. iv. 23, appears to have been acquainted with two islands bearing the name of Leros. One, from the position he assigns to it, appears to be the one Strabo above speaks of under the name of Leria; but the second Leros of Pliny, b. v. § 36, must be placed on the coast of Caria. Strabo appears to have entertained nearly the same ideas, for we shall hereafter (b. xiv. c. i. § 6) see him give the name of Leros to an island situated in the neighbourhood of Icaria; and below (§ 19) he cites also a Leros, which would seem to have been in the neighbourhood of the southern extremity of Caria.

⁸ Probably interpolated.

⁹ Istanpolia, or Stanpalia.

¹⁰ Tino.

¹¹ Carchi.

¹² Il. ii. 676.

we place the rest among the Sporades, and we mention them here although they do not lie near Europe, but Asia, because the course of my work induces me to include the Sporades in the description of Crete and of the Cyclades.

We shall traverse in the description of Asia the considerable islands adjacent to that country, as Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, and those situated on the succeeding line of coast, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. At present we are to describe the remaining islands of the Sporades, which deserve mention.

15. Astypalæa lies far out at sea, and contains a city.

Telos, which is long, high, and narrow, in circumference about 140 stadia, with a shelter for vessels, extends along the Cnidian territory.

Chalcia is distant from Telos 80, from Carpathus 400 stadia, and about double this number from Astypalæa. It has a settlement of the same name, a temple of Apollo, and a harbour.

16. Nisyros lies to the north of Telos, at the distance of about 60 stadia, which is its distance also from Cos. It is round, lofty, and rocky, and has abundance of mill-stone, whence the neighbouring people are well supplied with stones for grinding. It contains a city of the same name, a harbour, hot springs, and a temple of Neptune. Its circumference is 80 stadia. Near it are small islands, called the islands of the Nisyrians. Nisyros is said to be a fragment broken off from Cos; a story is also told of Neptune, that when pursuing Polybotes, one of the giants, he broke off with his trident a piece of the island Cos, and hurled it at him, and that the missile became the island Nisyros, with the giant lying beneath it. But some say that the giant lies beneath Cos.

17. Carpathus, which the poet calls Crapathus, is lofty, having a circumference of 200 stadia. It contained four cities, and its name was famous, which it imparted to the surrounding sea. One of the cities was called Nisyros, after the name of the island Nisyros. It lies opposite Leuce Acte in Africa, which is distant about 1000 stadia from Alexandria, and about 4000 from Carpathus.

18. Casus is distant from Carpathus 70, and from the promontory Salmonium in Crete 250 stadia. It is 80 stadia in circumference. It contains a city of the same name; and many islands, called the islands of the Casii, lie about it.

19. They say that the poet calls the Sporades, Calydnæ,

one of which is Calymna.¹ But it is probable that as the islands, which are near and dependent, have their names from the Nisyrii and Casii, so those that lie around Calymna had their name from that island, which was then perhaps called Calydna. Some say that the Calydnæ islands are two, Leros and Calymna, and that the poet means these. But the Scepsian says, that the name of the island was used in the plural number, Calymnæ, like Athenæ, Thebæ, and that the words of the poet must be understood according to the figure hyperbaton, or inversion, for he does not say, the islands Calydnæ, but,

“ they who occupied the islands Nisyryus, Crapathus, Casus, and Cos, the city of Eurypylus, and Calydnæ.”

All the honey of the islands is, for the most part, excellent, and rivals that of Attica ; but the honey of these islands surpasses it, particularly that of Calymna.²

¹ Calimno.

² Fæcundaque melle Calydna (v. .i. Calumne). Ovid. Met. b. viii. ver. 222.

BOOK XI.

ASIA.

SUMMARY.

The Eleventh Book commences with Asia and the river Don, which, taking its rise in the northern regions, separates Europe from Asia. It includes the nations situated in Asia near its sources on the east and south, and the barbarous Asiatic nations who occupy the neighbourhood of Mount Caucasus, among whom are the Amazones, Massagetæ, Scythians, Albani, Iberes, Bactriani, Caspii, Medes, Persians, and the two Armenias, extending to Mesopotamia. Among these nations are included the Troglodytæ, Heniochi, Sceptuchi, Soanes, Assyrians, Polyphagi, Nabiani, Siraci, and Tapyri. Mention is made of Jason and Medea, and of the cities founded by them:—of Xerxes, Mithridates, and Alexander, son of Philip.

CHAPTER I.

1. ASIA is contiguous to Europe, approaching close to it at the Tanaïs or Don.

I am to describe this country next, after dividing it, for the sake of perspicuity, by certain natural boundaries. What Eratosthenes has done with respect to the whole habitable earth, this I propose to do with respect to Asia.

2. The Taurus, extending from west to east, embraces the middle of this continent, like a girdle, leaving one portion to the north, another to the south. The Greeks call the former Asia Within the Taurus,¹ the latter, Asia Without the Taurus. We have said this before, but it is repeated now to assist the memory.

3. The Taurus has in many places a breadth of 3000 stadia; its length equals that of Asia, namely 45,000 stadia,²

¹ B. ii. c. v. § 31.

² The following are the measurements of our author :

	Stadia.
From Rhodes to Issus	5,000
From Issus to the Caspian Gates	10,000
From the Caspian Gates to the sources of the Indus	14,000
From the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges	13,500
From thence to Thinaë	2,500
	<hr/>
	45,000

reckoning from the continent opposite to Rhodes to the eastern extremities of India and Scythia.

4. It is divided into many parts, which are circumscribed by boundaries of greater or less extent, and distinguished by various names.

But as such an extended range of mountains must comprise nations some of which are little known, and others with whom we are well acquainted, as Parthians,¹ Medes, Armenians, some of the Cappadocians, Cilicians, and Pisidians; those which approach near the northern parts must be assigned to the north, (northern Asia,) those approximating the southern parts, to the south, (southern Asia,) and those situated in the middle of the mountains must be placed on account of the similarity of the temperature of the air, for it is cold to the north, while the air of the south is warm.

The currents of almost all the rivers which flow from the Taurus are in a direction contrary to each other, some running to the north, others to the south, at least at the commencement of their course, although afterwards some bend towards the east or west. They naturally suggest the adoption of this chain of mountains as a boundary in the division of Asia into two portions; in the same manner that the sea within the Pillars, which for the most part runs in the same line with these mountains, conveniently forms two continents, Europe and Africa, and is a remarkable boundary to both.

5. In passing in our geographical description from Europe to Asia, the first parts of the country which present themselves are those in the northern division, and we shall therefore begin with these.

Of these parts the first are those about the Tanaïs, (or Don,) which we have assumed as the boundary of Europe and Asia. These have a kind of peninsular form, for they are surrounded on the west by the river Tanaïs (or Don) and the Palus Mæotis² as far as the Cimmerian Bosphorus,³ and that part of the coast of the Euxine which terminates at Colchis; on the north by the Ocean, as far as the mouth of the Caspian Sea; on the east by the same sea, as far as the

¹ Strabo calls the Parthians, Parthyæi; and Parthia, Παρθυæα.

² The Sea of Azoff.

³ The Straits of Kertch or Zabache.

confines of Albania and Armenia, where the rivers Cyrus¹ and Araxes² empty themselves; the latter flowing through Armenia, and the Cyrus through Iberia³ and Albania;⁴ on the south is the tract of country extending from the mouth of the Cyrus as far as Colchis, and comprising about 3000 stadia from sea to sea, across the territory of the Albani, and Iberes,⁵ so as to represent an isthmus.⁶

Those writers do not deserve attention who contract the isthmus as much as Cleitarchus, according to whom it is subject to inundations of the sea from either side. According to Posidonius the isthmus is 1500 stadia in extent, that is, as large as the isthmus from Pelusium to the Red Sea. And I think, says he, that the isthmus between the Palus Mæotis and the Ocean is not very different from this in extent.

6. I know not how any one can rely upon his authority respecting what is uncertain, when he has nothing probable to advance on the subject; for he reasons so falsely respecting things which are evident, and this too when he enjoyed the friendship of Pompey, who had carried on war against the Iberes and Albani, and was acquainted with both the Caspian and Colchian⁷ Seas on each side of the isthmus. It is related, that when Pompey⁸ was at Rhodes, on his expedition against the pirates, (he was soon afterwards to carry on war against Mithridates and the nations as far as the Caspian Sea,) he accidentally heard a philosophical lecture of Posidonius; and on his departure he asked Posidonius if he had any commands; to which he replied,

¹ The Kur or Kour.

² Eraskh or Aras.

³ Georgia.

⁴ Shirvan.

⁵ See b. ii. c. v. § 31.

⁶ To understand how this part of Asia formed a peninsula, according to the ideas of our author, we must bear in mind, that (1) he supposed the source of the Don to have been situated in the neighbourhood of the Northern Ocean; (2) he imagined the Caspian Sea to communicate with the same Ocean. Thus all the territory comprehended between the Don and the Caspian formed a sort of peninsula, united to the continent by an isthmus which separated the Euxine from the Caspian, and on which was situated Colchis, Iberia, and Albania. The 3000 stadia assigned to the breadth of this isthmus appears to be measured by stadia of 1111½ to a degree. *Gossellin.*

⁷ The Euxine.

⁸ Pompey appears to have visited this philosopher twice on this occasion, B. c. 62, and B. c. 67, on the termination of his eastern campaigns.

“To stand the first in worth, as in command.”¹

Add to this, that he wrote the history of Pompey. For these reasons he ought to have paid a greater regard to truth.

7. The second portion is that above the Hyrcanian,² which we also call the Caspian Sea, extending as far as the Scythians near the Indians.

The third portion is continuous with the above-mentioned isthmus, and consists of the country following next in order to the isthmus and the Caspian Gates,³ and approaching nearest the parts within the Taurus, and to Europe; these are Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, and the intervening country.⁴

The fourth portion consists of the tract within the Halys,⁵ and the parts upon and without the Taurus, which coincide with the peninsula formed by the isthmus,⁶ which separates the Euxine⁵ and the Cilician Seas. Among the other countries beyond the Taurus we place Indica and Ariana,⁷ as far

¹ Il. vi. 208. *Pope.*

² In many authors these names are used indifferently, the one for the other; they are however distinguished by Pliny, (iv. 13,) who states that this sea begins to be called the Caspian after you have passed the river Cyrus, (Kur,) and that the Caspii live near it; and in vi. 16, that it is called the Hyrcanian Sea, from the Hyrcani who live along its shores. The western side should therefore in strictness be called the Caspian; the eastern, the Hyrcanian. *Smith*, art. Caspium Mare.

³ A narrow pass leading from North Western Asia into the N. E. provinces of Persia. Their exact position was at the division of Parthia from Media, about a day's journey from the Median town of Rhagæ. (Arrian. iii. 19.) According to Isodorus Charax, they were immediately below Mt. Caspius. As in the case of the people called Caspii, there seem to have been *two* mountains *Caspius*, one near the Armenian frontier, the other near the Parthian. It was through the pass of the Caspiæ Pylæ that Alexander the Great pursued Darius. (Arrian. *Anab.* iii. 19; Curt. vi. 14; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6.) It was one of the most important places in ancient geography, and from it many of the meridians were measured. The exact place corresponding with the Caspiæ Pylæ is probably a spot between *Hark-a-Koh*, and *Siah-Koh*, about 6 parasangs from *Rey*, the name of the entrance of which is called *Dereh*. *Smith*, art. Caspiæ Pylæ.

⁴ Du Theil justly remarks on the obscurity of this passage. His translation or paraphrase is as follows: “La troisième contiendra ce qui touche à l'isthme dont nous avons parlé; et, par suite, ceux des pays qui, au sud de cet isthme et des Pyles Caspiennes, mais toujours en deçà, ou, au moins, dans le sein même du Taurus, se succédant de l'est à l'ouest, se rapprochent le plus de l'Europe. In v. ii. c. v. § 31, Strabo assigns Colchis to the third portion, but in this book to the first.

⁵ The Kizil Ermak.

⁶ B. i. c. iii. § 2.

⁷ A district of wide extent in Central Asia, comprehending nearly the

as the nations which extend to the Persian Sea, the Arabian Gulf, and the Nile, and to the Ægyptian and the Issic seas.

CHAPTER II.

1. ACCORDING to this disposition, the first portion towards the north and the Ocean is inhabited by certain tribes of Scythians, shepherds, (nomades,) and Hamaxœci (or those who live in waggon-houses). Within these tribes live Sarmatians, who also are Scythians, Aorsi,¹ and Siraci, extending as far as the Caucasian Mountains towards the south. Some of these are Nomades, or shepherd tribes, others Scenitæ, (or dwellers in tents,) and Georgi, or tillers of the ground. About the lake Mæotis live the Mæotæ. Close to the sea is the Asiatic portion of the Bosphorus and Sindica.² Next follow Achæi, Zygi, Heniochi,³ Cercetæ, and Macropogones (or the long-beards). Above these people are situated the passes of the Phtheirophagi (or Lice-eaters). After the Heniochi is Colchis, lying at the foot of the Caucasian and Moschic mountains. Having assumed the Tanais as the boundary of Europe and Asia, we must begin our description in detail from this river.

whole of ancient Persia; and bounded on the N. by the provinces of Bactriana, Margiana, and Hyrcania; on the E. by the Indus; on the S. by the Indian Ocean and the eastern portion of the Persian Gulf; and on the W. by Media and the mountains S. of the Caspian Sea. Its exact limits are laid down with little accuracy in ancient authors, and it seems to have been often confounded (as in Pliny, b. vi. c. 23, 25) with the small province of Aria. It comprehended the provinces of Gedrosia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Paropamisus mountains, Aria, Parthia, and Carmania. *Smith*, art. Ariana. See b. xv. c. ii. § 7, 8.

¹ The Aorsi and Siraci occupied the country between the Sea of Azoff, the Don, the Volga, the Caspian Sea, and the Terek. May not the Aorsi, says Gossellin, be the same as the Thyrsagetæ, Agathursi, Utidorsi, Adorsi, Alanorsi of other writers, but whose real name is Thyrsi? The Siraci do not appear to differ from the Soraci or Seraci of Tacitus, (Ann. xii. 15, &c.,) and may be the same as Iyrceæ, Ἰύρκες, afterwards called Turcæ.

² The country to the N. and N. E. of Anapa. By Bosphorus we are to understand the territory on each side of the Straits of Kertch.

³ B. ii. c. v. § 31.

2. The Tanais or Don flows from the northern parts. It does not however flow in a direction diametrically opposite to the Nile, as some suppose, but its course is more to the east than that of the latter river; its sources, like those of the Nile, are unknown. A great part of the course of the Nile is apparent, for it traverses a country the whole of which is easy of access, and its stream is navigable to a great distance from its mouth. We are acquainted with the mouths of the Don, (there are two in the most northerly parts of the Mæotis, distant 60 stadia from each other,) but a small part only of the tract above the mouths is explored, on account of the severity of the cold, and the destitute state of the country; the natives are able to endure it, who subsist, like the wandering shepherd tribes, on the flesh of their animals and on milk, but strangers cannot bear the climate nor its privations. Besides, the nomades dislike intercourse with other people, and being a strong and numerous tribe have excluded travellers from every part of the country which is accessible, and from all such rivers as are navigable. For this reason some have supposed that the sources of the river are among the Caucasian mountains, that, after flowing in a full stream towards the north, it then makes a bend, and discharges itself into the Mæotis. Theophanes¹ of Mitylene is of the same opinion with these writers. Others suppose that it comes from the higher parts of the Danube, but they do not produce any proof of so remote a source, and in other climates, though they seem to think it impossible for it to rise at no great distance and in the north.

3. Upon the river, and on the lake, stands a city Tanais, founded by the Greeks, who possess the Bosphorus; but lately the King Polemon² laid it waste on account of the refractory disposition of the inhabitants. It was the common mart both of the Asiatic and of the European nomades, and of those who navigate the lake from the Bosphorus, some of whom bring slaves and hides, or any other nomadic commodity; others exchange wine for clothes, and other articles peculiar to a civilized mode of life.

¹ Cn. Pompeius Theophanes was one of the more intimate friends of Pompey, by whom he was presented with the Roman franchise in the presence of his army. This occurred in all probability about B. C. 62. *Smith*, art. Theophanes. ² About B. C. 16. *Smith*, art. Polemon I.

In front of the mart at the distance of 100 stadia is an island Alopecia, a settlement of a mixed people. There are other small islands not far off in the lake.

The city Tanaïs,¹ to those who sail in a direct line towards the north, is distant from the mouth of the Mæotis 2200 stadia, nor is the distance much greater in sailing along the coast (on the east).

4. In the voyage along the coast, the first object which presents itself to those who have proceeded to the distance of 800 stadia from the Tanaïs, is the Great Rhombites, as it is called, where large quantities of fish are captured for the purpose of being salted. Then at the distance of 800 stadia more is the Lesser Rhombites,² and a promontory, which has smaller fisheries. The [nomades] at the former have small islands as stations for their vessels, those at the Lesser Rhombites are the Mæotæ who cultivate the ground. For along the whole of this coasting voyage live Mæotæ, who are husbandmen, but not less addicted to war than the nomades. They are divided into several tribes; those near the Tanaïs are more savage, those contiguous to the Bosphorus are more gentle in their manners.

From the Lesser Rhombites to Tyrambe, and the river Anticeites, are 600 stadia; then 120 to the Cimmerian village, whence vessels set out on their voyage along the lake. In this coasting voyage we meet with some look-out places, (for observing the fish,) said to belong to the Clazomenians.

5. Cimmericum was formerly a city built upon a peninsula, the isthmus of which it enclosed with a ditch and mound. The Cimmerii once possessed great power in the Bosphorus, whence it was called the Cimmerian Bosphorus. These are the people who overran the territory of the inhabitants of the inland parts, on the right of the Euxine, as far as Ionia. They were dislodged from these places by Scythians, and the Scythians by Greeks, who founded Panticapæum,³ and the other cities on the Bosphorus.

¹ If there ever did exist such a city as Tanaïs I should expect to find it at the extremity of that northern embouchure of the Don, which I have before mentioned as bearing the very name the Greeks gave to the city, with the slightest variation of orthography, in the appellation Tdanaets or Danaetz. *Clarke's Travels in Russia*, chap. 14.

² Strabo makes the distance too great between the two rivers Rhombites.

³ Kertch.

6. Next to the village Achilleium,¹ where is the temple of Achilles, are 20 stadia. Here is the narrowest passage, 20 stadia or more, across the mouth of the Mæotis; on the opposite continent is Myrmecium, a village. Near are Heraclæium and Parthenium.

7. Thence to the monument of Satyrus are 90 stadia; this is a mound raised on a promontory,² in memory of one of the illustrious princes of the Bosphorus.

8. Near it is Patræus,³ a village, from which to Corocondame,⁴ a village, are 130 stadia. This is the termination of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as it is called. The narrow passage at the mouth of the Mæotis derives its name from the straits opposite the Achilleium, and the Myrmecium; it extends as far as Corocondame and a small village opposite to it in the territory of the Panticapæans, called Acra,⁵ and separated by a channel of 70 stadia in width. The ice reaches even to this place, for the Mæotis is frozen during severe frost so as to become passable on foot. The whole of this narrow passage has good harbours.

9. Beyond Corocondame is a large lake⁶ which is called from the place Corocondamētis. It discharges itself into the sea at the distance of 10 stadia from the village. A branch⁷ of the river Anticeites empties itself into the lake, and forms an island, which is surrounded by the waters of the lake, of the Mæotis, and of the river. Some persons give this river the name of Hypanis,⁸ as well as to that⁹ near the Borysthenes.¹⁰

10. Upon sailing¹¹ into the Corocondamētis, we meet with

¹ According to La Motraye, Achilleum corresponds to Adasbournout, but Du Theil quotes also the following passage from Peyssonel. According to Strabo, Achilleum must have been situated opposite Casan-dip, the ancient Parthenium on the point Tchochekha-Bournou (the pig's head). But perhaps the ancients placed Achilleum near the entrance of the Euxine into the Palus Mæotis. Is not the fort of Achou, which is 8 leagues more to the east on the Palus Mæotis, the true Achilleum, the name being corrupted and abridged by the Tartars?

² The point Rubanova. ³ Ada. ⁴ Taman. ⁵ C. Takli.

⁶ Ak Tengis.

⁷ Another branch of the Kuban.

⁸ The Kuban, anciently also the Vardanus.

⁹ The Bog.

¹⁰ The Dnieper.

¹¹ It is probable that the Kuban Lake is here confounded with, or considered a portion of, the Lake Ak Tengis. Considering the intricacy of all this coast, the changes that have taken place, and the absence of ac-

Phanagoria, a considerable city, Cegi, Hermonassa, and Apaturum, the temple of Venus (Apatura). Of these cities Phanagoria and Cegi are situated in the above-mentioned island on the left hand at the entrance of the lake; the others are on the right hand in Sindica beyond the Hypanis. There is Gorgipia,¹ but the royal seat of the Sindi is in Sindica near the sea, and Aborace.

All those who are subject to the princes of the Bosphorus are called Bosphorani. The capital of the European Bosphorani is Panticapæum, and of the Asian Bosphorani, the city of Phanagorium,² for this is the name given to it. Phanagoria seems to be the mart for those commodities which are brought down from the Mæotis, and from the barbarous country lying above it; and Panticapæum, the mart for the commodities which are transported thither from the sea. There is also in Phanagoria a magnificent temple of Venus Apatura, the Deceitful. This epithet of the goddess is derived from a fable, according to which the giants assaulted her in this place. Having obtained the assistance of Hercules she hid him in a cave, and then admitted the giants one by one into her presence, and delivered them over to Hercules, thus craftily³ to be put to death.

11. The Sindi, Dandarii, Toreatæ, Agri, Arrhechi, and besides these, the Tarpetes, Obidiaceni, Sittaceni, Dosci, and many others, belong to the Mæotæ; to this people belong the Aspurgiani also, who live between Phanagoria and Gorgipia, at the distance of 500 stadia [from the Mæotis?]. Polemon, the king, entered the country of these people under a

curate knowledge, both in ancient and modern times, of these unfrequented parts, much must be left to conjecture. The positions therefore assigned to ancient cities are doubtful. The names indeed are inserted in Kiepert's maps, but without the assistance of recent travellers it would be hazardous to pretend to fix upon their *exact* sites.

¹ ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γοργυπία. Some word or words appear to be wanting here. Kiepert assigns a place to this name, but it seems doubtful whether a place or a district is to be understood. Below, § 14, the Sindic harbour and city are mentioned, which may have been situated at Sound-jouk-kale. D' Anville places them here or at Anapa, but the contour of the coast in his map does not resemble that of any modern maps.

² The modern town Phanagoria does not seem to occupy the site of the ancient city.

³ ἐξ ἀπάτης.

show of friendship, but his design was discovered, and they on their part attacked him unawares. He was taken prisoner, and put to death.

With respect to the Asian Mæotæ in general, some of them were the subjects of those who possessed the mart on the Tanais; others, of the Bosporani; and different bodies have revolted at different times. The princes of the Bosporani were frequently masters of the country as far as the Tanais, and particularly the last princes, Pharnaces, Asander, and Polemon.

Pharnaces is said to have once brought even the river Hypanis over the territory of the Dandarii through some ancient canal, which he had caused to be cleared, and inundated the country.

12. Next to Sindica, and Gorgipia upon the sea, is the sea-coast inhabited by the Achæi, Zygi, and Heniochi. It is for the most part without harbours and mountainous, being a portion of the Caucasus.

These people subsist by piracy.

Their boats are slender, narrow, light, and capable of holding about five and twenty men, and rarely thirty. The Greeks call them *camaræ*. They say, that at the time of the expedition of Jason the Achæi Phthiotæ founded the Achaia there, and the Lacedæmonians, Heniochia. Their leaders were Rhecas, and Amphistratus, the charioteers¹ of the Dioscuri; it is probable that the Heniochi had their name from these persons. They equip fleets consisting of these *camaræ*, and being masters of the sea sometimes attack vessels of burden, or invade a territory, or even a city. Sometimes even those who occupy the Bosporus assist them, by furnishing places of shelter for their vessels, and supply them with provision and means for the disposal of their booty. When they return to their own country, not having places suitable for mooring their vessels, they put their *camaræ* on their shoulders, and carry them up into the forests, among which they live, and where they cultivate a poor soil. When the season arrives for navigation, they bring them down again to the coast. Their habits are the same even in a foreign country, for they are acquainted with wooded tracts, in which, after concealing their *camaræ*, they wander about on foot day

¹ ἡνίοχοι.

and night, for the purpose of capturing the inhabitants and reducing them to slavery. But they readily allow whatever is taken to be ransomed, and signify this after their departure to those who have lost their property. In places where there is a regular government, the injured find means of repelling them. For, frequently, the pirates are attacked in return, and are carried off together with their camaræ. But the country subject to the Romans is not so well protected, in consequence of the neglect of those who are sent there.

13. Such then is their mode of life. But even these people are governed by persons called Sceptuchi, and these again are subject to the authority of tyrants, or of kings. The Heniochi had four kings at the time that Mithridates Eupator fled from the country of his ancestors to the Bosphorus, and passed through their country, which was open to him, but he avoided that of the Zygi on account of its ruggedness, and the savage character of the people. He proceeded with difficulty along the sea-coast, frequently embarking in vessels, till he came to the country of the Achæi, by whom he was hospitably received. He had then completed a journey from the Phasis of not much less than 4000 stadia.

14. From Corocondame, the course of the voyage is directly towards the east. At the distance of 180 stadia is the Sîndic harbour, and a city. Then at the distance of 400 stadia is Bata,¹ as it is called, a village with a harbour. It is at this place that Sinope on the south seems to be directly opposite to this coast, as Carambis² has been said to be opposite to Crin-Metopon.³

Next to Bata Artemidorus places the coast of the Cercetæ, which has places of shelter for vessels, and villages along an extent of about 850 stadia; then at 500 stadia more the coast of the Achæi, then that of the Heniochi, at 1000 stadia, then the Great Pityus, from which to Dioscurias are 360 stadia.

The authors most worthy of credit who have written the history of the Mithridatic wars, enumerate the Achæi first, then Zygi, then Heniochi, then Cercetæ, Moschi, Colchi, and above these the Phtheirophagi, Soanes, and other smaller nations about the Caucasus.

¹ Pschate.² Keremp.³ C. Aia.

The direction of the sea-coast is at first, as I have said, towards the east, with a southern aspect; but from Bata it makes a bend for a small distance, then fronts the west, and terminates towards Pityus, and Dioscurias, for these places are contiguous to the coast of Colchis, which I have already mentioned. Next to Dioscurias is the remainder of the coast of Colchis, and Trapezus contiguous to it; where the coast, having made a considerable turn, then extends nearly in a straight line, and forms the side on the right hand of the Euxine, looking to the north.

The whole of the coast of the Achæi, and of the other nations, as far as Dioscurias, and the inland places lying in a straight line towards the south, are at the foot of the Caucasus.

15. This mountain overhangs both the Euxine and the Caspian seas, forming a kind of rampart to the isthmus which separates one sea from the other. To the south it is the boundary of Albania and Iberia, to the north, of the plains of the Sarmatians. It is well wooded, and contains various kinds of timber, and especially trees adapted to ship-building. Eratosthenes says that the Caucasus is called Mount Caspius by the natives, a name borrowed perhaps from the Caspii. It throws out forks towards the south, which embrace the middle of Iberia, and touch the Armenian and those called the Moschic mountains,¹ and besides these the mountains of Scydises, and the Paryadres. All these are portions of the Taurus, which forms the southern side of Armenia, and are broken off in a manner from it towards the north, and extend as far as Caucasus, and the coast of the Euxine which lies between Colchis and Themiscyra.²

16. Situated on a bay of this kind, and occupying the most easterly point of the whole sea, is Dioscurias,³ called the recess

¹ The Tschilder mountains, of which Scydecas and Paryandres are a continuation.

² Therneh.

³ On the mouth of the river Anthemus to the N. of Colchis. It was situated 100 M. P., or 790 stadia to the N. P. of the Phasis, and 2260 stadia from Trapezus (Trebizond). (Pliny, vi. 5; Arrian, Perip. pp. 10, 18.) Upon or near the spot to which the twin sons of Leda gave their name, (Mela, i. 19, § 5; comp. Am. Marc. xxii. 8, § 24,) the Romans built SEBASTOPOLIS, (Steph. B.; Procop. B. G. iv. 4,) which was deserted in the time of Pliny, but was afterwards garrisoned by Justinian. The SOTERIOPOLIS of later times has been identified with it. The position of this place must be looked for near the roadstead of *Iskuria*. *Smith*, art. Dioscurias.

of the Euxine Sea, and the extreme boundary of navigation, for in this sense we are to understand the proverbial saying,

“To Phasis where ships end their course.”

Not as if the author of the iambic intended to speak of the river, nor of the city of the same name upon the river, but Colchis designated by a part, because from the city and the river there remains a voyage of not less than 600 stadia in a straight line to the recess of the bay. This same Dioscurias is the commencement of the isthmus lying between the Caspian Sea and the Euxine. It is a common mart of the nations situated above it, and in its neighbourhood. There assemble at Dioscurias 70 or, according to some writers who are careless in their statements,¹ 300 nations. All speak different languages, from living dispersed in various places and without intercourse, in consequence of their fierce and savage manners. They are chiefly Sarmatians, but all of them Caucasian tribes. So much then respecting Dioscurias.

17. The greater part of the rest of Colchis lies upon the sea. The Phasis,² a large river, flows through it. It has its source in Armenia, and receives the Glaucus,³ and the Hippus,⁴ which issue from the neighbouring mountains. Vessels ascend it as far as the fortress of Sarapana,⁵ which is capable of containing the population even of a city. Persons proceed thence by land to the Cyrus in four days along a carriage road.⁶ Upon the Phasis is a city of the same name, a mart of the Colchians, bounded on one side by the river, on another by a lake, on the third by the sea. Thence it is a voyage of three or two⁷ days to Amisus and Sinope, on account of the softness of the shores caused by the discharge of rivers.⁸

The country is fertile and its produce is good, except the

¹ οἷς οὐδὲν τῶν ὄντων μέλει, or careless of the truth. Kramer observes that these words are inconveniently placed in the Greek text.

² The Rion.

³ The Tschorocsu.

⁴ The Ilori,

⁵ Choropani.

⁶ The point of embarkation on the Cyrus (the Kur) is supposed to have been Surham, the ancient Sura.

⁷ Gossellin, Groskurd, and Kramer, all agree that there is here an error. Kramer is of opinion that the conjecture of Gossellin may be adopted, viz. “eight or nine,” instead of “three or two,” the letters T and B being a corruption of H and Θ.

⁸ Coray’s proposed reading is adopted, κατὰ for καί.

honey, which has generally a bitter taste. It furnishes all materials for ship-building. It produces them in great plenty, and they are conveyed down by its rivers. It supplies flax, hemp, wax, and pitch, in great abundance. Its linen manufacture is celebrated, for it was exported to foreign parts; and those who wish to establish an affinity of race between the Colchians and the Ægyptians, advance this as a proof of it.

Above the rivers which I have mentioned in the Moschic territory is the temple of Leucothea,¹ founded by Phrixus² and his oracle, where a ram is not sacrificed. It was once rich, but was plundered in our time by Pharnaces, and a little afterwards by Mithridates of Pergamus.³ For when a country is devastated, in the words of Euripides,

“respect to the gods languishes, and they are not honoured.”⁴

18. How great anciently was the celebrity of this country, appears from the fables which refer obscurely to the expedition of Jason, who advanced as far even as Media; and still earlier intimations of it are found in the fables relative to the expedition of Phrixus. The kings that preceded, and who possessed the country when it was divided into Sceptuchies,⁵ were not very powerful, but when Mithridates Eupator had enlarged his territory, this country fell under his dominion. One of his courtiers was always sent as sub-governor and administrator of its public affairs. Of this number was Moaphernes, my mother's paternal uncle. It was from this country that the king derived the greatest part of his supplies for the equipment of his naval armament. But upon the overthrow of Mithridates, all the country subject to his power was disunited, and divided among several persons. At last Polemon

¹ According to Heyne, this was an Assyrian goddess worshipped under various titles.

² In consequence of the intrigues of his stepmother Ino he was to be sacrificed to Zeus, but his mother Nephele removed him and his sister Helle, and the two then rode away on the ram with the golden fleece, the gift of Hermes, through the air. Helle fell into the sea, which was afterwards called, after her, the Hellespont. *Smith*, art. Phrixus.

³ The son of Menodotus by a daughter of Adobogion, a descendant of the tetrarchs of Galatia. He was the personal friend of Cæsar, who at the commencement of the Alexandrian war (B. C. 48) sent him into Syria and Cilicia to raise auxiliary forces. *Smith*, art. Mithridates, and see B. xiii. c. iv. § 3.

⁴ Eurip. *Troad.* 26.

⁵ σκηπτουχίας.

obtained possession of Colchis, and after his death his wife Pythodoris reigned over the Colchians, Trapezus, Pharnacia, and the Barbarians situated above them, of whom I shall speak in another place.

The territory of the Moschi, in which is situated the temple, is divided into three portions, one of which is occupied by Colchians, another by Iberians, and the third by Armenians. There is in Iberia on the confines of Colchis, a small city, the city of Phrixus, the present Idessa, a place of strength. The river Charis¹ flows near Dioscurias.

19. Among the nations that assemble at Dioscurias are the Phtheiropagi, who have their appellation from their dirt and filth.

Near them live the Soanes, not less dirty in their habits, but superior perhaps to all the tribes in strength and courage. They are masters of the country around them, and occupy the heights of Caucasus above Dioscurias. They have a king, and a council of three hundred persons. They can assemble, it is said, an army of two hundred thousand men, for all their people are fighting men, but not distributed into certain orders. In their country the winter torrents are said to bring down even gold, which the Barbarians collect in troughs pierced with holes, and lined with fleeces; and hence the fable of the golden fleece. Some² say that they are called Iberians (the same name as the western Iberians) from the gold mines found in both countries. The Soanes use poison of an extraordinary kind for the points of their weapons; even the odour of this poison is a cause of suffering to those who are wounded by arrows thus prepared.

The other neighbouring nations about the Caucasus occupy barren and narrow tracts of land. But the tribes of the Albanians and Iberians, who possess nearly the whole of the above-mentioned isthmus, may also be denominated Caucasian, and yet they live in a fertile country and capable of being well peopled.

¹ Casaubon would read Corax.—The Sukum.

² Adopting Kramer's proposed reading, *ἐνιοι* in place of *εἰ μὴ*.

CHAPTER III.

1. THE greater part of Iberia is well inhabited, and contains cities and villages where the houses have roofs covered with tiles, and display skill in building; there are market-places in them, and various kinds of public edifices.

2. Some part of the country is encompassed by the Caucasian mountains; for branches of this range advance, as I have said, towards the south. These districts are fruitful, comprise the whole of Iberia, and extend to Armenia and Colchis. In the middle is a plain watered by rivers, the largest of which is the Cyrus, which, rising in Armenia, immediately enters the above-mentioned plain, having received the Aragus,¹ which flows at the foot of the Caucasus, and other streams, passes through a narrow channel into Albania. It flows however between this country and Armenia in a large body through plains, which afford excellent pasture. After having received several rivers, and among these the Alazonius,² Sandobanes, the Rhoetaces, and Chanes, all of which are navigable, it discharges itself into the Caspian Sea. Its former name was Corus.

3. The plain is occupied by those Iberians who are more disposed to agriculture, and are inclined to peace. Their dress is after the Armenian and Median fashion. Those who inhabit the mountainous country, and they are the most numerous, are addicted to war, live like the Sarmatians and Scythians, on whose country they border, and with whom they are connected by affinity of race. These people however engage in agriculture also, and can assemble many myriads of persons from among themselves, and from the Scythians and Sarmatians, whenever any disturbance occurs.

4. There are four passes into the country; one through Sarapana, a Colchian fortress, and through the defiles near it, along which the Phasis, rendered passable from one side to the other by a hundred and twenty bridges, in conse-

¹ The Arak.

² In the English map, reduced from the Russian military map, there are two rivers Alasan, flowing in contrary directions from M. Bebala. The modern names of the other rivers here mentioned are not well ascertained.

quence of the winding of its stream, descends abruptly and violently into Colchis. The places in its course are hollowed by numerous torrents, during the rainy season. It rises in the mountains which lie above, and many springs contribute to swell its stream. In the plains it receives other rivers also, among which are the Glaucus¹ and the Hippius.² The stream thus filled and navigable discharges itself into the Pontus. It has on its banks a city of the same name, and near it a lake. Such is the nature of the entrance into Iberia from Colchis, shut in by rocks and strongholds, and by rivers running through ravines.

5. From the Nomades on the north there is a difficult ascent for three days, and then a narrow road by the side of the river Aragus, a journey of four days, which road admits only one person to pass at a time. The termination of the road is guarded by an impregnable wall.

From Albania the entrance is at first cut through rocks, then passes over a marsh formed by the river (Alazonius),³ in its descent from the Caucasus. On the side of Armenia are the narrow passes on the Cyrus, and those on the Aragus, for before the junction of these rivers they have on their banks strong cities set upon rocks, at the distance from each other of about 18 stadia, as Harmozica⁴ on the Cyrus, and on the other (Aragus) Seusamora. Pompey formerly in his way from Armenia, and afterwards Canidius, marched through these passes into Iberia.

6. The inhabitants of this country are also divided into four classes; the first and chief is that from which the kings are appointed. The king is the oldest and the nearest of his predecessor's relations. The second administers justice, and is commander of the army.

The second class consists of priests, whose business it is to settle the respective rights of their own and the bordering people.

The third is composed of soldiers and husbandmen. The fourth comprehends the common people, who are royal slaves, and perform all the duties of ordinary life.

¹ Tchorocsu.

² Ilori.

³ Probably the Alasan flowing from M. Bebala.

⁴ Akalziche.

Possessions are common property in families, but the eldest governs, and is the steward of each.

Such is the character of the Iberians, and the nature of their country.

CHAPTER IV.

1. THE Albanians pursue rather a shepherd life, and resemble more the nomadic tribes, except that they are not savages, and hence they are little disposed to war. They inhabit the country between the Iberians and the Caspian Sea, approaching close to the sea on the east, and on the west border upon the Iberians.

Of the remaining sides the northern is protected by the Caucasian mountains, for these overhang the plains, and are called, particularly those near the sea, Ceraunian mountains. The southern side is formed by Armenia, which extends along it. A large portion of it consists of plains, and a large portion also of mountains, as Cambysene, where the Armenians approach close both to the Iberians and the Albanians.

2. The Cyrus, which flows through Albania, and the other rivers which swell the stream of the Cyrus, improve the qualities of the land, but remove the sea to a distance. For the mud, accumulating in great quantity, fills up the channel in such a manner, that the small adjacent islands are annexed to the continent, irregular marshes are formed, and difficult to be avoided; the reverberation also of the tide increases the irregular formation of the marshes. The mouth of the river is said to be divided into twelve branches, some of which afford no passage through them, others are so shallow as to leave no shelter for vessels. The shore for an extent of more than 60 stadia is inundated by the sea, and by the rivers; all that part of it is inaccessible; the mud reaches even as far as 500 stadia, and forms a bank along the coast. The Araxes¹ discharges its waters not far off, coming with an impetuous stream from Armenia, but the mud which this

¹ The Aras.

river impels forward, making the channel pervious, is replaced by the Cyrus.

3. Perhaps such a race of people have no need of the sea, for they do not make a proper use even of the land, which produces every kind of fruit, even the most delicate, and every kind of plant and evergreen. It is not cultivated with the least care; but all that is excellent grows without sowing, and without ploughing, according to the accounts of persons who have accompanied armies there, and describe the inhabitants as leading a Cyclopean mode of life. In many places the ground, which has been sowed once, produces two or three crops, the first of which is even fifty-fold, and that without a fallow, nor is the ground turned with an iron instrument, but with a plough made entirely of wood. The whole plain is better watered than Babylon or Ægypt, by rivers and streams, so that it always presents the appearance of herbage, and it affords excellent pasture. The air here is better than in those countries. The vines remain always without digging round them, and are pruned every five years. The young trees bear fruit even the second year, but the full grown yield so much that a large quantity of it is left on the branches. The cattle, both tame and wild, thrive well in this country.

4. The men are distinguished for beauty of person and for size. They are simple in their dealings and not fraudulent, for they do not in general use coined money; nor are they acquainted with any number above a hundred, and transact their exchanges by loads. They are careless with regard to the other circumstances of life. They are ignorant of weights and measures as far as exactness is concerned; they are improvident with respect to war, government, and agriculture. They fight however on foot and on horseback, both in light and in heavy armour, like the Armenians.

5. They can send into the field a larger army than the Iberians, for they can equip 60,000 infantry and 22,000 horsemen; with such a force they offered resistance to Pompey. The Nomades also co-operate with them against foreigners, as they do with the Iberians on similar occasions. When there is no war they frequently attack these people and prevent them from cultivating the ground. They use javelins and bows, and wear breastplates, shields, and coverings for

the head, made of the hides of wild animals, like the Iberians.

To the country of the Albanians belongs Caspiana, and has its name from the Caspian tribe, from whom the sea also has its appellation ; the Caspian tribe is now extinct.

The entrance from Iberia into Albania is through the Cambyzene, a country without water, and rocky, to the river Alazonius. The people themselves and their dogs are excessively fond of the chase, pursuing it with equal eagerness and skill.

6. Their kings differ from one another ; at present one king governs all the tribes. Formerly each tribe was governed by a king, who spoke the peculiar language of each. They speak six and twenty languages from the want of mutual intercourse and communication with one another.

The country produces some venomous reptiles, as scorpions and tarantulas. These tarantulas cause death in some instances by laughter, in others by grief and a longing to return home.

7. The gods they worship are the Sun, Jupiter, and the Moon, but the Moon above the rest. She has a temple near Iberia. The priest is a person who, next to the king, receives the highest honours. He has the government of the sacred land, which is extensive and populous, and authority over the sacred attendants, many of whom are divinely inspired, and prophesy. Whoever of these persons, being violently possessed, wanders alone in the woods, is seized by the priest, who, having bound him with sacred fetters, maintains him sumptuously during that year. Afterwards he is brought forth at the sacrifice performed in honour of the goddess, and is anointed with fragrant ointment and sacrificed together with other victims. The sacrifice is performed in the following manner. A person, having in his hand a sacred lance, with which it is the custom to sacrifice human victims, advances out of the crowd and pierces the heart through the side, which he does from experience in this office. When the man has fallen, certain prognostications are indicated by the manner of the fall, and these are publicly declared. The body is carried away to a certain spot, and then they all trample upon it, performing this action as a mode of purification of themselves.

8. The Albanians pay the greatest respect to old age, which is not confined to their parents, but is extended to old persons

in general. It is regarded as impious to show any concern for the dead, or to mention their names. Their money is buried with them, hence they live in poverty, having no patrimony.

So much concerning the Albanians. It is said that when Jason, accompanied by Armenus the Thessalian, undertook the voyage to the Colchi, they advanced as far as the Caspian Sea, and traversed Iberia, Albania, a great part of Armenia, and Media, as the Jafoneia and many other monuments testify. Armenus, they say, was a native of Armenium, one of the cities on the lake Bœbeis, between Pheræ and Parisa, and that his companions settled in Acilisene, and the Suspiritis, and occupied the country as far as Calachene and Adiabene, and that he gave his own name to Armenia.

CHAPTER V.

1. THE Amazons are said to live among the mountains above Albania. Theophanes, who accompanied Pompey in his wars, and was in the country of the Albanians, says that Gelæ and Legæ,¹ Scythian tribes, live between the Amazons and the Albanians, and that the river Mermadalis² takes its course in the country lying in the middle between these people and the Amazons. But other writers, and among these Metrodorus of Scepsis, and Hypsicrates, who were themselves acquainted with these places, say that the Amazons bordered upon the Gargarenses³ on the north, at the foot of the Caucasian mountains, which are called Ceraunia.

¹ Strabo mentions the Gelæ again, c. vii. § 1, but in a manner which does not agree with what he here says of their position. We must perhaps suppose that this people, in part at least, have changed their place of residence, and that now the greater part of their descendants are to be found in Ghilan, under the name of Gelé, or Gelaki. The name of Leges, or Legæ, who have continued to occupy these regions, is recognised in that of Legi, Leski. *Gossellin.*

² The Mermadalis seems to be the same river called below by Strabo Mermodas. Critics and modern travellers differ respecting its present name. One asserts that it is the Marubias, or Marabias, of Ptolemy, another takes it to be the Manitsch, called in Austrian maps Calaus. Others believe it to be the snial stream Mermedik, which flows into the Terek. Others again recognise the Mermadalis in the Egorlik. *Gossellin.*

³ Unknown. Pallas thought that he had discovered their name in

When at home they are occupied in performing with their own hands the work of ploughing, planting, pasturing cattle, and particularly in training horses. The strongest among them spend much of their time in hunting on horseback, and practise warlike exercises. All of them from infancy have the right breast seared, in order that they may use the arm with ease for all manner of purposes, and particularly for throwing the javelin. They employ the bow also, and sagaris, (a kind of sword,) and wear a buckler. They make helmets, and coverings for the body, and girdles, of the skins of wild animals. They pass two months of the spring on a neighbouring mountain, which is the boundary between them and the Gargarenses. The latter also ascend the mountain according to some ancient custom for the purpose of performing common sacrifices, and of having intercourse with the women with a view to offspring, in secret and in darkness, the man with the first woman he meets. When the women are pregnant they are sent away. The female children that may be born are retained by the Amazons themselves, but the males are taken to the Gargarenses to be brought up. The children are distributed among families, in which the master treats them as his own, it being impossible to ascertain the contrary.

2. The Mermodas,¹ descending like a torrent from the mountains through the country of the Amazons, the Siracene, and the intervening desert, discharges itself into the Mæotis.²

It is said that the Gargarenses ascended together with the Amazons from Themiscyra to these places, that they then separated, and with the assistance of some Thracians and Eubœans, who had wandered as far as this country, made war against the Amazons, and at length, upon its termination, entered into a compact on the conditions above mentioned, namely, that there should be a companionship only with respect to

that of the Tscherkess, who occupied the country where Strabo places the Gargarenses, and might be their descendants.

¹ The same river probably before called the Mermadalis.

² This sentence has been supposed by some critics to be an interpolation. Strabo above, c. ii. § 1, has already spoken of the Siraci, who would seem to have been the inhabitants of Siracena, and may sometimes have been called Siraceni. In c. ii. § 11, he speaks of the Sittaceni, and assigns them a position which would indicate them as a different people from the Seraci, or Siraceni. *Gosselin.*

offspring, and that they should live each independent of the other.

3. There is a peculiarity in the history of the Amazons. In other histories the fabulous and the historical parts are kept distinct. For what is ancient, false, and marvellous is called fable. But history has truth for its object, whether it be old or new, and it either rejects or rarely admits the marvellous. But, with regard to the Amazons, the same facts are related both by modern and by ancient writers; they are marvellous and exceed belief. For who can believe that an army of women, or a city, or a nation, could ever subsist without men? and not only subsist, but make inroads upon the territory of other people, and obtain possession not only of the places near them, and advance even as far as the present Ionia, but even despatch an expedition across the sea to Attica? This is as much as to say that the men of those days were women, and the women men. But even now the same things are told of the Amazons, and the peculiarity of their history is increased by the credit which is given to ancient, in preference to modern, accounts.

4. They are said to have founded cities, and to have given their names to them, as Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyme, Myrina, besides leaving sepulchres and other memorials. Themiscyra, the plains about the Thermodon, and the mountains lying above, are mentioned by all writers as once belonging to the Amazons, from whence, they say, they were driven out. Where they are at present few writers undertake to point out, nor do they advance proofs or probability for what they state; as in the case of Thalestria, queen of the Amazons, with whom Alexander is said to have had intercourse in Hyrcania with the hope of having offspring. Writers are not agreed on this point, and among many who have paid the greatest regard to truth none mention the circumstance, nor do writers of the highest credit mention anything of the kind, nor do those who record it relate the same facts. Cleitarchus says that Thalestria set out from the Caspian Gates and Thermodon to meet Alexander. Now from the Caspian Gates to Thermodon are more than 6000 stadia.

5. Stories circulated for the purpose of exalting the fame [of eminent persons] are not received with equal favour by all; the object of the inventors was flattery rather than truth;

they transferred, for example, the Caucasus to the mountains of India, and to the eastern sea, which approaches close to them, from the mountains situated above Colchis, and the Euxine Sea. These are the mountains to which the Greeks give the name of Caucasus, and are distant more than 30,000 stadia from India. Here they lay the scene of Prometheus and his chains, for these were the farthest places towards the east with which the people of those times were acquainted. The expeditions of Bacchus and of Hercules against the Indi indicate a mythological story of later date, for Hercules is said to have released Prometheus a thousand years after he was first chained to the rock. It was more glorious too for Alexander to subjugate Asia as far as the mountains of India, than to the recess only of the Euxine Sea and the Caucasus. The celebrity, and the name of the mountain, together with the persuasion that Jason and his companions had accomplished the most distant of all expeditions when they had arrived in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, and the tradition that Prometheus had been chained on Caucasus at the extremity of the earth, induced writers to suppose that they should gratify the king by transferring the name of the mountain to India.

6. The highest points of the actual Caucasus are the most southerly, and lie near Albania, Iberia, the Colchi, and Heniochi. They are inhabited by the people whom I have mentioned as assembling at Dioscurias. They resort thither chiefly for the purpose of procuring salt. Of these tribes some occupy the heights; others live in wooded valleys, and subsist chiefly on the flesh of wild animals, wild fruits, and milk. The heights are impassable in winter; in summer they are ascended by fastening on the feet shoes as wide as drums, made of raw hide, and furnished with spikes on account of the snow and ice. The natives in descending with their loads slide down seated upon skins, which is the practice in Media, Atropatia, and at Mount Masius in Armenia, but there they fasten circular disks of wood with spikes to the soles of their feet. Such then is the nature of the heights of Caucasus.

7. On descending to the country lying at the foot of these heights the climate is more northerly, but milder, for the land below the heights joins the plains of the Siraces. There are some tribes of Troglodytæ who inhabit caves on account

of the cold. There is plenty¹ of grain to be had in the country.

Next to the Troglodytæ are Chamæcætæ,² and a tribe called Polyphagi (the voracious), and the villages of the Eisadici, who are able to cultivate the ground because they are not altogether exposed to the north.

8. Immediately afterwards follow shepherd tribes, situated between the Mæotis and the Caspian Sea, Nabiani, Pangani,³ the tribes also of the Siraces and Aorsi.

The Aorsi and Siraces seem to be a fugitive people from parts situated above. The Aorsi lie more to the north.⁴

Abeacus, king of the Siraces, when Pharnases occupied the Bosphorus, equipped 20,000 horse, and Spadines, king of the Aorsi 200,000, and the Upper Aorsi even a larger body, for they were masters of a greater extent of territory, and nearly the largest part of the coast of the Caspian Sea was under their power. They were thus enabled to transport on camels the merchandise of India and Babylonia, receiving it from Armenians and Medes. They wore gold also in their dress in consequence of their wealth.

The Aorsi live on the banks of the Tanaïs, and the Siraces on those of Achardeus, which rises in Caucasus, and discharges itself into the Mæotis.

CHAPTER VI.

1. THE second portion of northern Asia begins from the Caspian Sea, where the first terminates. This sea is called also the Hyrcanian Sea. We must first speak of this sea, and of the nations that live near its shores.

It is a bay extending from the Ocean to the south. At its commencement it is very narrow ; as it advances further inwards, and particularly towards the extremity, it widens to the extent of about 500 stadia. The voyage from the entrance

¹ Groskurd reads *ἀπορία*, want, instead of *ἐνπορία*, plenty.

² *Χαμαικόιται*. People who lie on the ground.

³ Panxani, Paxani, Penzani,

⁴ The text is here corrupt.

to the extremity may exceed that a little, the entrance approaching very near the uninhabited regions.

Eratosthenes says that the navigation of this sea was known to the Greeks, that the part of the voyage along the coast of the Albanians and Cadusii¹ comprised 5400 stadia; and the part along the country of the Anariaci, Mardi, [or Amardi,] and Hyrcani, as far as the mouth of the river Oxus,² 4800 stadia, and thence to the Iaxartes³ 2400 stadia.

But with respect to the places situated in this portion of Asia, and to those lying so far removed from our own country, we must not understand the accounts of writers in too literal a sense, particularly with regard to distances.

2. Upon sailing into the Caspian, on the right hand, contiguous to the Europeans, Scythians and Sarmatians occupy the country between the Tanais and this sea; they are chiefly Nomades, or shepherd tribes, of whom I have already spoken. On the left hand are the Eastern Scythian Nomades, who extend as far as the Eastern sea, and India.

The ancient Greek historians called all the nations towards the north by the common name of Scythians, and Kelto-Scythians. Writers still more ancient than these called the nations living above the Euxine, Danube, and Adriatic, Hyperboreans, Sauromatæ, and Arimaspi.⁴ But in speaking of the nations on the other side the Caspian Sea, they called some Sacæ,⁵ others Massagetæ. They were unable to give any exact account of them, although they relate the history of the war of Cyrus with the Massagetæ. Concerning these nations no one has ascertained the truth, and the ancient histories of Persia, Media, and Syria have not obtained much credit on account of the credulity of the writers and their love of fable.

3. For these authors, having observed that those who professedly were writers of fables obtained repute and success, supposed that they also should make their writings agreeable,

¹ The country occupied by the Cadusii of whom Eratosthenes speaks appears to have been the Ghilan, a name probably derived from the Gelæ, who are constantly associated with the Cadusii.

² The Gihon.

³ The Sihon.

⁴ i. e. the Hyperboreans above the Adriatic, the Sauromatæ above the Danube, and the Arimaspi above the Euxine.

⁵ The name Sacæ is to be traced in Sakita, a district on the confines of those of Vash and Gil, situated on the north of the Gihon or Oxus, consequently in ancient Sogdiana. *D'Anville*

if, under the form of history, they related what they had never seen nor heard, (not at least from eye-witnesses,) and had no other object than to please and surprise the reader. A person would more readily believe the stories of the heroes in Hesiod, Homer, and in the tragic poets, than Ctesias, Herodotus, Hellanicus, and writers of this kind.

4. We cannot easily credit the generality of the historians of Alexander, for they practise deception with a view to enhance the glory of Alexander; the expedition also was directed to the extremities of Asia, at a great distance from our country, and it is difficult to ascertain or detect the truth or falsehood of what is remote. The dominion of the Romans and of the Parthians has added very much to former discoveries, and the writers who speak of these people describe nations and places, where certain actions were performed, in a manner more likely to produce belief than preceding historians, for they had better opportunities of personal observation.

CHAPTER VII.

1. THE nomades, or wandering tribes, who live on the left side of the coast on entering the Caspian Sea, are called by the moderns Dahæ, and surnamed Parni.¹ Then there intervenes a desert tract, which is followed by Hyrcania; here the Caspian spreads like a deep sea till it approaches the Median and Armenian mountains. The shape of these hills at the foot is lunated.² Their extremities terminate at the sea, and form the recess of the bay.

A small part of this country at the foot of the mountains, as far as the heights, if we reckon from the sea, is inhabited by some tribes of Albanians and Armenians, but the greater portion by Gelæ, Cadusii, Amardi, Vitii, and Anariacæ. It is said, that some Parrhasii were settled together with the Anariacæ, who are now called Parrhasii, (Parsii?) and that the Ænians built a walled city in the territory of the Vitii, which city is

¹ C. viii. § 2.

² At ubi cœpit in latitudinem pandi lunatis obliquatur cornibus *Pliny*, N. H.

now called *Æniana* (*Ænia*). Grecian armour, brazen vessels, and sepulchres are shown there. There also is a city *Anariacæ*, in which it is said an oracle is shown, where the answer is given to those who consult it, during sleep, [and some vestiges of Greek colonization, but all these] tribes are predatory, and more disposed to war than husbandry, which arises from the rugged nature of the country. The greater part of the coast at the foot of the mountainous region is occupied by *Cadusii*, to the extent of nearly 5000 stadia, according to *Patrocles*, who thinks that this sea equals the *Euxine* in size. These countries are sterile.

2. *Hyrkania*¹ is very fertile, and extensive, consisting for the most part of plains, and has considerable cities dispersed throughout it, as *Talabroce*, *Samariane*, *Carta*, and the royal residence, *Tape*,² which is said to be situated a little above the sea, and distant 1400 stadia from the *Caspian Gates*. The following facts are narrated as indications of the fertility of the country.³ The vine produces a metretes⁴ of wine; the fig-tree sixty medimni⁵ of fruit; the corn grows from the seed which falls out of the stalk; bees make their hives in the trees, and honey drops from among the leaves. This is the case also in the territory of *Matiane* in *Media*, and in the *Sacasene*, and *Araxene* of *Armenia*.⁶

But neither this country, nor the sea which is named after it, has received proper care and attention from the inhabitants, for there are no vessels upon the sea, nor is it turned to any use. According to some writers there are islands on it, capable of being inhabited, in which gold is found. The cause of this neglect is this; the first governors of *Hyrkania* were barbarians, *Medes*, and *Persians*, and lastly, people who were more oppressive than these, namely, *Parthians*. The whole of the neighbouring country was the haunt of robbers and wandering tribes, and abounded with tracts of desert land. For a short time *Macedonians* were sovereigns of the country, but being engaged in war were unable to attend to remote

¹ See b. ii. c. i. § 14.

² These names have here probably undergone some change. *Talabroce* may be the *Tambrace* or *Tembrax* of *Polybius*; *Samariane*, the *Soconax* of *Ptolemy*; *Carta*, *Zadra-Carta*; and *Tape*, the *Syrinx* of *Polybius*.

³ The text is here corrupt.

⁴ About 7 gallons.

⁵ About 12 gallons.

⁶ B. ii. c. i. § 14.

possessions. Aristobulus says that Hyrcania has forests, and produces the oak, but not the pitch pine,¹ nor the fir,² nor the pine,³ but that India abounds with these trees.

Nesæa⁴ belongs to Hyrcania, but some writers make it an independent district.

3. Hyrcania is watered by the rivers Ochus and Oxus as far as their entrance into the sea. The Ochus flows through Nesæa, but some writers say that the Ochus empties itself into the Oxus.

Aristobulus avers that the Oxus was the largest river, except those in India, which he had seen in Asia. He says also that it is navigable with ease, (this circumstance both Aristobulus and Eratosthenes borrow from Patrocles,) and that large quantities of Indian merchandise are conveyed by it to the Hyrcanian Sea, and are transferred from thence into Albania by the Cyrus, and through the adjoining countries to the Euxine. The Ochus is not often mentioned by the ancients, but Apollodorus, the author of the Parthica, frequently mentions it, [and describes it] as flowing very near the Parthians.

4. Many additional falsehoods were invented respecting this sea, to flatter the ambition of Alexander and his love of glory; for, as it was generally acknowledged that the river Tanais separated Europe from Asia throughout its whole course, and that a large part of Asia, lying between this sea and the Tanais, had never been subjected to the power of the Macedonians, it was resolved to invent an expedition, in order that, according to fame at least, Alexander might seem to have conquered those countries. They therefore made the lake Mæotis, which receives the Tanais, and the Caspian Sea, which also they call a lake, one body of water, affirming that there was a subterraneous opening between both, and that one was part of the other. Polycleitus produces proofs to show that this sea is a lake, for instance, that it breeds serpents, and that the water is sweetish.⁶ That it was not a dif-

¹ *πεύκη.*

² *ἐλάτη.*

³ *πίτυς.*

⁴ The country here spoken of appears to be that celebrated from the earliest times for its breed of horses to which the epithet Nesæan was applied by ancient writers. See c. xiii. § 7.

⁵ The modern name is uncertain.

⁶ The same statement was made to Pompey, when in these regions in pursuit of Mithridates.

ferent lake from the Mæotis, he conjectures from the circumstance of the Tanais discharging itself into it. From the same mountains in India, where the Ochus and the Oxus rise, many other rivers take their course, and among these the Iaxartes, which like the former empties itself into the Caspian Sea, although it is the most northerly of them all. This river then they called Tanais, and alleged, as a proof that it was the Tanais mentioned by Polycleitus, that the country on the other side of the river produced the fir-tree, and that the Scythians there used arrows made of fir-wood. It was a proof also that the country on the other side of the river was a part of Europe and not of Asia, that Upper and Eastern Asia do not produce the fir-tree. But Eratosthenes says that the fir does grow even in India, and that Alexander built his ships of that wood. Eratosthenes collects many things of this kind, with a view to show their contradictory character. But I have said enough about them.

5. Among the peculiarities recorded of the Hyrcanian sea, Eudoxus and others relate the following. There is a certain coast in front of the sea hollowed out into caverns, between which and the sea there lies a flat shore. Rivers on reaching this coast descend from the precipices above with sufficient force to dart the water into the sea without wetting the intervening shore, so that even an army could pass underneath sheltered by the stream above. The inhabitants frequently resort to this place for the purposes of festivity and of performing sacrifices, one while reclining beneath the caverns, at another basking in the sun (even) beneath the fall of water. They divert themselves in various ways, having in sight on each side the sea and shore, the latter of which by the dew [and moisture of the falls] is rendered a grassy and flowery meadow.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. IN proceeding from the Hyrcanian Sea towards the east, on the right hand are the mountains which the Greeks call Taurus, extending as far as India. They begin from Pamphylia and Cilicia, and stretch to this part from the west in a continuous line, bearing different names in different places.

The northern parts¹ of this range are occupied first by Gelæ, Cadusii, and Amardi, as we have said, and by some tribes of Hyrcanians; then follow, as we proceed towards the east and the Ochus, the nation of the Parthians, then that of the Margiani and Arii, and the desert country which the river Sarnius separates from Hyrcania. The mountain, which extends to this country, or within a small distance of it, from Armenia, is called Parachoathras.

From the Hyrcanian sea to the Arii are about 6000 stadia.² Next follow Bactriana, Sogdiana, and lastly nomade Scythians. The Macedonians gave the name of Caucasus to all the mountains which follow after Ariana,³ but among the barbarians the heights and the northern parts of the Parapomismus were called Emoda, and Mount Imaus;⁴ and other names of this kind were assigned to each portion of this range.

2. On the left hand⁵ opposite to these parts are situated the Scythian and nomadic nations, occupying the whole of the northern side. Most of the Scythians, beginning from the Caspian Sea, are called Dahæ Scythæ, and those situated more towards the east Massagetæ and Sacæ; the rest have the common appellation of Scythians, but each separate tribe has its peculiar name. All, or the greatest part of them, are nomades. The best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Bactriana, the Asii, Pasiani, (Asiani?) Tochari, and Sacarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Iaxartes,⁶ opposite the Sacæ and Sogdiani, and which country was also occupied by Sacæ; some tribes of the Dahæ are surnamed Aparni, some Xanthii, others Pissuri.⁷

¹ ἀντοῦ in this passage, as Kramer remarks, is singular.

² From what point our author does not say.

³ There is some confusion in the text, which Groskurd attempts to amend as follows: "But among the barbarians the heights of Ariana, and the northern mountains of India, are separately called Emoda, &c.

⁴ B. xv. c. i. § 11. The name is derived from the Sanscrit *himavat*, which is preserved in the Latin *hiems*, winter, and in the modern name Himalaya. See *Smith*, art. Imaus.

⁵ On advancing from the S. E. of the Hyrcanian Sea towards the E.

⁶ The Syr-Daria.

⁷ Aparni, Xanthii, and Pissuri, in this passage, seem to be the same as Parni, Xandii, and Parii, in c. ix. § 3, if we may understand in the present passage these people to be referred to only by name, but not as living in the country here described.

The Aparni approach the nearest of any of these people to Hyrcania, and to the Caspian Sea. The others extend as far as the country opposite to Aria.

3. Between these people, Hyrcania, and Parthia as far as Aria lies a vast and arid desert, which they crossed by long journeys, and overran Hyrcania, the Nesæan country, and the plains of Parthia. These people agreed to pay a tribute on condition of having permission to overrun the country at stated times, and to carry away the plunder. But when these incursions became more frequent than the agreement allowed, war ensued, afterwards peace was made, and then again war was renewed. Such is the kind of life which the other Nomades also lead, continually attacking their neighbours, and then making peace with them.

4. The Sacæ had made incursions similar to those of the Cimmerians and Treres, some near their own country, others at a greater distance. They occupied Bactriana, and got possession of the most fertile tract in Armenia, which was called after their own name, Sacasene. They advanced even as far as the Cappadocians, those particularly situated near the Euxine; who are now called Pontici. When they were assembled together and feasting on the division of the booty, they were attacked by night by the Persian generals who were then stationed in that quarter, and were utterly exterminated. The Persians raised a mound of earth in the form of a hill over a rock in the plain, (where this occurred,) and fortified it. They erected there a temple to Anaitis and the gods Omanus and Anadatus, Persian deities who have a common altar.¹ They also instituted an annual festival, (in memory of the event,) the Sacæa, which the occupiers of Zela, for this is the name of the place, celebrate to this day. It is a small city chiefly appropriated to the sacred attendants. Pompey added to it a considerable tract of territory, the inhabitants of which he collected within the walls. It was one of the cities which he settled after the overthrow of Mithridates.

5. Such is the account which is given of the Sacæ by some writers. Others say, that Cyrus in an expedition against the

¹ These gods, otherwise unknown, are mentioned again in b. xv. c. iii. § 15.

Sacæ was defeated, and fled. He advanced with his army to the spot where he had left his stores, consisting of large supplies of every kind, particularly of wine; he stopped a short time to refresh his army, and set out in the evening, as though he continued his flight, the tents being left full of provisions. He proceeded as far as he thought requisite, and then halted. The Sacæ pursued, who, finding the camp abandoned and full of the means of gratifying their appetites, indulged themselves without restraint. Cyrus then returned and found them drunk and frantic; some were killed, stretched on the ground drowsy or asleep; others, dancing and maddened with wine, fell defenceless on the weapons of their enemies. Nearly all of them perished. Cyrus ascribed this success to the gods; he consecrated the day to the goddess worshipped in his own country, and called it Sacæa. Wherever there is a temple of this goddess, there the Sacæan festival, a sort of Bacchanalian feast, is celebrated, in which both men and women, dressed in the Scythian habit, pass day and night in drinking and wanton play.

6. The Massagetæ signalized their bravery in the war with Cyrus, of which many writers have published accounts; we must get our information from them. Such particulars as the following are narrated respecting this nation; some tribes inhabit mountains, some plains, others live among marshes formed by the rivers, others on the islands among the marshes. The Araxes is said to be the river which is the chief cause of inundating the country; it is divided into various branches and discharges itself by many mouths into the other sea¹ towards the north, but by one only into the Hyrcanian Gulf. The Massagetæ regard no other deity than the sun, and to his honour they sacrifice a horse. Each man marries only one wife, but they have intercourse with the wives of each other without any concealment. He who has intercourse with the wife of another man hangs up his quiver on a waggon, and lies with her openly. They account the best mode of death to be chopped up when they grow old with the flesh of sheep, and both to be devoured together. Those who die of disease are cast out as impious, and only fit to be the prey of wild beasts; they are excellent horsemen, and also fight well on foot. They use bows, swords, breastplates, and sagares

¹ The Northern Ocean.

of brass, they wear golden belts, and turbans¹ on their heads in battle. Their horses have bits of gold, and golden breast-plates; they have no silver, iron in small quantity, but gold and brass in great plenty.

7. Those who live in the islands have no corn-fields. Their food consists of roots and wild fruits. Their clothes are made of the bark of trees, for they have no sheep. They press out and drink the juice of the fruit of certain trees.

The inhabitants of the marshes eat fish. They are clothed in the skins of seals, which come upon the island from the sea.

The mountaineers subsist on wild fruits. They have besides a few sheep, but they kill them sparingly, and keep them for the sake of their wool and milk. Their clothes they variegate by steeping them in dyes, which produce a colour not easily effaced.

The inhabitants of the plains, although they possess land, do not cultivate it, but derive their subsistence from their flocks, and from fish, after the manner of the nomades and Scythians. I have frequently described a certain way of life common to all these people. Their burial-places and their manners are alike, and their whole manner of living is independent, but rude, savage, and hostile; in their compacts, however, they are simple and without deceit.

8. The Attasii (Augasii?) and the Chorasmii belong to the Massagetæ and Sacæ, to whom Spitamenes directed his flight from Bactria and Sogdiana. He was one of the Persians who, like Bessus, made his escape from Alexander by flight, as Arsaces afterwards fled from Seleucus Callinicus, and retreated among the Aspasiacæ.

Eratosthenes says, that the Bactrians lie along the Arachoti and Massagetæ on the west near the Oxus, and that Sacæ and Sogdiani, through the whole extent of their territory,² are opposite to India, but the Bactrii in part only, for the greater part of their country lies parallel to the Parapomisis; that the Sacæ and Sogdiani are separated by the Iaxartes, and the Sogdiani and Bactriani by the Oxus; that Tapyri occupy the country between Hyrcani and Arii; that around the shores of the sea, next to the Hyrcani, are Amardi, Anariacæ, Cadusii, Albani, Caspii, Vitii, and perhaps other tribes extending as far as the Scythians; that on the other side of the

¹ διαδήματα.

² τοῖς ὅλοις ἐδάφειν.

Hyrçani are Derbices, that the Caducii are contiguous both to the Medes and Matiani below the Parachoathras.

9. These are the distances which he gives.

	Stadia.
From the Caspian Sea to the Cyrus about	1800
Thence to the Caspian Gates	5600
Thence to <i>Alexandria</i> in the territory of the } Arii	6400
Thence to the city <i>Bactra</i> , which is called also } <i>Zariaspa</i>	3870
Thence to the river <i>Iaxartes</i> , which Alexander } reached, about	5000
<hr/>	
Making a total of	22,670

He also assigns the following distances from the Caspian Gates to India.

	Stadia.
To <i>Hecatompylos</i> ¹	1960
To <i>Alexandria</i> ² in the country of the Arii } (<i>Ariana</i>)	4530
Thence to <i>Prophthasia</i> ³ in <i>Dranga</i> ⁴ } (or according to others 1500)	1600
Thence to the city <i>Arachoti</i> ⁵	4120
Thence to <i>Ortospana</i> on the three roads from } <i>Bactra</i> ⁶	2000
Thence to the confines of India	1000
<hr/>	
Which together amount to	15,300 ⁷

¹ There is great doubt where it was situated; the distances recorded by ancient writers not corresponding accurately with known ruins. It has been supposed that *Damgham* corresponds best with this place; but *Damgham* is too near the *Pylæ Caspiæ*: on the whole it is probable that any remains of *Hecatompylos* ought to be sought in the neighbourhood of a place now called *Jah Jirm*. *Smith*, art. *Hecatompylos*.

² Now *Herat*, the capital of *Khorassan*. See *Smith*, art. *Aria Civitas*.

³ *Zarang*.

⁴ *Sigistan*.

⁵ *Ulan Robât*, but see *Smith*, art. *Arachotus*.

⁶ *Balkh*. See *Smith*.

⁷ The sum total is 15,210 stadia, and not 15,300 stadia. This latter sum total is to be found again in b. xv. c. ii. § 8, but the passage there referred to has served to correct a still greater error in the reading of this chapter, viz. 15,500. Corrections of the text have been proposed, but their value is doubtful.

We must regard as continuous with this distance, in a straight line, the length of India, reckoned from the Indus to the Eastern Sea.

Thus much then respecting the Sacæ.

CHAPTER IX.

1. PARTHIA is not an extensive tract of country; for this reason it was united with the Hyrcani for the purpose of paying tribute under the Persian dominion and afterwards, during a long period when the Macedonians were masters of the country. Besides its small extent, it is thickly wooded, mountainous, and produces nothing; so that the kings with their multitude of followers pass with great speed through the country, which is unable to furnish subsistence for such numbers even for a short time. At present it is augmented in extent. Comisene¹ and Chorene are parts of Parthiène, and perhaps also the country as far as the Caspian Gates, Rhagæ, and the Tapyri, which formerly belonged to Media. Apameia and Heracleia are cities in the neighbourhood of Rhagæ.

From the Caspian Gates to Rhagæ are 500 stadia according to Apollodorus, and to Hecatompylos, the royal seat of the Parthians, 1260 stadia. Rhagæ² is said to have had its name from the earthquakes which occurred in that country, by which many cities and two thousand villages, as Poseidonius relates, were overthrown. The Tapyri are said to live between the Derbices and the Hyrcani. Historians say, that it is a custom among the Tapyri to surrender the married women to other men, even when the husbands have had two or three children by them, as Cato surrendered Marcia in our times, according to an ancient custom of the Romans, to Hortensius, at his request.

2. Disturbances having arisen in the countries beyond the Taurus in consequence of the kings of Syria and Media, who possessed the tract of which we are speaking, being engaged in other affairs,³ those who were intrusted with the

¹ Its present name is said to be Comis.

² The Rents.

³ Adopting Tyrwhitt's conjecture, *πρὸς ἄλλοις*.

government of it occasioned first the revolt of Bactriana ; then Euthydemus and his party the revolt of all the country near that province. Afterwards Arsaces, a Scythian, (with the Parni, called nomades, a tribe of the Dahæ, who live on the banks of the Ochus,) invaded Parthia, and made himself master of it. At first both Arsaces and his successors were weakened by maintaining wars with those who had been deprived of their territory. Afterwards they became so powerful, in consequence of their successful warfare, continually depriving their neighbours of portions of their territory, that at last they took possession of all the country within the Euphrates. They deprived Eucratidas, and then the Scythians, by force of arms, of a part of Bactriana. They now have an empire comprehending so large an extent of country, and so many nations, that it almost rivals that of the Romans in magnitude. This is to be attributed to their mode of life and manners, which have indeed much of the barbarous and Scythian character, but are very well adapted for establishing dominion, and for insuring success in war.

3. They say that the Dahæ Parni were an emigrant tribe from the Dahæ above the Mæotis, who are called Xandii and Parii. But it is not generally acknowledged that Dahæ are to be found among the Scythians above the Mæotis, yet from these Arsaces according to some was descended ; according to others he was a Bactrian, and withdrawing himself from the increasing power of Diodotus, occasioned the revolt of Parthia.

We have enlarged on the subject of the Parthian customs in the sixth book of historical commentaries, and in the second of those, which are a sequel to Polybius : we shall omit what we said, in order to avoid repetition ; adding this only, that Poseidonius affirms that the council of the Parthians is composed of two classes, one of relatives, (of the royal family,) and another of wise men and magi, by both of which kings are chosen.

CHAPTER X.

1. ARIA and Margiana, which are the best districts in this portion of Asia, are partly composed of vallæys enclosed by

mountains, and partly of inhabited plains. Some tribes of Scenitæ (dwellers in tents) occupy the mountains ; the plains are watered by the rivers Arius and by the Margus.

Aria borders upon Bactriana, and the mountain¹ which has Bactriana at its foot. It is distant from [the] Hyrcania[n sea] about 6000 stadia.

Drangiana as far as Carmania furnished jointly with Aria payment of the tribute. The greater part of this country is situated at the foot of the southern side of the mountains ; some tracts however approach the northern side opposite Aria.

Arachosia, which belongs to the territory of Aria, is not far distant ; it lies at the foot of the southern side of the mountains, and extends to the river Indus.

The length of Aria is about 2000 stadia, and the breadth of the plain 300 stadia. Its cities are Artacaëna, Alexandria, and Achaïa, which are called after the names of their founders.

The soil produces excellent wines, which may be kept for three generations in unpitched vessels.

2. Margiana is like this country, but the plain is surrounded by deserts. Antiochus Soter admired its fertility ; he enclosed a circle of 1500 stadia with a wall, and founded a city, Antiocheia. The soil is well adapted to vines. They say that a vine stem has been frequently seen there which would require two men to girth it, and bunches of grapes two cubits in size.

CHAPTER XI.

1. SOME parts of Bactria lie along Aria to the north, but the greater part stretches beyond (Aria) to the east. It is an extensive country, and produces everything except oil.

The Greeks who occasioned its revolt became so powerful by means of the fertility and advantages of the country, that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodorus of Artamita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander, (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus,)² conquered more nations than Alexander. These

¹ The Parapomismus. Kramer's proposed correction is adopted.

² For Isamus in the text, Imaus is adopted by Groskurd, and Kramar

conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Pattalene,¹ but of the kingdoms of Saraostus, and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodorus in short says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phryni.

2. Their cities were Bactra, which they call also Zariaspa, (a river of the same name flows through it, and empties itself into the Oxus,) and Darapsa,² and many others. Among these was Eucratidia, which had its name from Eucratidas, the king. When the Greeks got possession of the country, they divided it into satrapies; that of Aspionus and Turiva³ the Parthians took from Eucratidas. They possessed Sogdiana also, situated above Bactriana to the east, between the river Oxus (which bounds Bactriana and Sogdiana) and the Iaxartes; the latter river separates the Sogdii and the nomades.

3. Anciently the Sogdiani and Bactriani did not differ much from the nomades in their mode of life and manners, yet the manners of the Bactriani were a little more civilized. Onesicritus however does not give the most favourable account of this people. Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for this purpose, and whom in the language of the country they call entombers.⁴ The places on the exterior of the walls of the capital of the Bactrians are clean, but the interior is for the most part full of human bones. Alexander abolished this custom. Something of the same kind is related of the Caspii also, who, when their parents have attained the age of 70 years, confine them, and let them die of hunger. This custom, although Scythian in character, is more tolerable than that of the Bactrians, and is similar to the domestic law of the Cei;⁵ the custom however of the Bactrians is much more according to Scythian manners. We may be justly at a loss

considers this reading highly probable. Isamus is not found in any other passage, but Mannert, (Geogr. v. p. 295,) finding in Pliny (N. H. vi. 21, § 17) the river Iomanes, proposes to read in this passage *Ἰομάνου*, in which he recognises the Jumna

¹ Tatta or Sindi.

² Adraspa. B. xv. c. ii. § 10.

³ Mentioned nowhere else. Kramer seems to approve of Du Theil's proposed correction, Tapuria.

⁴ *ἐνταφιαστὰς*.

⁵ B. x. c. v. § 6.

to conjecture,¹ if Alexander found such customs prevailing there, what were the customs which probably were observed by them in the time of the first kings of Persia, and of the princes who preceded them.

4. Alexander, it is said, founded eight cities in Bactriana and Sogdiana; some he razed, among which were Cariatæ in Bactriana, where Callisthenes was seized and imprisoned; Maracanda in Sogdiana, and Cyra, the last of the places founded by Cyrus, situated upon the river Iaxartes, and the boundary of the Persian empire. This also, although it was attached to Cyrus, he razed on account of its frequent revolts.

Alexander took also, it is said, by means of treachery, strong fortified rocks; one of which belonged to Sisimithres in Bactriana, where Oxyartes kept his daughter Roxana; another to Oxus in Sogdiana, or, according to some writers, to Ariamazas. The stronghold of Sisimithres is described by historians to have been fifteen stadia in height, and eighty stadia in circuit. On the summit is a level ground, which is fertile and capable of maintaining 500 men. Here Alexander was entertained with sumptuous hospitality, and here he espoused Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes. The height of the fortress in Sogdiana is double the height of this. It was near these places that he destroyed the city of the Branchidæ, whom Xerxes settled there, and who had voluntarily accompanied him from their own country. They had delivered up to the Persians the riches of the god at Didymi, and the treasure there deposited. Alexander destroyed their city in abhorrence of their treachery and sacrilege.

5. Aristobulus calls the river, which runs through Sogdiana, Polytimetus, a name imposed by the Macedonians, as they imposed many others, some of which were altogether new, others were deflections² from the native appellations. This river after watering the country flows through a desert and sandy soil, and is absorbed in the sand, like the Arius, which flows through the territory of the Arii.

It is said that on digging near the river Ochus a spring of oil was discovered. It is probable, that as certain nitrous, astringent, bituminous, and sulphurous fluids permeate the earth, greasy fluids may be found, but the rarity of their occurrence makes their existence almost doubtful.

¹ The text is corrupt.

² *παρωνόμασαν.*

The course of the Ochus, according to some writers, is through Bactriana, according to others parallel to it. Some allege that, taking a more southerly direction, it is distinct from the Oxus to its mouths, but that they both discharge themselves (separately) into the Caspian in Hyrcania. Others again say that it is distinct, at its commencement, from the Oxus, but that it (afterwards) unites with the latter river, having in many places a breadth of six or seven stadia.

The Iaxartes is distinct from the Oxus from its commencement to its termination, and empties itself into the same sea. Their mouths, according to Patrocles, are about 80 parasangs distant from each other. The Persian parasang some say contains 60, others 30 or 40, stadia.

When I was sailing up the Nile, schoeni of different measures were used in passing from one city to another, so that the same number of schoeni gave in some places a longer, in others a shorter, length to the voyage. This mode of computation has been handed down from an early period, and is continued to the present time.

6. In proceeding from Hyrcania towards the rising sun as far as Sogdiana, the nations beyond (within?) the Taurus were known first to the Persians, and afterwards to the Macedonians and Parthians. The nations lying in a straight line¹ above these people are supposed to be Scythian, from their resemblance to that nation. But we are not acquainted with any expeditions which have been undertaken against them, nor against the most northerly tribes of the nomades. Alexander proposed to conduct his army against them, when he was in pursuit of Bessus and Spitamenes, but when Bessus was taken prisoner, and Spitamenes put to death by the Barbarians, he desisted from executing his intention.

It is not generally admitted, that persons have passed round by sea from India to Hyrcania, but Patrocles asserts that it may be done.

7. It is said that the termination of Taurus, which is called Imaus, approaches close to the Indian Sea, and neither advances towards nor recedes from the East more than India itself. But on passing to the northern side, the sea contracts (throughout the whole coast) the length and breadth of India, so as to shorten on the East the portion of Asia we are now

¹ i. e. on the same parallel.

describing, comprehended between the Taurus and the Northern Ocean, which forms the Caspian Sea.

The greatest length of this portion, reckoned from the Hyrcanian Sea to the (Eastern) Ocean opposite Imaus, is about 30,000 stadia,¹ the route being along the mountainous tract of Taurus; the breadth is less than 10,000 stadia.² We have said before, that³ from the bay of Issus to the eastern sea along the coast of India is about 40,000 stadia, and to Issus from the western extremities at the pillars 30,000 stadia. The recess of the bay of Issus is little, if at all, more to the east than Amisus; from Amisus to Hyrcania is about 10,000 stadia in a line parallel to that which we have described as drawn from the bay of Issus to India. There remains therefore for the portion now delineated the above-mentioned length towards the east, namely, 30,000 stadia.⁴

¹ That is, from the Caspian Gates to Thinæ. *Gossellin*.

² Strabo does not here determine either the parallel from which we are to measure, nor the meridian we are to follow to discover this greatest breadth, which according to him is "less than 10,000 stadia." This passage therefore seems to present great difficulties. The difficulties respecting the parallel can only be perceived by an examination and comparison of the numerous passages where our author indicates the direction of the chain of mountains which form the Taurus.

³ I do not see where this statement is to be found, except implicitly. Strabo seems to refer us in general to various passages where he endeavours to determine the greatest length of the habitable world, in b. ii. *Du Theil*.

⁴ I am unable to fix upon the author's train of thought. For immediately after having assigned to this portion of the Habitable Earth (whose dimensions he wishes to determine) 30,000 stadia as its "greatest length," and 10,000 stadia as its "greatest breadth," Strabo proceeds to prove what he had just advanced respecting its greatest length. Then he should, it seems, have endeavoured to furnish us, in the same manner, with a proof that its greatest breadth is not more, as he says, than 10,000. But in what follows there is nothing advanced on this point; all that he says is to develop another proposition, viz. that the extent of the Hyrcanian—Caspian Sea is at the utmost 6000 stadia.

The arguments contained in this paragraph on the whole appear to me strange; they rest on a basis which it is difficult to comprehend; they establish explicitly a proposition which disagrees with what the author has said elsewhere, and lastly they present an enormous geographical error.

It will therefore be useful to the reader to explain, as far as I understand it, the argument of our author.

1. The exact form of the chlamys is unknown to us, but it was such, that its greatest *breadth* was to be found, if not exactly in, at least near, the middle of its *length*. The Habitable Earth being of the form of a

Again, since the breadth of the longest part of the habitable earth, which has the shape of a chlamys, (or a military cloak,) is about 30,000 stadia, this distance would be near the meridian line drawn through the Hyrcanian and the Persian Seas, for the length of the habitable earth is 70,000 stadia. If therefore from Hyrcania to Artemita¹ in Babylonia are 8000 stadia according to Apollodorus of Artemita, and thence to the mouth of the Persian Sea 8000, and again 8000, or a little short of that number, to the places on the same parallel with the extremities of Æthiopia, there would remain, to complete the breadth as I have described it, of the habitable earth, the number of stadia² which I have mentioned, reckoning from the recess of the Hyrcanian Sea to its mouth. This segment of the earth being truncated towards the eastern parts, its figure would resemble a cook's knife, for the mountainous range being prolonged in a straight line, answers to the edge, while the shape of the coast from the mouth of the Hyrcanian Sea to Tamarus on the other side terminates in a circular truncated line.

Chlamys, its greatest *breadth* would be found about the middle of its greatest *length*.

2. The greatest *length* of the Habitable World being 70,000 stadia, its greatest *breadth* ought to be found at the distance of 35,000 stadia from its eastern or western extremity, but this greatest *breadth* is only 30,000 stadia, and it does not extend, on the north, beyond the parallel of the mouth of the Hyrcanian Sea. B. ii.

3. The meridian which passes at the distance of 35,000 stadia from the eastern or western extremities of the Habitable Earth, is that which, drawn from the mouth of the Hyrcanian Sea to the Northern Ocean, and prolonged in another direction through the mouth of the Persian Gulf to the sea called Erythræan, would pass through the city Artemita. Consequently it is on the meridian of Artemita that we must look for the greatest breadth of the Habitable Earth.

4. On this same meridian, we must reckon from the parallel of the last habitable country in the south to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, about 8000 stadia; then from the mouth of the Persian Gulf to Artemita, 8000 stadia; and from Artemita to the bottom of the Hyrcanian Sea, 8000 stadia: total 24,000 stadia.

5. It being established that the breadth of the Habitable Earth is 30,000 stadia, and not to extend it northwards beyond the parallel of the mouth of the Hyrcanian Sea, where it communicates with the Northern Ocean, the distance to this point from the bottom of this same sea must be calculated at 6000 stadia. *Du Theil*.

¹ The modern Shirban is supposed to occupy its site.

² Namely 6000. B. ii. c. i. § 17.

8. We must mention some of the extraordinary circumstances which are related of those tribes which are perfectly barbarous, living about Mount Caucasus, and the other mountainous districts.

What Euripides expresses in the following lines is said to be a custom among them ;

“ they lament the birth of the new-born on account of the many evils to which they are exposed ; but the dead, and one at rest from his troubles, is carried forth from his home with joy and gratulation.”

Other tribes do not put to death even the greatest offenders, but only banish them from their territories together with their children ; which is contrary to the custom of the Derbices, who punish even slight offences with death. The Derbices worship the earth. They neither sacrifice, nor eat the female of any animal. Persons who attain the age of above seventy years are put to death by them, and their nearest relations eat their flesh. Old women are strangled, and then buried. Those who die under seventy years of age are not eaten, but are only buried.

The Siginni in general practise Persian customs. They have small horses with shaggy hair, but which are not able to carry a rider. Four of these horses are harnessed together, driven by women, who are trained to this employment from childhood. The best driver marries whom she pleases. Some, they say, make it their study to appear with heads as long as possible, and with foreheads projecting over their chins.

The Tapyrii have a custom for the men to dress in black, and wear their hair long, and the women to dress in white, and wear their hair short. [They live between the Derbices and Hyrcani.]¹ He who is esteemed the bravest marries whom he likes.

The Caspii starve to death those who are above seventy years old, by exposing them in a desert place. The exposed are observed at a distance ; if they are dragged from their resting-place by birds, they are then pronounced happy ; but if by wild beasts, or dogs, less fortunate ; but if by none of these, ill-fated.

¹ Introduced from the margin according to Groskurd's opinion, supported also by Kramer.

CHAPTER XII.

1. SINCE the Taurus constitutes the northern parts of Asia, which are called also the parts within the Taurus, I propose to speak first of these.

They are situated either entirely, or chiefly, among the mountains. Those to the east of the Caspian Gates admit of a shorter description on account of the rude state of the people, nor is there much difference whether they are referred to one climate¹ or the other. All the western countries furnish abundant matter for description. We must therefore proceed to the places situated near the Caspian Gates.

Media lies towards the west, an extensive country, and formerly powerful; it is situated in the middle of Taurus, which here has many branches, and contains large valleys, as is the case in Armenia.

2. This mountain has its beginning in Caria and Lycia, but does not exhibit there either considerable breadth or height. It first appears to have a great altitude opposite the Chelidoneæ,² which are islands situated in front of the commencement of the Pamphylian coast. It extends towards the east, and includes the long valleys of Cilicia. Then on one side the Amanus³ is detached from it, and on the other the Anti-Taurus.⁴ In the latter is situated Comana,⁵ belonging to the Upper Cappadocia. It terminates in Cataonia, but Mount Amanus is continued as far as the Euphrates, and Melitene,⁶ where Commagene extends along Cappadocia. It receives the mountains beyond the Euphrates, which are continuous with those before mentioned, except the part which is intercepted by the river flowing through the middle of them.

¹ i. e. To northern or southern Asia. B. ii. c. i. § 20.

² There are five islands off the Hiera Acta, which is now Cape Khelidonia. The Greeks still call them Cheledoniæ, of which the Italians make Celidoni; and the Turks have adopted the Italian name, and call them Shelidan. *Smith*, art. Chelidoniæ Insulæ.

³ Amanus descends from the mass of Taurus, and surrounds the Gulf of Issus.

⁴ Dudschik Dagh.

⁵ It is generally supposed that the modern town Al Bostan on the Sikoön, Seihun, or Sarus, is or is near the site of Comana of Cappadocia. *Smith*, art. Comana.

⁶ Malatia.

Here its height and breadth become greater, and its branches more numerous. The Taurus extends the farthest distance towards the south, where it separates Armenia from Mesopotamia.

3. From the south flow both rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, which encircle Mesopotamia, and approach close to each other at Babylonia, and then discharge themselves into the sea on the coast of Persia. The Euphrates is the larger river, and traverses a greater tract of country with a tortuous course, it rises in the northern part of Taurus, and flows toward the west through Armenia the Greater, as it is called, to Armenia the Less, having the latter on the right and Acilisene on the left hand. It then turns to the south, and at its bend touches the boundaries of Cappadocia. It leaves this and Commagene on the right hand; on the left Acilisene and Sophene,¹ belonging to the Greater Armenia. It proceeds onwards to Syria, and again makes another bend in its way to Babylonia and the Persian Gulf.

The Tigris takes its course from the southern part of the same mountains to Seleucia,² approaches close to the Euphrates, with which it forms Mesopotamia. It then empties itself into the same gulf.

The sources of the Tigris and of the Euphrates are distant from each other about 2500 stadia.

4. Towards the north there are many forks which branch away from the Taurus. One of these is called Anti-Taurus, for there the mountain had this name, and includes Sophene in a valley situated between Anti-Taurus and the Taurus.

Next to the Anti-Taurus on the other side of the Euphrates, along the Lesser Armenia, there stretches towards the north a large mountain with many branches, one of which is called Paryadres,³ another the Moschic mountains, and others by other names. The Moschic mountains comprehend the whole of Armenians as far as the Iberians and Albanians. Other mountains again rise towards the east above the Caspian Sea, and extend as far as Media the Greater, and the Atropatian-Media. They call all these parts of the mountains Parachathras, as well as those which extend to the Caspian Gates, and those still farther above towards the east, which are contigu-

¹ Dzophok.

² Azerbaijan

³ The range overhanging Cerasus, now Kerasun.

ous to Asia. The following are the names of the mountains towards the north.

The southern mountains on the other side of the Euphrates, extending towards the east from Cappadocia and Commagene,¹ at their commencement have the name of Taurus, which separates Sophene and the rest of Armenia from Mesopotamia, but some writers call them the Gordyæan mountains.² Among these is Mount Masius,³ which is situated above Nisibis,⁴ and Tigranocerta.⁵ It then becomes more elevated, and is called Niphates.⁶ Somewhere in this part on the southern side of the mountainous chain are the sources of the Tigris. Then the ridge of mountains continuing to extend from the Niphates forms the mountain Zagrius, which separates Media and Babylonia. After the Zagrius follows above Babylonia the mountainous range of the Elymæi and Parætaceni, and above Media that of the Cossæi.

In the middle of these branches are situated Media and Armenia, which comprise many mountains, and many mountain plains, as well as plains and large valleys. Numerous small tribes live around among the mountains, who are for the most part robbers.

We thus place within the Taurus Armenia and Media, to which belong the Caspian Gates.

5. In our opinion these nations may be considered as situated to the north, since they are within the Taurus. But Eratosthenes, having divided Asia into southern and northern portions, and what he calls seals, (or sections,)⁷ designating some as northern, others as southern, makes the Caspian Gates the boundary of both climates. He might without any impropriety have represented the more southern parts of the Caspian Gates as in southern Asia, among which are Media and Armenia, and the parts more to the north than the Caspian Gates in northern Asia, which might be the case according to different descriptions of the country. But perhaps Eratosthenes did not attend to the circumstance, that there

¹ Camasch. The country situated N. W. of the Euphrates in about 38° lat.

² The range of Kurdistan on the E. of the Tigris.

³ The range lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris, between 37° and 38° lat.

⁴ Nisibin or Netzid.

⁵ Meja-Farkin, by "above" these cities, would appear to mean overhanging them both, as it is situated between them.

⁶ Napat-Learn.

⁷ B. ii. c. i. § 22.

is no part of Armenia nor of Media towards the south on the other side of the Taurus.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. MEDIA is divided into two parts, one of which is called the Greater Media. Its capital is Ecbatana,¹ a large city containing the royal seat of the Median empire. This palace the Parthians continue to occupy even at this time. Here their kings pass the summer, for the air of Media is cool. Their winter residence is at Seleucia, on the Tigris, near Babylon.

The other division is Atropatian Media. It had its name from Atropatus, a chief who prevented this country, which is a part of Greater Media, from being subjected to the dominion of the Macedonians. When he was made king he established the independence of this country; his successors continue to the present day, and have at different times contracted marriages with the kings of Armenia, Syria, and Parthia.

2. Atropatian Media borders upon Armenia and Matiane² towards the east, towards the west on the Greater Media, and on both towards the north; towards the south it is contiguous to the people living about the recess of the Hyrcanian Sea, and to Matiane.

According to Apollonides its strength is not inconsiderable, since it can furnish 10,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry.

It contains a lake called Spauta,³ (Kapauta,) in which salt effloresces, and is consolidated. The salt occasions itching and pain, but oil is a cure for both, and sweet water restores the colour of clothes, which have the appearance of being burnt,⁴ when they have been immersed in the lake by ignorant persons for the purpose of washing them.

¹ Hamadan.

² An interpolation; probably introduced from Matiane below. *Falconer. Kramer.*

³ Its ancient name according to Kramer was Kapotan. Kaputan-Dzow, The Blue Lake, now the Lake Urmiah.

⁴ *καπρωθείσιν.* Kramer observes that the meaning of the word in this passage is not clear. It may possibly mean some colour to which the name of the lake was given.

They have powerful neighbours in the Armenians and Parthians, by whom they are frequently plundered ; they resist however, and recover what has been taken away, as they recovered Symbace¹ from the Armenians, who were defeated by the Romans, and they themselves became the friends of Cæsar. They at the same time endeavour to conciliate the Parthians.

3. The summer palace is at Gazaka, situated in a plain ; the winter palace² is in Vera, a strong fortress which Antony besieged in his expedition against the Parthians. The last is distant from the Araxes, which separates Armenia and Atropatene, 2400 stadia, according to Dëllius, the friend of Antony, who wrote an account of the expedition of Antony against the Parthians, which he himself accompanied, and in which he held a command.

The other parts of this country are fertile, but that towards the north is mountainous, rugged, and cold, the abode of the mountain tribes of Cadusii Amardi, Tapyri, Curtii, and other similar nations, who are migratory, and robbers. These people are scattered over the Zagrus and Niphates. The Curtii in Persia, and Mardi, (for so they call the Amardi,) and those in Armenia, and who bear the same name at present, have the same kind of character.

4. The Cadusii have an army of foot soldiers not inferior in number to that of the Ariani. They are very expert in throwing the javelin. In the rocky places the soldiers engage in battle on foot, instead of on their horses. The expedition of Antony was harassing to the army, not by the nature of the country, but by the conduct of their guide, Artavasdes, king of the Armenii, whom Antony rashly made his adviser, and master of his intentions respecting the war, when at the same time that prince was contriving a plan for his destruction. Antony punished Artavasdes, but too late ; the latter had been the cause of many calamities to the Romans, in conjunction with another person ; he made the march from the Zeugma on the Euphrates to the borders of Atropatene to exceed 8000 stadia, or double the distance of the direct course, [by leading the army] over mountains, and places where there were no roads, and by a circuitous route.

¹ It is uncertain whether this is a place, or a district.

² Adopting Groskurd's emendation *χειμάδιον*.

5. The Greater Media anciently governed the whole of Asia, after the overthrow of the Syrian empire: but afterwards, in the time of Astyages, the Medes were deprived of this extensive sovereignty by Cyrus and the Persians, yet they retained much of their ancient importance. Ecbatana was the winter (royal ?) residence¹ of the Persian kings, as it was of the Macedonian princes, who overthrew the Persian empire, and got possession of Syria. It still continues to serve the same purpose, and affords security to the kings of Parthia.

6. Media is bounded on the east by Parthia, and by the mountains of the Cossæi, a predatory tribe. They once furnished the Elymæi, whose allies they were in the war against the Susii and Babylonians, with 13,000 archers. Nearchus says that there were four robber tribes; the Mardi, who were contiguous to the Persians; the Uxii and Elymæi, who were on the borders of the Persians and Susii; and the Cossæi, on those of the Medes; that all of them exacted tribute from the kings; that the Cossæi received presents, when the king, having passed his summer at Ecbatana went down to Babylonia; that Alexander attacked them in the winter time, and repressed their excessive insolence. Media is bounded on the east by these nations, and by the Parætaceni, who are contiguous to the Persians, and are mountaineers, and robbers; on the north by the Cadusii, who live above the Hyrcanian Sea, and by other nations, whom we have just enumerated; on the south by the Apolloniatis, which the ancients called Sitacene, and by the Zagrus, along which lies Massabatica, which belongs to Media, but according to others, to Elymæa; on the west by the Atropatii, and by some tribes of the Armenians.

There are also Grecian cities in Media, founded by Macedonians, as Laodiceia, Apameia, Heracleia near Rhagæ, and Rhaga itself, founded by Nicator, who called it Europus, and the Parthians Arsacia, situated about 500 stadia to the south of the Caspian Gates, according to Apollodorus of Artemita.

7. The greater part of Media consists of high ground, and is cold; such are the mountains above Ecbatana, and the places about Rhagæ and the Caspian Gates, and the northern parts in general extending thence as far as Matiane and Armenia.

¹ In the text *χειμάειον*. Kramer suggests the reading *βασιλειον*.

The country below the Caspian Gates consists of flat grounds and valleys. It is very fertile, and produces everything except the olive, or if it grows anywhere it does not yield oil, and is dry. The country is peculiarly adapted, as well as Armenia, for breeding horses. There is a meadow tract called Hippobotus, which is traversed by travellers on their way from Persia and Babylonia to the Caspian Gates. Here, it is said, fifty thousand mares were pastured in the time of the Persians, and were the king's stud. The Nesæan horses, the best and largest in the king's province, were of this breed, according to some writers, but according to others they came from Armenia. Their shape is peculiar, as is that of the Parthian horses, compared with those of Greece and others in our country.

The herbage which constitutes the chief food of the horses we call peculiarly by the name of Medic, from its growing in Media in great abundance. The country produces Silphium,¹ from which is obtained the Medic juice, much inferior to the Cyrenaic, but sometimes it excels the latter, which may be accounted for by the difference of places, or from a change the plant may undergo, or from the mode of extracting and preparing the juice so as to continue good when laid by for use.

8. Such then is the nature of the country with respect to magnitude; its length and breadth are nearly equal. The greatest breadth (length?)² however seems to be that reckoned from the pass across the Zagrus, which is called the Median Gate, to the Caspian Gates, through the country of Sigriana, 4100 stadia.

The account of the tribute paid agrees with the extent and wealth of the country. Cappadocia paid to the Persians yearly, in addition to a tribute in silver, 1500 horses, 2000 mules, and 50,000 sheep, and the Medes contributed nearly double this amount.

9. Many of their customs are the same as those of the Armenians, from the similarity of the countries which they inhabit. The Medes however were the first to communicate them to the Armenians, and still before that time to the Persians, who were their masters, and successors in the empire of Asia.

¹ Lucerne?

² Groskurd proposes "length."

The Persian stole, as it is now called, the pursuit of archery and horsemanship, the court paid to their kings, their attire, and veneration fitting for gods paid by the subjects to the prince,—these the Persians derived from the Medes. That this is the fact appears chiefly from their dress. A tiara, a citaris, a hat,¹ tunics with sleeves reaching to the hands, and trowsers, are proper to be worn in cold and northerly places, such as those in Media, but they are not by any means adapted to inhabitants of the south. The Persians had their principal settlements on the Gulf of Persia, being situated more to the south than the Babylonians and the Susii. But after the overthrow of the Medes they gained possession of some tracts of country contiguous to Media. The custom however of the vanquished appeared to the conquerors to be so noble, and appropriate to royal state, that instead of nakedness or scanty clothing, they endured the use of the feminine stole, and were entirely covered with dress to the feet.

10. Some writers say that Medeia, when with Jason she ruled in these countries, introduced this kind of dress, and concealed her countenance as often as she appeared in public in place of the king; that the memorials of Jason are, the Jasonian heroa,² held in great reverence by the Barbarians, (besides a great mountain above the Caspian Gates on the left hand, called Jasonium,) and that the memorials of Medeia are the kind of dress, and the name of the country. Medus, her son, is said to have been her successor in the kingdom, and the country to have been called after his name. In agreement with this are the Jasonia in Armenia, the name of the country, and many other circumstances which we shall mention.

11. It is a Median custom to elect the bravest person as king, but this does not generally prevail, being confined to the mountain tribes. The custom for the kings to have many wives is more general, it is found among all the mountaineers also, but they are not permitted to have less than five. In the same manner the women think it honourable for husbands to have as many wives as possible, and esteem it a misfortune if they have less than five.

While the rest of Media is very fertile, the northern and mountainous part is barren. The people subsist upon the produce of trees. They make cakes of apples, sliced and

¹ πῖλος.

² Heroic monuments of Jason.

dried, and bread of roasted almonds; they express a wine from some kind of roots. They eat the flesh of wild animals, and do not breed any tame animals. So much then respecting the Medes. As to the laws and customs in common use throughout the whole of Media, as they are the same as those of the Persians in consequence of the establishment of the Persian empire, I shall speak of them when I give an account of the latter nation.

CHAPTER XIV.

1. THE southern parts of Armenia lie in front of the Taurus, which separates Armenia from the whole of the country situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and which is called Mesopotamia. The eastern parts are contiguous to the Greater Media, and to Atropatene. To the north are the range of the mountains of Parachoathras lying above the Caspian Sea, the Albanians, Iberians, and the Caucasus. The Caucasus encircles these nations, and approaches close to the Armenians, the Moschic and Colchic mountains, and extends as far as the country of the people called Tibareni. On the west are these nations and the mountains Paryadres and Scydises, extending to the Lesser Armenia, and the country on the side of the Euphrates, which divides Armenia from Cappadocia and Commagene.

2. The Euphrates rises in the northern side of the Taurus, and flows at first towards the west through Armenia, it then makes a bend to the south, and intersects the Taurus between the Armenians, Cappadocians, and Commageni. Then issuing outwards and entering Syria, it turns towards the winter sun-rise as far as Babylon, and forms Mesopotamia with the Tigris. Both these rivers terminate in the Persian Gulf.

Such is the nature of the places around Armenia, almost all of them mountainous and rugged, except a few tracts which verge towards Media.

To the above-mentioned Taurus, which commences again in the country on the other side of the Euphrates, occupied

by the Commageni, and Meliteni formed by the Euphrates, belongs Mount Masius, which is situated on the south above the Mygdones in Mesopotamia, in whose territory is Nisibis; on the northern parts is Sophene, lying between the Masius and Anti-Taurus. Anti-Taurus begins from the Euphrates and the Taurus, and terminates at the eastern parts of Armenia, enclosing within it Sophene. It has on the other side Acilisene, which lies between [Anti-]Taurus and the bed of the Euphrates before it turns to the south. The royal city of Sophene is Carcathiocerta.¹

Above Mount Masius far to the east along Gordyene is the Niphates, then the Abus,² from which flow both the Euphrates and the Araxes, the former to the west, the latter to the east; then the Nibarus, which extends as far as Media.

3. We have described the course of the Euphrates. The Araxes, after running to the east as far as Atropatene, makes a bend towards the west and north. It then first flows beside Azara, then by Artaxata,³ a city of the Armenians; afterwards it passes through the plain of Araxenus to discharge itself into the Caspian Sea.

4. There are many mountains in Armenia, and many mountain plains, in which not even the vine grows. There are also many valleys, some are moderately fertile, others are very productive, as the Araxenian plain, through which the river Araxes flows to the extremities of Albania, and empties itself into the Caspian Sea. Next is Sacasene, which borders upon Albania, and the river Cyrus; then Gogarene. All this district abounds with products of the soil, cultivated fruit trees and evergreens. It bears also the olive.

There is Phauene, (Phanenæ, Phasiana?) a province of Armenia, Comisene, and Orchistene, which furnishes large bodies of cavalry.

¹ Kharput.

² An almost uniform tradition has pointed out an isolated peak of this range as the Ararat of Scripture. It is still called Ararat or Agri-Dagh, and by the Persians Kuh-il-Nuh, mountain of Noah. *Smith*.

³ Formerly the mass of ruins called Takt-Tiridate, (Throne of Tiridates,) near the junction of the Aras and the Zengue, were supposed to represent the ancient Artaxata. Col. Monteith fixes the site at a remarkable bend of the river somewhat lower down than this. See *Smith*, art. Artaxata.

Chorzene¹ and Cambysene are the most northerly countries, and particularly subject to falls of snow. They are contiguous to the Caucasian mountains, to Iberia, and Colchis. Here, they say, on the passes over mountains, it frequently happens that whole companies of persons have been overwhelmed in violent snow-storms. Travellers are provided against such dangerous accidents with poles, which they force upwards to the surface of the snow, for the purpose of breathing, and of signifying their situation to other travellers who may come that way, so that they may receive assistance, be extricated, and so escape alive.

They say that hollow masses are consolidated in the snow, which contain good water, enveloped as in a coat; that animals are bred in the snow, which Apollonides call scoleces,² and Theophanes, thripes, and that these hollow masses contain good water, which is obtained by breaking open their coats or coverings. The generation of these animals is supposed to be similar to that of the gnats, (or mosquitos,) from flames, and the sparks in mines.

5. According to historians, Armenia, which was formerly a small country, was enlarged by Artaxias and Zariadris, who had been generals of Antiochus the Great, and at last, after his overthrow, when they became kings, (the former of Sophene, Acisene, (Amphissene?) Odomantis, and some other places, the latter of the country about Artaxata,) they simultaneously aggrandized themselves, by taking away portions of the territory of the surrounding nations: from the Medes they took the Caspiana, Phaunitis, and Basoropeda; from the Iberians, the country at the foot of the Paryadres, the Chorzene, and Gogarene, which is on the other side of the Cyrus; from the Chalybes, and the Mosyncæci, Carenitis and Xerxene, which border upon the Lesser Armenia, or are even parts of it; from the Cataones, Acilisene,³ and the country about the Anti-Taurus; from the Syrians, Taronitis;³ hence they all speak the same language.

6. The cities of Armenia are Artaxata, called also Artax-

¹ Kars is the capital of this country.

² σκώληκας and θρίπας, species of worms. See *Smith*, art. Chorzene.

³ Melitene. *Groskurd*.

⁴ It corresponds, *Kramer* observes, with Taron, a province of Armenia, which is called by *Tacitus*, *Ann.* xiv. 24, Taraunitium (not Taranium) regio.

iasata, built by Hannibal for the king Artaxias, and Arxata, both situated on the Araxes; Arxata on the confines of Atropatia, and Artaxata near the Araxenian plain; it is well inhabited, and the seat of the kings of the country. It lies upon a peninsular elbow of land; the river encircles the walls except at the isthmus, which is enclosed by a ditch and rampart.

Not far from the city are the treasure-storehouses of Tigranes and Artavasdes, the strong fortresses Babyrsa, and Olane. There were others also upon the Euphrates. Ador, (Addon?) the governor of the fortress, occasioned the revolt of Artageræ, but the generals of Cæsar retook it after a long siege, and destroyed the walls.

7. There are many rivers in the country. The most celebrated are the Phasis and Lycus; they empty themselves into the Euxine; (Eratosthenes instead of the Lycus mentions the Thermodon, but erroneously;) the Cyrus and the Araxes into the Caspian, and the Euphrates and the Tigris into the Persian Gulf.

8. There are also large lakes in Armenia; one the Mantiane,¹ which word translated signifies Cyane, or Blue, the largest salt-water lake, it is said, after the Palus Mæotis, extending as far as (Media-) Atropatia. It has salt pans for the concretion of salt.

The next is Arsene,² which is also called Thopitis. Its waters contain nitre, and are used for cleaning and fulling clothes. It is unfit by these qualities for drinking. The Tigris passes through this lake³ after issuing from the mountainous country near the Niphates, and by its rapidity keeps its stream unmixed with the water of the lake, whence it has its name, for the Medes call an arrow, Tigris. This river contains fish of various kinds, but the lake one kind only.

¹ We should read probably Matiane. The meaning of the word proposed by Strabo may easily be proved to be incorrect, by reference to the Armenian language, in which no such word is to be found bearing this sense. As *Kapoi* in the Armenian tongue signifies "blue," this explanation of Strabo's appears to refer to the lake Spauta or Kapauta, above, c. xiii. § 2. *Kramer*.

² The lake Arsissa, Thospitis or Van.

³ This is an error; one of the branches of the Tigris rises among the mountains on the S. W. of the lake Van, and which form part of the range of Nepat-Learn or Niphates.

At the extremity of the lake the river falls into a deep cavity in the earth. After pursuing a long course under-ground, it re-appears in the Chalonitis; thence it goes to Opis, and to the wall of Semiramis, as it is called, leaving the Gordyæi¹ and the whole of Mesopotamia on the right hand. The Euphrates, on the contrary, has the same country on the left. Having approached one another, and formed Mesopotamia, one traverses Seleucia in its course to the Persian Gulf, the other Babylon, as I have said in replying to Eratosthenes and Hipparchus.

9. There are mines of gold in the Hyspiratis,² near Calla. Alexander sent Menon to the mines with a body of soldiers, but he was strangled³ by the inhabitants of the country. There are other mines, and also a mine of Sandyx as it is called, to which is given the name of Armenian colour, it resembles the Calche.⁴

This country is so well adapted, being nothing inferior in this respect to Media, for breeding horses, that the race of Nesæan horses, which the kings of Persia used, is found here also; the satrap of Armenia used to send annually to the king of Persia 20,000 foals at the time of the festival of the Mithracina. Artavasdes, when he accompanied Antony in his invasion of Media, exhibited, besides other bodies of cavalry, 6000 horse covered with complete armour drawn up in array.

Not only do the Medes and Armenians, but the Albanians also, admire this kind of cavalry, for the latter use horses covered with armour.

10. Of the riches and power of this country, this is no slight proof, that when Pompey imposed upon Tigranes, the father of Artavasdes, the payment of 6000 talents of silver, he immediately distributed the money among the Roman army, to each soldier 50 drachmæ, 1000 to a centurion, and a talent to a Hipparch and a Chiliarch.

11. Theophanes represents this as the size of the country; its breadth to be 100 schoeni, and its length double this number, reckoning the schoenus at 40 stadia; but this computation exceeds the truth. It is nearer the truth to take the

¹ The Kurds.

² Groskurd proposes Syspiritis.

³ ἀπῆγχθη. *Meineke*.

⁴ It is doubtful whether this colour was red, blue, or purple.

length as he has given it, and the breadth at one half, or a little more.

Such then is the nature of the country of Armenia, and its power.

12. There exists an ancient account of the origin of this nation to the following effect. Armenus of Armenium, a Thessalian city, which lies between Pheræ and Larisa on the lake Bœbe, accompanied Jason, as we have already said, in his expedition into Armenia, and from Armenus the country had its name, according to Cyrsilus the Pharsalian and Medius the Larisæan, persons who had accompanied the army of Alexander. Some of the followers of Armenus settled in Acilisene, which was formerly subject to the Sopheni; others in the Syspiritis, and spread as far as Calachene and Adiabene, beyond the borders of Armenia.

The dress of the Armenian people is said to be of Thessalian origin; such are the long tunics, which in tragedies are called Thessalian; they are fastened about the body with a girdle, and with a clasp on the shoulder. The tragedians, for they required some additional decoration of this kind, imitate the Thessalians in their attire. The Thessalians in particular, from wearing a long dress, (probably because they inhabit the most northerly and the coldest country in all Greece,) afforded the most appropriate subject of imitation to actors for their theatrical representations. The passion for riding and the care of horses characterize the Thessalians, and are common to Armenians and Medes.

The Jasonia are evidence of the expedition of Jason: some of these memorials the sovereigns of the country restored, as Parmenio restored the temple of Jason at Abdera.

13. It is supposed that Armenus and his companions called the Araxes by this name on account of its resemblance to the Peneius, for the Peneius had the name of Araxes from bursting through Tempe, and rending (*ἀπαράζαι*) Ossa from Olympus. The Araxes also in Armenia, descending from the mountains, is said to have spread itself in ancient times, and to have overflowed the plains, like a sea, having no outlet; that Jason, in imitation of what is to be seen at Tempe, made the opening through which the water at present precipitates itself into the Caspian Sea; that upon this the Araxenian

plain, through which the river flows to the cataract, became uncovered. This story which is told of the river Araxes contains some probability; that of Herodotus¹ none whatever. For he says that, after flowing out of the country of the Matiani, it is divided into forty rivers, and separates the Scythians from the Bactrians. Callisthenes has followed Herodotus.

14. Some tribes of *Ænians* are mentioned, some of whom settled in *Vitia*, others above the Armenians beyond the *Abus* and the *Nibarus*. These latter are branches of *Taurus*; the *Abus* is near the road which leads to *Ecbatana* by the temple of *Baris* (*Zaris*?).

Some tribes of *Thracians*, surnamed *Saraparæ*, or decapitators, are said to live above Armenia, near the *Gouranii* and *Medes*. They are a savage people, intractable mountaineers, and scalp and decapitate strangers; for such is the meaning of the term *Saraparæ*.

I have spoken of *Medeia* in the account of *Media*, and it is conjectured from all the circumstances that the *Medes* and *Armenians* are allied in some way to the *Thessalians*, descended from *Jason* and *Medeia*.

15. This is the ancient account, but the more recent, and extending from the time of the *Persians* to our own age, may be given summarily, and in part only (as follows); *Persians* and *Macedonians* gained possession of Armenia, next those who were masters of *Syria* and *Media*. The last was *Orontes*, a descendant of *Hydarnes*, one of the seven *Persians*: it was then divided into two portions by *Artaxias* and *Zariadris*, generals of *Antiochus the Great*, who made war against the *Romans*. These were governors by permission of the king, but upon his overthrow they attached themselves to the *Romans*, were declared independent, and had the title of kings. *Tigranes* was a descendant of *Artaxias*, and had Armenia, properly so called. This country was contiguous to *Media*, to the *Albani*, and to the *Iberes*, and extended as far as *Colchis*, and *Cappadocia* upon the *Euxine*.

Artanes the *Sophenian* was the descendant of *Zariadris*, and had the southern parts of Armenia, which verge rather to the west. He was defeated by *Tigranes*, who became master of the whole country. He had experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. At first he had served as a

¹ Herod. i. 202.

hostage among the Parthians ; then by their means he returned to his country, in compensation for which service they obtained seventy valleys in Armenia. When he acquired power, he recovered these valleys, and devastated the country of the Parthians, the territory about Ninus, and that about Arbela.¹ He subjected to his authority the Atropatenians, and the Gordyæans ; by force of arms he obtained possession also of the rest of Mesopotamia, and, after crossing the Euphrates, of Syria and Phœnicia. Having attained this height of prosperity, he even founded near Iberia,² between this country and the Zeugma on the Euphrates, a city, which he named Tigranocerta, and collected inhabitants out of twelve Grecian cities, which he had depopulated. But Lucullus, who had commanded in the war against Mithridates, surprised him, thus engaged, and dismissed the inhabitants to their respective homes. The buildings which were half finished he demolished, and left a small village remaining. He drove Tigranes both out of Syria and Phœnicia.

Artavasdes, his successor, prospered as long as he continued a friend of the Romans. But having betrayed Antony to the Parthians in the war with that people, he suffered punishment for his treachery. He was carried in chains to Alexandria, by order of Antony, led in procession through the city, and kept in prison for a time. On the breaking out of the Actiac war he was then put to death. Many kings reigned after Artavasdes, who were dependent upon Cæsar and the Romans. The country is still governed in the same manner.

16. Both the Medes and Armenians have adopted all the sacred rites of the Persians, but the Armenians pay particular reverence to Anaitis, and have built temples to her honour in several places, especially in Acilisene. They dedicate there to her service male and female slaves ; in this there is nothing remarkable, but it is surprising that persons of the highest rank in the nation consecrate their virgin daughters to the goddess. It is customary for these women, after being

¹ Arbil.

² That this is an error is manifest. Falconer proposes Armenia ; Groskurd, Assyria ; but what name is to be supplied is altogether uncertain. The name of the city is also wanting, according to Kramer, who proposes Nisibis.

prostituted a long period at the temple of Anaitis, to be disposed of in marriage, no one disdaining a connexion with such persons. Herodotus mentions something similar respecting the Lydian women, all of whom prostitute themselves. But they treat their paramours with much kindness, they entertain them hospitably, and frequently make a return of more presents than they receive, being amply supplied with means derived from their wealthy connexions. They do not admit into their dwellings accidental strangers, but prefer those of a rank equal to their own.

BOOK XII.

CAPPADOCIA.

SUMMARY.

The Twelfth Book contains the remainder of Pontus, viz. Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, Mysia, Phrygia, and Mæonia: the cities, Sinope in Pontus, Heracleia, and Amaseia, and likewise Isauria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, with the islands lying along the coast; the mountains and rivers.

CHAPTER I.

1. ¹ CAPPADOCIA consists of many parts, and has experienced frequent changes.

The nations speaking the same language are chiefly those who are bounded on the south by the Cilician Taurus,² as it is called; on the east by Armenia, Colchis, and by the intervening nations who speak different languages; on the north by the Euxine, as far as the mouth of the Halys;³ on the west by the Paphlagonians, and by the Galatians, who migrated into Phrygia, and spread themselves as far as Lycaonia, and the Cilicians, who occupy Cilicia Tracheia (Cilicia the mountainous).⁴

2. Among the nations that speak the same language, the ancients placed the Cataonians by themselves, contra-distinguishing them from the Cappadocians, whom they considered as a different people. In the enumeration of the nations they placed Cataonia after Cappadocia, then the Euphrates, and the nations on the other side of that river, so as to include even Melitene in Cataonia, although Melitene lies between Cataonia and the Euphrates, approaches close to Commagene, and constitutes a tenth portion of Cappadocia,

¹ The beginning is wanting, according to the opinion of critics, Xylander, Casaubon, and others.

² The range of mountains to the S. of Caramania.

³ Kizil-Irmak.

⁴ Itsch-Ili.

according to the division of the country into ten provinces. For the kings in our times who preceded Archelaus¹ usually divided the kingdom of Cappadocia in this manner.

Cataonia is a tenth portion of Cappadocia. In our time each province had its own governor, and since no difference appears in the language of the Cataonians compared with that of the other Cappadocians, nor any difference in their customs, it is surprising how entirely the characteristic marks of a foreign nation have disappeared, yet they were distinct nations; Ariarathes, the first who bore the title of king of the Cappadocians, annexed the Cataonians to Cappadocia.

3. This country composes the isthmus, as it were, of a large peninsula formed by two seas; by the bay of Issus, extending to Cilicia Tracheia, and by the Euxine lying between Sinope and the coast of the Tibareni.

The isthmus cuts off what we call the peninsula; the whole tract lying to the west of the Cappadocians, to which Herodotus² gives the name of the country within the Halys. This is the country the whole of which was the kingdom of Crœsus. Herodotus calls him king of the nations on this side the river Halys. But writers of the present time give the name of Asia, which is the appellation of the whole continent, to the country within the Taurus.

This Asia comprises, first, the nations on the east, Paphlagonians, Phrygians, and Lycaonians; then Bithynians, Mysians, and the Epictetus; besides these, Troas, and Hellespontia; next to these, and situated on the sea, are the Æolians and Ionians, who are Greeks; the inhabitants of the remaining portions are Carians and Lycians, and in the inland parts are Lydians.

We shall speak hereafter of the other nations.

4. The Macedonians obtained possession of Cappadocia after it had been divided by the Persians into two satrapies, and permitted, partly with and partly without the consent of the people, the satrapies to be altered to two kingdoms, one of which they called Cappadocia Proper, and Cappadocia

¹ Archelaus received from Augustus (B. C. 20) some parts of Cilicia on the coast and the Lesser Armenia. In A. D. 15 Tiberius treacherously invited him to Rome, and kept him there. He died, probably about A. D. 17, and his kingdom was made a Roman province.

² Herod. i. 6, 28.

near the Taurus, or Cappadocia the Great; the other they called Pontus, but according to other writers, Cappadocia on Pontus.

We are ignorant at present how Cappadocia the Great was at first distributed; upon the death of Archelaus the king, Cæsar and the senate decreed that it should be a Roman province. But when the country was divided in the time of Archelaus and of preceding kings into ten provinces, they reckoned five near the Taurus, Melitene, Cataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis, and Garsauritis; the remaining five were Laviansene, Sargarausene, Saravene, Chamanene, Morimene. The Romans afterwards assigned to the predecessors of Archelaus an eleventh province formed out of Cilicia, consisting of the country about Castabala and Cybistra,¹ extending to Derbe, belonging to Antipater, the robber. Cilicia Trachea about Elæussa was assigned to Archelaus, and all the country which served as the haunts of pirates.

CHAPTER II.

1. MELITENE resembles Commagene, for the whole of it is planted with fruit-trees, and is the only part of all Cappadocia which is planted in this manner. It produces oil, and the wine Monarites, which vies with the wines of Greece. It is situated opposite to Sophene, having the river Euphrates flowing between it and Commagene, which borders upon it. In the country on the other side of the river is Tomisa, a considerable fortress of the Cappadocians. It was sold to the prince of Sophene for a hundred talents. Lucullus presented it afterwards as a reward of valour to the Cappadocian prince for his services in the war against Mithridates.

2. Cataonia is a plain, wide and hollow,² and produces everything except evergreen trees. It is surrounded by mountains, and among others by the Amanus on the side towards the south, a mass separated from the Cilician Taurus, and also by the Anti-Taurus,³ a mass rent off in a contrary

¹ Eregli near the lake Al-gol.

² That is, surrounded by mountains; as below.

³ The range on the west of the river Sarus, Seichun, now bearing various names.

direction. The Amanus extends from Cataonia to Cilicia, and the Syrian sea towards the west and south. In this intervening space it comprises the whole of the gulf of Issus, and the plains of the Cilicians which lie towards the Taurus. But the Anti-Taurus inclines to the north, and a little also to the east, and then terminates in the interior of the country.

3. In the Anti-Taurus are deep and narrow valleys, in which is situated Comana,¹ and the temple of Enyus (Bellona), which they call Ma. It is a considerable city. It contains a very great multitude of persons who at times are actuated by divine impulse, and of servants of the temple. It is inhabited by Cataonians, who are chiefly under the command of the priest, but in other respects subject to the king. The former presides over the temple, and has authority over the servants belonging to it, who, at the time that I was there, exceeded in number six thousand persons, including men and women. A large tract of land adjoins the temple, the revenue of which the priest enjoys. He is second in rank in Cappadocia after the king, and, in general, the priests are descended from the same family as the kings. Orestes, when he came hither with his sister Iphigenia from Tauric Scythia,² is thought to have introduced the sacred rites performed in honour of Diana Tauropolis, and to have deposited here the tresses (Coman, κόμην) of mourning, from which the city had the name of Comana.

The river Sarus flows through this city, and passes out through the valleys of the Taurus to the plains of Cilicia, and to the sea lying below them.

4. The Pyramus,³ which has its source in the middle of the plain, is navigable throughout Cataonia. There is a large subterraneous channel, through which the water flows underground to a great distance, and then may be seen springing up again to the surface. If an arrow is let down into the pit from above, the resistance of the water is so great that it is scarcely immersed. Although it pursues its course with great⁴ depth and breadth, it undergoes an extraordinary contraction of its size by the time it has reached the Taurus. There is also an extraordinary fissure in the mountain, through which the stream is carried. For, as in rocks which have burst and split in two

¹ Supposed to be Al-Bostan.

² The Crimea.

³ Dschehan-Tschai.

⁴ The text is here corrupt.

parts, the projections in one correspond so exactly with the hollows in the other that they might even be fitted together, so here I have seen the rocks at the distance of two or three plethra, overhanging the river on each side, and nearly reaching to the summit of the mountain, with hollows on one side answering to projections on the other. The bed between (the mountains) is entirely rock; it has a deep and very narrow fissure through the middle, so that a dog and a hare might leap across it. This is the channel of the river; it is full to the margin, and in breadth resembles a canal.¹ But on account of the winding of its course, the great contraction of the stream, and the depth of the ravine, a noise, like that of thunder, strikes at a distance on the ears of those who approach it. In passing out through the mountains, it brings down from Cataonia, and from the Cilician plains, so great a quantity of alluvial soil to the sea, that an oracle to the following effect is reported to have been uttered respecting it:

“The time will come, when Pyramus, with its deep whirlpools, by advancing on the sea-shore, will reach the sacred Cyprus.”

Something similar to this takes place in Egypt. The Nile is continually converting the sea into continent by an accumulation of earth; accordingly Herodotus calls Egypt a gift of the river, and Homer says, that the Pharos was formerly out at sea, not as it is at present connected with the mainland of Egypt.

5. [The third² in rank is the Dacian priesthood of Jupiter, inferior to this, but still of importance.] There is at this place a body of salt water, having the circumference of a considerable lake. It is shut in by lofty and perpendicular hills, so that the descent is by steps. The water it is said does not increase in quantity, nor has it anywhere an apparent outlet.

6. Neither the plain of the Cataonians nor Melitene have any city, but strongholds upon the mountains, as Azamora, and Dastarcum, round which runs the river Carmalas.³ There is also the temple of the Cataonian Apollo, which is vener-

¹ The reading is doubtful.

² The passage is corrupt. Groskurd proposes Asbamean in place of Dacian, mention being made of a temple of Asbamean Jove in Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6. Kramer also suggests the transposition of this sentence to the end of § 6.

³ Probably the Kermel-su, a branch of the Pyramus.

ated throughout the whole of Cappadocia, and which the Cappadocians have taken as a model of their own temples. Nor have the other provinces, except two, any cities. Of the rest, Sargarausene has a small town Herpa, and a river Carmalas, which also discharges itself into the Cilician sea.¹ In the other provinces is Argos, a lofty fortress near the Taurus, and Nora, now called Neroassus, in which Eumenes sustained a long siege. In our time it was a treasure-hold of Sisinus, who attempted to take possession of the kingdom of Cappadocia. To him belonged Cadena, a royal seat, built after the form of a city. Situated upon the borders of Lycaonia is Garsauira, a village town, said to have been formerly the capital of the country.

In Morimene, among the Venasii, is a temple of Jupiter, with buildings capable of receiving nearly three thousand servants of the temple. It has a tract of sacred land attached to it, very fertile, and affording to the priest a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. The priest is appointed for life like the priest at Comana, and is next to him in rank.

7. Two provinces only have cities. In the Tyanitis is Tyana,² lying at the foot of the Taurus at the Cilician Gates,³ where are the easiest and the most frequented passes into Cilicia and Syria. It is called, "Eusebeia at the Taurus." Tyanitis is fertile, and the greatest part of it consists of plains. Tyana is built upon the mound of Semiramis, which is fortified with good walls. At a little distance from this city are Castabala and Cybistra, towns which approach still nearer to the mountain. At Castabala is a temple of Diana Perasia, where, it is said, the priestesses walk with naked feet unhurt upon burning coals. To this place some persons apply the story respecting Orestes and Diana Tauropolus, and say that the goddess was called Perasia, because she was conveyed from beyond (*πέραθεν*) sea.

In Tyanitis, one of the ten provinces above mentioned, is the city Tyana. But with these I do not reckon the cities that were afterwards added, Castabala, and Cybistra, and those in Cilicia Tracheia, to which belongs Elæussa, a small

¹ There is some confusion in this statement.

² Kara-Hissar.

³ Between the mountains Bulghar-Dagh and Allah-Dagh.

fertile island, which Archelaus furnished with excellent buildings, where he passed the greater part of his time.

In the Cilician province, as it is called, is Mazaca,¹ the capital of the nation. It is also called "Eusebeia," with the addition "at the Argæus," for it is situated at the foot of the Argæus,² the highest mountain in that district; its summit is always covered with snow. Persons who ascend it (but they are not many) say that both the Euxine and the sea of Issus may be seen from thence in clear weather.

Mazaca is not adapted in other respects by nature for the settlement of a city, for it is without water, and unfortified. Through the neglect of the governors, it is without walls, perhaps intentionally, lest, trusting to the wall as to a fortification, the inhabitants of a plain, which has hills situated above it, and not exposed to the attacks of missile weapons, should addict themselves to robbery. The country about, although it consists of plains, is entirely barren and uncultivated, for the soil is sandy, and rocky underneath. At a little distance further there are burning plains, and pits full of fire to an extent of many stadia, so that the necessaries of life are brought from a distance. What seems to be a peculiar advantage (abundance of wood) is a source of danger. For though nearly the whole of Cappadocia is without timber, the Argæus is surrounded by a forest, so that wood may be procured near at hand, yet even the region lying below the forest contains fire in many parts, and springs of cold water; but as neither the fire nor the water break out upon the surface, the greatest part of the country is covered with herbage. In some parts the bottom is marshy, and flames burst out from the ground by night. Those acquainted with the country collect wood with caution; but there is danger to others, and particularly to cattle, which fall into these hidden pits of fire.

8. In the plain in front of the city, and about 40 stadia from it, is a river of the name of Melas,³ whose source is in ground lower than the level of the city. It is useless to the

¹ Kaisariéh.

² Edsehise-Dagh, the highest peak, has been estimated at 13,000 feet above the sea.

³ The Kara-su, the black river, a branch of the Kizil-Irmak. The modern name appears common to many rivers.

inhabitants, because it does not flow from an elevated situation. It spreads abroad in marshes and lakes, and in the summer-time corrupts the air round the city. A valuable stone quarry is rendered almost useless by it. For there are extensive beds of stone, from which the Mazaceni obtain an abundant supply of materials for building, but the slabs, being covered with water, are not easily detached by the workmen. These are the marshes which in every part are subject to take fire.

Ariarathes the king filled in some narrow channels by which the Melas entered the Halys, and converted the neighbouring plain into a wide lake. There he selected some small islands like the Cyclades, where he passed his time in boyish and frivolous diversions. The barrier, however, was broken down all at once, and the waters again flowed abroad and swelled the Halys, which swept away a large part of the Cappadocian territory, and destroyed many buildings and plantations; it also damaged a considerable part of the country of the Galatians, who occupy Phrygia. In compensation for this injury he paid a fine of three hundred talents to the inhabitants, who had referred the matter to the decision of the Romans. The same was the case at Herpa; for he there obstructed the stream of the Carmalas, and, on the bursting of the dyke, the water damaged some of the places in the Cilician territories about Mallus; he was obliged to make compensation to those who had sustained injury.

9. Although the territory of the Mazaceni is destitute in many respects of natural advantages, it seems to have been preferred by the kings as a place of residence, because it was nearest the centre of those districts which supplied timber, stone for building, and fodder, of which a very large quantity was required for the subsistence of their cattle. Their city was almost a camp. The security of their persons and treasure¹ depended upon the protection afforded by numerous fortresses, some of which belonged to the king, others to their friends.

Mazaca is distant from Pontus² about 800 stadia to the south, and from the Euphrates a little less than double that distance; from the Cilician Gates and the camp of Cyrus, a

¹ *χορημάτων*, the reading proposed by Kramer.

² i. e. the kingdom of Pontus.

journey of six days by way of Tyana,¹ which is situated about the middle of the route, and is distant from Cybistra 300 stadia. The Mazaceni adopt the laws of Charondas, and elect a Nomōdist, (or Chanter of the Laws,) who, like the Jurisconsults of the Romans, is the interpreter of their laws. Tigranes the Armenian, when he overran Cappadocia, treated them with great severity. He forced them to abandon their settlements, and go into Mesopotamia; they peopled Tigranocerta, chiefly by their numbers. Afterwards, upon the capture of Tigranocerta, those who were able returned to their own country.

10. The breadth of the country from Pontus to the Taurus is about 1800 stadia; the length from Lycaonia and Phrygia, as far as the Euphrates to the east, and Armenia, is about 3000 stadia. The soil is fertile, and abounds with fruits of the earth, particularly corn, and with cattle of all kinds. Although it lies more to the south than Pontus, it is colder. Bagadania, although a plain country, and situated more towards the south than any district in Cappadocia, (for it lies at the foot of the Taurus,) produces scarcely any fruit-bearing trees. It affords pasture for wild asses, as does a large portion of the other parts of the country, particularly that about Garsauira, Lycaonia, and Morimene.

In Cappadocia is found the red earth called the Sinopic, which is better than that of any other country. The Spanish only can rival it. It had the name of Sinopic, because the merchants used to bring it down from Sinope, before the traffic of the Ephesians extended as far as the people of Cappadocia. It is said that even plates of crystal and of the onyx stone were discovered by the miners of Archelaus near the country of the Galatians. There was a place where was found a white stone of the colour of ivory in pieces of the size of small whetstones, from which were made handles for small swords. Another place produced large masses of transparent stone for windows, which were exported.

The boundary of Pontus and Cappadocia is a mountainous range parallel to the Taurus, commencing from the western extremities of Chammanene, (where stands Dasmenda, a fortress built upon a precipice,) and extending to the eastern parts of

¹ Kara-Hissar.

Laviansene. Both Chammanene and Laviansene are provinces of Cappadocia.

11. When the Romans, after the defeat of Antiochus, first governed Asia, they made treaties of friendship and alliance both with the nations and with the kings. This honour was conferred upon the other kings separately and independently, but upon the king of Cappadocia in common with the nation. On the extinction of the royal race, the Romans admitted the independence of the Cappadocians according to the treaty of friendship and alliance which they had made with the nation. The deputies excused themselves from accepting the liberty which was offered to them, declaring that they were unable to bear it, and requested that a king might be appointed. The Romans were surprised that any people should be unwilling to enjoy liberty, but permitted¹ them to elect by suffrage any one they pleased from among themselves. They elected Ariobarzanes. The race became extinct in the third generation. Archelaus, who was not connected with the nation, was appointed king by Antony.

So much respecting the Greater Cappadocia.

With regard to Cilicia Tracheia, which was annexed to the Greater Cappadocia, it will be better to describe it when we give an account of the whole of Cilicia.

CHAPTER III.

1. MITHRIDATES Eupator was appointed King of Pontus. His kingdom consisted of the country bounded by the Halys,² extending to the Tibareni,³ to Armenia, to the territory within the Halys, extending as far as Amastris,⁴ and to some parts of Paphlagonia. He annexed to (the kingdom of) Pontus the sea-coast towards the west as far as Heracleia,⁵ the birth-place of Heracleides the Platonic philosopher, and towards

¹ Du Theil quotes Justin, 38, c. 2, where it is stated that Ariobarzanes was appointed king by the Romans. Probably the election was confirmed by the Senate.

² Kizil-Irmak.

³ Who lived on the west of the river Sidennus (Siddin).

⁴ Amassera.

⁵ Erekli, or Benderegli.

the east, the country extending to Colchis, and the Lesser Armenia. Pompey, after the overthrow of Mithridates, found the kingdom comprised within these boundaries. He distributed the country towards Armenia and towards Colchis among the princes who had assisted him in the war; the remainder he divided into eleven governments, and annexed them to Bithynia, so that out of both there was formed one province. Some people in the inland parts he subjected to the kings descended from Pylæmenes, in the same manner as he delivered over the Galatians to be governed by tetrarchs of that nation.

In later times the Roman emperors made different divisions of the same country, appointing kings and rulers, making some cities free, and subjecting others to the authority of rulers, others again were left under the dominion of the Roman people.

As we proceed in our description according to the present state of things, we shall touch slightly on their former condition, whenever it may be useful.

I shall begin from Heracleia,¹ which is the most westerly of these places.

2. In sailing out of the Propontis into the Euxine Sea, on the left hand are the parts adjoining to Byzantium, (Constantinople,) and these belong to the Thracians. The parts on the left of the Pontus are called Aristera (or left) of Pontus; the parts on the right are contiguous to Chalcedon. Of these the first tract of country belongs to the Bithynians, the next to the Mariandyni, or, as some say, to the Caucones; next is that of the Paphlagonians, extending to the Halys, then that of the Cappadocians near the Pontus, and then a district reaching to Colchis.² All this country has the name of the Dexia (or right) of Pontus. This whole coast, from Colchis to Heracleia, was subject to Mithridates Eupator. But the parts on the other side to the mouth of the Euxine and Chalcedon, remained under the government of the king of Bithynia. After the overthrow of the kings the Romans preserved the same boundaries of the kingdoms; Heracleia was

¹ Erekli.

² The Bithynians, or rather Thyni, occupied the sea-coast from the Bosphorus to the river Sagaris (Sakaria). The Mariandyni extended to Heracleia (Erekli); and the Caucones to the east as far as the river Parthenius (Tschatu-su).

annexed to Pontus, and the country beyond assigned to the Bithynians.

3. It is generally acknowledged by writers, that the Bithynians, who were formerly Mysians, received this name from Bithynians and Thyni, Thracian people, who came and settled among them. They advance as a proof of their statement, first as regards the Bithynians, that there still exists in Thrace a people called Bithynians, and then, as regards the Thyni, that the sea-shore, near Apollonia¹ and Salmydessus,² is called Thynias. The Bebryces, who preceded them as settlers in Mysia, were, as I conjecture, Thracians. We have said³ that the Mysians themselves were a colony of those Thracians who are now called Mæsi.

Such is the account given of these people.

4. There is not, however, the same agreement among writers with regard to the Mariandyni, and the Caucones. For they say that Heracleia is situated among the Mariandyni, and was founded by Milesians.⁴ But who they are, or whence they came, nothing is said. There is no difference in language, nor any other apparent national distinction between them and the Bithynians, whom they resemble in all respects. It is probable therefore the Mariandyni were a Thracian tribe.

Theopompus says that Mariandynus, who governed a part of Paphlagonia, which was subject to many masters, invaded and obtained possession of the country of the Bebryces, and that he gave his own name to the territory which he had before occupied. It is also said that the Milesians who first founded Heracleia, compelled the Mariandyni, the former possessors of the place, to serve as Helots, and even sold them, but not beyond the boundaries of their country. For they were sold on the same conditions as the class of persons called Mnoans, who were slaves to the Cretans, and the Penestæ,⁵ who were slaves of the Thessalians.

5. The Caucones, who, according to history, inhabited the line of sea-coast which extends from the Mariandyni as far as the river Parthenius, and to whom belonged the city Tieium,⁶

¹ Sizeboli, south of the Gulf of Burgas.

² Midjeh.

³ B. vii. c. iii. § 2.

⁴ Kramer is of opinion that Strabo is mistaken in this account of the origin of Heracleia.

⁵ Athenæus, b. vi. c. 85, vol. i. p. 414, Bohn's Class. Library. ⁶ Tilijos.

are said by some writers to be Scythians, by others a tribe of Macedonians, and by others a tribe of Pelasgi. We have already spoken of these people elsewhere.¹ Callisthenes in his comment upon the enumeration of the ships inserts after this verse,

“Cromna, Ægialus, and the lofty Erythini,”²

these lines,

“The brave son of Polycles led the Caucones,

Who inhabited the well-known dwellings about the river Parthenius,”

for the territory extends from Heracleia, and the Mariandyni as far as the Leucosyri, whom we call Cappadocians. But the tribe of the Caucones about Tieium extends to the Parthenius; that of the Heneti, who occupy Cytorum,³ immediately follows the Parthenius, and even at present some Caucones are living about the Parthenius.

6. Heracleia is a city with a good harbour, and of importance in other respects. It has sent out colonies, among which are the Cherronesus,⁴ and the Callatis.⁵ It was once independent, afterwards for some time it was under the power of tyrants; it again recovered its freedom; but at last, when subject to the Romans, it was governed by kings. It received a colony of Romans, which was settled in a portion of the city, and of its territory. A little before the battle of Actium, Adiatrix, the son of Domnecleius the tetrarch of Galatia, who had received from Antony that portion of the city of which the Heracleiotæ were in possession, attacked the Romans by night, and put them to death by the command, as he said, of Antony; but after the victory at Actium, he was led in triumph, and put to death together with his son. The city belongs to the province of Pontus, which was annexed to Bithynia.

7. Between Chalcedon and Heracleia are several rivers, as the Psillis,⁶ the Calpas, and the Sangarius, of which last the poet makes mention.⁷ It has its source at the village Sangias, at the distance of 150 stadia from Pessinus. It flows through

¹ B. viii. c. iii. § 17.

² Il. ii. 855.

³ Kidros.

⁴ On the bay of the modern Sebastopol, b. vii. c. iv. § 2.

⁵ Mangalia.

⁶ Some of the smaller mountain streams which descend from the range of hills extending from Scutari to the Sangaria. According to Gosselin the Psillis may be the river near Tschüleh, and the Calpas the river near Kerpeh.

⁷ Il. xvi. 719.

the greater part of Phrygia Epictetus, and a part also of Bithynia, so that it is distant from Nicomedia a little more than 300 stadia, where the river Gallus unites with it. The latter river has its source at Modra in Phrygia on the Hellespont, which is the same country as the Epictetus, and was formerly occupied by the Bithynians.

The Sangarius thus increased in bulk, and navigable, although not so formerly, is the boundary of Bithynia at the part of the coast where it discharges itself. In front of this coast is the island Thynia.

In the territory of Heracleia grows the aconite.

This city is distant from the temple at Chalcedon about 1500, and from the Sangarius 500, stadia.

8. Tieium is now a small town and has nothing remarkable belonging to it, except that it was the birth-place of Philetærus, the founder of the family of the Attalic kings.

Next is the river Parthenius, flowing through a country abounding with flowers; from these it obtained its name.¹ Its source is in Paphlagonia. Then succeeded Paphlagonia, and the Heneti. It is a question what Heneti the poet means, when he says,

“the brave Pylæmenes led the Paphlagonians out of the country of the Heneti, where they have a race of wild mules;”²

for at present, they say, no Heneti are to be found in Paphlagonia. Others say that it is a village on the shore distant ten schœni from Amastris. But Zenodotus writes the verse in this manner, “From Heneta,” and says that it means the present Amisus. According to others it was a tribe bordering upon the Cappadocians, which engaged in an expedition with the Cimmerians, and were afterwards driven away into Adria. But the account most generally received is, that the Heneti were the most considerable tribe of the Paphlagonians; that Pylæmenes was descended from it; that a large body of this people accompanied him to the Trojan war; that when they had lost their leader they passed over to Thrace upon the capture of Troy; and in the course of their wanderings arrived at the present Henetic territory.

Some writers say that both Antenor and his sons participated in this expedition, and settled at the inner recess of the

¹ The virgin river, from its flowers and tranquil course.

² Il. ii. 851.

gulf of Adria, as we have said in the description of Italy.¹ It is probable that this was the cause of the extinction of the Heneti, and that they were no longer to be found in Paphlagonia.

9. The boundary of the Paphlagonians to the east is the river Halys, which flows from the south between the Syrians and the Paphlagonians; and according to Herodotus,² (who means Cappadocians, when he is speaking of Syrians,) discharges itself into the Euxine Sea. Even at present they are called Leuco-Syrians, (or White Syrians,) while those without the Taurus are called Syrians. In comparison with the people within the Taurus, the latter have a burnt complexion; but the former, not having it, received the appellation of Leuco-Syrians (or White Syrians). Pindar says that

“the Amazons commanded a Syrian band, armed with spears with broad iron heads;”

thus designating the people that lived at Themiscyra.³ Themiscyra belongs to the Amiseni,⁴ and the district of the Amiseni to the Leuco-Syrians settled beyond the Halys.

The river Halys forms the boundary of the Paphlagonians to the east; Phrygians and the Galatians settled among that people, on the south; and on the west Bithynians and Mariandyni (for the race of the Caucones has everywhere entirely disappeared); on the north the Euxine. This country is divided into two parts, the inland, and the maritime, extending from the Halys as far as Bithynia. Mithridates Eupator possessed the maritime part as far as Heracleia, and of the inland country he had the district nearest to Heracleia, some parts of which extended even beyond the Halys. These are also the limits of the Roman province of Pontus. The remainder was subject to chiefs, even after the overthrow of Mithridates.

We shall afterwards speak of those Paphlagonians in the inland parts, who were not subject to Mithridates; we propose at present to describe the country which he governed, called Pontus.

10. After the river Parthenius is Amastris, bearing the same name as the princess by whom it was founded. It is

¹ B. v. c. i. § 4.

² Herod. i. 6.

³ About the Thermodon, now Termeh.

⁴ The country about Samsoun.

situated upon a peninsula, with harbours on each side of the isthmus. Amastris was the wife of Dionysius, the tyrant of Heracleia, and daughter of Oxyathres, the brother of the Darius who fought against Alexander. She formed the settlement out of four cities, Sesamus, Cytorum, Cromna, (mentioned by Homer in his recital of the Paphlagonian forces,¹) and Tieium, which city however soon separated from the others, but the rest continued united. Of these, Sesamus is called the citadel of Amastris. Cytorum was formerly a mart of the people of Sinope. It had its name from Cytorus, the son of Phrixus, according to Ephorus. Box-wood of the best quality grows in great abundance in the territory of Amastris, and particularly about Cytorum.

Ægialus is a line of sea-coast, in length more than 100 stadia. On it is a village of the same name,² which the poet mentions in these lines,

“Cromna, and Ægialus, and the lofty Erythini;”³

but some authors write,

“Cromna and Cobialus.”

The Erythini are said to be the present Erythrini, and to have their name from their (red) colour. They are two rocks.⁴

Next to Ægialus is Carambis, a large promontory stretching towards the north, and the Scythian Chersonesus. We have frequently mentioned this promontory, and the Criu-metopon opposite it, which divides the Euxine into two seas.⁵

Next to Carambis is Cinolis,⁶ and Anti-Cinolis, and Aboniteichos,⁷ a small city, and Armene,⁸ which gave rise to the common proverb;

“He who had nothing to do built a wall about Armene.”

It is a village of the Sinopenses, with a harbour.

11. Next is Sinope itself, distant from Armene 50 stadia, the most considerable of all the cities in that quarter. It was founded by Milesians, and when the inhabitants had established a naval force they commanded the sea within the Cya-

¹ Il. ii. 853.

² Kara-Aghatsch.

³ Il. i. 855.

⁴ Between C. Tchakras and Delike-Tschili.

⁵ B. vii. c. iv. § 3.

⁶ Kinoli.

⁷ Ineboli, near the mouth of the Daurikan-Irmak.

⁸ Ak-Liman.

nean rocks, and were allies of the Greeks in many naval battles beyond these limits. Although this city was independent for a long period, it did not preserve its liberty to the last, but was taken by siege, and became subject first to Pharnaces, then to his successors, to the time when the Romans put an end to the power of Mithridates Eupator. This prince was born and brought up in this city, on which he conferred distinguished honour, and made it a capital of the kingdom. It has received advantages from nature which have been improved by art. It is built upon the neck of a peninsula; on each side of the isthmus are harbours, stations for vessels, and fisheries worthy of admiration for the capture of the pelamydes. Of these fisheries we have said¹ that the people of Sinope have the second, and the Byzantines the third, in point of excellence.

The peninsula projects in a circular form; the shores are surrounded by a chain of rocks, and in some parts there are cavities, like rocky pits, which are called Chœnicides. These are filled when the sea is high. For the above reason, the place is not easily approached; besides which, along the whole surface of rock the road is covered with sharp-pointed stones, and persons cannot walk upon it with naked feet. The lands in the higher parts and above the city have a good soil, and are adorned with fields dressed as gardens, and this is the case in a still greater degree in the suburbs. The city itself is well secured with walls, and magnificently ornamented with a gymnasium, forum, and porticos. Notwithstanding these advantages for defence, it was twice taken; first by Pharnaces, who attacked it unexpectedly; afterwards by Lucullus, who besieged it while it was harassed by an insidious tyrant within the walls. For Bacchides,² who was appointed by the king commander of the garrison, being always suspicious of treachery on the part of those within the city, had disgraced and put many to death. He thus prevented the citizens both from defending themselves with bravery, although capable of making a gallant defence, and from offering terms for a capitulation. The city was therefore captured. Lucullus took away

¹ B. vii. c. vi. § 2.

² The eunuch Bacchides, or Bacchus, according to others, whom Mithridates, after despairing of success, commissioned with the order for his women to die. *Plutarch, Life of Lucullus.*

the Sphere of Billarus,¹ and the Autolycus,² the workmanship of Sthenis, whom the citizens regarded as a founder, and honoured as a god; he left the other ornaments of the city untouched. There was there an oracle of Sthenis. He seems to have been one of the companions of Jason in his voyage, and to have got possession of this place. In after times the Milesians, observing the natural advantages of the city, and the weakness of the inhabitants, appropriated it as their own, and sent out colonists. It has at present a Roman colony, and a part of the city and of the territory belongs to the Romans. It is distant from Hieron³ 3500, from Heracleia 2000, and from Carambis 700, stadia. It has produced men distinguished among philosophers, Diogenes the Cynic, and Timotheus surnamed Patrician; among poets, Diphilus, the writer of comedy; among historians, Baton,⁴ who wrote the history of Persia.

12. Proceeding thence, next in order is the mouth of the river Halys. It has its name from the *hales*, or salt mines,⁵ near which it flows. It has its source in the Greater Cappadocia, near the territory of Pontus, in Camisene. It flows in a large stream towards the west, then turning to the north through the country of the Galatians and Paphlagonians, forms the boundary of their territory, and of that of the Leuco-Syrians. The tract of land belonging to Sinope and all the mountainous country as far as Bithynia, situated above the sea-coast, which has been described, furnishes timber of excellent quality for ship-building, and is easily conveyed away. The territory of

¹ Probably a celestial globe constructed by Billarus, or on the principles of Billarus, a person otherwise unknown. Strabo mentions, b. ii. c. v. § 10, the Sphere of Crates, Cicero the Sphere of Archimedes and of Posidonius. History speaks of several of these spheres, among others of that of Ptolemy and Aratus. Leontinus, a mechanician of the sixth century, explains the manner in which this last was constructed.

² Lucullus, upon his entry into Sinope, put to death 8000 Cilicians whom he found there. The rest of the inhabitants, after having set fire to the town, carried with them the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinope, the work of Sthenis; but not having time to put it on board ship, it was left on the sea-shore. Autolycus was one of the companions of Hercules in his expedition against the Amazons. Sthenis, as well as his brother Lysistratus, was a celebrated statuary; he was a native of Olynthus and a contemporary of Alexander the Great.

³ The temple of Jupiter Urius near Chalcedon.

⁴ He was also the author of a History of the Tyrants of Ephesus. *Athenæus*, b. vi. c. 59, p. 395, Bohn's Class. Library.

⁵ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλῶν.

Sinope produces the maple, and the mountain nut tree, from which wood for tables is cut. The whole country is planted with the olive, and cultivation begins a little above the sea-coast.

13. Next to the mouth of the Halys is Gadilonítis, extending as far as the Saramene; it is a fertile country, wholly consisting of plains, and produces every kind of fruit. It affords also pasture for flocks of sheep which are covered¹ with skins, and produce a soft wool; very little of this wool is to be found throughout Cappadocia and Pontus. There are also deer,² which are rare in other parts.

The Amiseni possess one part of this country. Pompey gave another to Deïotarus, as well as the tract about Pharnacia and Trapezus as far as Colchis and the Lesser Armenia. Pompey appointed him king of these people and countries: he had already inherited the tetrarchy of the Galatians, called the Tolistobogii. Upon his death various persons succeeded to the different parts of his kingdom.

14. Next to Gadilon³ are the Saramene,⁴ and Amisus, a considerable city distant from Sinope about 900 stadia. Theopompus says that the Milesians were the first founders, * * * * *⁵ [then by] a chief of the Cappadocians; in the third place it received a colony of Athenians under the conduct of Athenocles, and its name was changed to Piræus.

This city also was in the possession of the kings. Mithridates Eupator embellished it with temples, and added a part to it. Lucullus, and afterwards Pharnaces, who came from across the Bosphorus, besieged it. Antony surrendered it to the kings of Pontus, after it had been declared free by Divus Cæsar. Then the Tyrant Strato oppressed the inhabitants, who again recovered their liberty under Cæsar Augustus after the battle of Actium. They are now in a prosperous condition. Among other fertile spots is Themiscyra,⁶ the abode of the Amazons, and Sidene.⁷

¹ B. iv. c. iv. § 3.

² ζόρκες.

³ Wesir Kopti.

⁴ The district between the Halys (Kizil Irmak) and the Iris (Jeschil Irmak).

⁵ Some words of the text are lost.

⁶ The tract of country between the Iris and the Thermodon.

⁷ The territory on the east of the Thermodon (Termeh).

15. Themiscyra is a plain, partly washed by the sea, and distant about 60 stadia from the city (Amisus); and partly situated at the foot of a mountainous country, which is well wooded, and intersected with rivers, which have their source among the mountains. A river, named Thermodon, which receives the water of all these rivers, traverses the plain.

Another river very similar to this, of the name of Iris,¹ flowing from a place called Phanarœa,² traverses the same plain. It has its sources in Pontus. Flowing westward through the city of Pontic Comana,³ and through Dazimonitis,⁴ a fertile plain, it then turns to the north beside Gaziura,⁵ an ancient seat of the kings, but now deserted; it then again returns to the east, where, uniting with the Scylax⁶ and other rivers, and taking its course beside the walls of my native place, Amaseia,⁷ a very strongly fortified city, proceeds to Phanarœa. There when joined by the Lycus,⁸ which rises in Armenia, it becomes the Iris. It then enters Themiscyra, and discharges itself into the Euxine. This plain, therefore, is well watered with dews, is constantly covered with herbage, and is capable of affording food to herds of cattle as well as to horses. The largest crops there consist of panic and millet, or rather they never fail, for the supply of water more than counteracts the effect of all drought; these people, therefore, never on any occasion experience a famine. The country at the foot of the mountains produces so large an autumnal crop of spontaneous-grown wild fruits, of the vine, the pear, the apple, and hazel, that, in all seasons of the year, persons who go into the woods to cut timber gather them in large quantities; the fruit is found either yet hanging upon the trees or lying beneath a deep covering of fallen leaves thickly strewed upon the ground. Wild animals of all kinds, which resort here on account of the abundance of food, are frequently hunted.

16. Next to Themiscyra is Sidene, a fertile plain, but not watered in the same manner by rivers as Themiscyra. It has strongholds on the sea-coast, as Side,⁹ from which Sidene has

¹ Jeschil Irmak. ² Tasch Owa. ³ Gumenek. ⁴ Kas Owa.

⁵ Turchal. ⁶ Tschoterlek Irmak. ⁷ Amasija.

⁸ Germeili Tschai.

⁹ At the mouth of the river Puleman.

its name, Chabaca and Phabda (Phauda).¹ Amisene extends as far as this place.

Among the natives of Amisus² distinguished for their learning were the mathematicians Demetrius, the son of Rathenus, and Dionysodorus, of the same name as the Ionian (Milesian?) geometrician, and Tyrannion the grammarian, whose lessons I attended.

17. Next to Sidene is Pharnacia³ a small fortified city, and then follows Trapezus,⁴ a Greek city, to which from Amisus is a voyage of about 2200 stadia; thence to the Phasis about 1400 stadia, so that the sum total of stadia from the Hieron⁵ to the Phasis is about 8000 stadia, either more or less.

In sailing along this coast from Amisus we first come to the Heracleian promontory;⁶ then succeeds another promontory, Jasonium,⁷ and the Genetes;⁸ then Cytorus (Cotyorus) a small city,⁹ from which Pharnacia received a colony; then Ischopolis, which is in ruins. Next is a bay on which are situated Cerasus, and Hermonassa,¹⁰ small settlements. Near Hermonassa is Trapezus, then Colchis. Somewhere about this place is a settlement called Zygopolis.

I have already spoken of Colchis, and of the sea-coast beyond.¹¹

18. Above Trapezus and Pharnacia are situated Tibareni, Chaldæi, Sanni, (who were formerly called Macrones,¹²) and the Lesser Armenia. The Appaitæ also, formerly called Cercitæ, are not far from these places. Through the country belonging to these people stretches the Scydises,¹³ a very rugged mountain, contiguous to the Moschic mountains¹⁴ above Colchis. The heights of the Scydises are occupied by the Heptacometæ.¹⁵ This country is likewise traversed by the Paryadres,¹⁶ which extends from the neighbourhood of Sidene and Themiscyra to the Lesser Armenia, and forms the eastern side of the Pontus.

¹ Fatsa ?

² Samsun.

³ According to Arrian, Pharnacia in his time was the name of Cerasus (Kerasun).

⁴ Trebisond.

⁵ The temple of Jupiter near Chalcedon.

⁶ To the west of the mouth of the Termeh. ⁷ Jasun. ⁸ C. Vona.

⁹ Ordu.

¹⁰ Platana.

¹¹ B. xi. c. ii. § 12.

¹² Probably the same as the Macropogones and Macrocephali.

¹³ Aggi-dagh.

¹⁴ The mountains above Erzeroum.

¹⁵ The inhabitants of the Seven Villages.

¹⁶ Iildiz-dagh.

All the inhabitants of these mountains are quite savage, but the Heptacometæ are more so than all the others. Some of them live among trees, or in small towers, whence the ancients called them Mosynœci,¹ because the towers were called mosÿnes. Their food consists of the flesh of wild animals and the fruits of trees. They attack travellers, leaping down from the floors of their dwellings among the trees. The Heptacometæ cut off three of Pompey's cohorts, as they were passing through the mountains, by placing on their road vessels filled with maddening honey, which is procured from the branches of trees. The men who had tasted the honey and lost their senses were attacked and easily despatched. Some of these barbarians were called Byzeres.

19. The present Chaldæi were anciently called Chalybes. It is in their territory chiefly that Pharnacia is situated. On the sea-coast it has natural advantages for the capture of the pelamydes. For this fish is first caught at this place. On the mainland there are at present mines of iron; formerly there were also mines of silver. The sea-shore along all these places is very narrow, for directly above it are hills, which abound with mines and forests; much, however, of the country is not cultivated. The miners derive their subsistence from the mines, and the fishermen from the fisheries, especially from the capture of pelamydes and dolphins. The dolphins pursue shoals of fish, the cordyla, the tunny, and even the pelamys; they grow fat on them, and as they approach the land incautiously, are easily taken. They are caught with a bait and then cut into pieces; large quantities of the fat are used for all purposes.

20. These I suppose are the people who are called by Homer Halizoni, who in his Catalogue follow the Paphlagonians.

“But Odius and Epistrophus led the Halizoni
Far from Alybe, where there are silver mines;”²

whether the writing was changed from “far from Chalybe,” or whether the people were formerly called Alybes instead of Chalybes. We cannot at present say that it is possible that Chaldæi should be read for Chalybes, but it cannot be maintained that formerly Chalybes could not be read for Alybes, espe-

¹ Dwellers in towers.

[l. ii. 856.

cially when we know that names are subject to many changes, more especially among barbarians. For example, a tribe of Thracians were called Sinties, then Sinti, then Saii, in whose country Archilochus is said to have thrown away his shield :

“one of the Saii exults in having a shield, which, without blame, I involuntarily left behind in a thicket.”

This same people have now the name of Sapæi. For all these people were settled about Abdera, they also held Lemnos and the islands about Lemnos. Thus also Brygi, Briges, and Phryges are the same people; and Mysi, Mæones, and Meones are the same people. But it is unnecessary to multiply instances of this kind.

The Scepsian (Demetrius) throws some doubt on the alteration of the name from Alybes to Chalybes, but not understanding what follows, nor what accords with it, nor, in particular, why the poet calls the Chalybes Alizoni, he rejects the opinion that there has been an alteration of name. In comparing his opinion with my own I shall consider also the hypotheses entertained by others.

21. Some persons alter the word to Alazones, others to Amazons, and “Alybe” to “Alope,” or “Alobe,” calling the Scythians above the Borysthenes Alazones and Callipidæ, and by other names, about which Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Eudoxus have talked very absurdly; some say that the Amazons were situated between Mysia, Caria, and Lydia near Cyme, which is the opinion also of Ephorus, who was a native of the latter place. And this opinion may not be unreasonable, for he may mean the country which in later times was inhabited by the Æolians and Ionians, but formerly by Amazons. There are some cities, it is said, which have their names from the Amazons; as Ephesus, Smyrna, Cyme, and Myrina. But would any one think of inquiring in these places after Alybe, or, according to some writers, Alope, or Alobe; what would be the meaning of “from afar,” or where is the silver mine?

22. These objections he solves by an alteration in the text, for he writes the verses in this manner,

“But Odius and Epistrophus led the Amazons,
Who came from Alope, whence the tribe of the Amazonides.”

But by this solution he has invented another fiction. For

Alope is nowhere to be found in that situation, and the alteration in the text, itself a great change, and contrary to the authority of ancient copies, looks like an adaptation formed for the occasion.

The Scepsian (Demetrius) does not adopt the opinion of Ephorus, nor does he agree with those who suppose them to be the Halizoni about Pallene, whom we mentioned in the description of Macedonia. He is at a loss also to understand how any one could suppose that auxiliaries could come to the Trojans from the Nomades situated above the Borysthenes. He much approves of the opinion of Hecatæus the Milesian, and of Menecrates of Elea, disciples of Xenocrates, and that of Palæphatus. The first of these says in his work entitled "the Circuit of the Earth," "near the city Alazia is the river Odrysses, which after flowing through the plain of Mygdonia from the west, out of the lake Dascylitis, empties itself into the Rhyndacus." He further relates that Alazia is now deserted, but that many villages of the Alazones through which the Odrysses flows are inhabited. In these villages Apollo is worshipped with peculiar honours, and especially on the confines of the Cyziceni.

Menecrates, in his work "the Circuit of the Hellespont," says that above the places near Myrleia there is a continuous mountain tract occupied by the nation of the Halizoni. The name, he says, ought to be written with two I's, Hallizoni, but the poet uses one only on account of the metre.

Palæphatus says that Odius and Epistrophus levied their army from among the Amazons then living in Alope, but at present in Zeleia.¹

Do the opinions of these persons deserve approbation? For besides their alteration of the ancient text, and the position of this people, they neither point out the silver mines, nor where in Myrleatis Alope is situated, nor how they, who came thence to Troy, came "from afar," although it should be granted that there existed an Alope, or an Alazia. For these are much nearer Troy than the places about Ephesus. Those, however, are triflers, in the opinion of Demetrius, who speak of the existence of Amazons near Pygela, between Ephesus, Magnesia, and Priene, for the words "from afar" do not agree with the spot; much less will they agree with a situation about Mysia, and Teuthrania.

¹ Sarakoi.

23. This may be true, says he, but some expressions are to be understood as loosely applied, such as these,

“Far from Ascania,”¹

and

“His name was Arnæus, given to him by his honoured mother,”²

and

“Penelope seized the well-turned key with her firm hand.”³

But admitting this, the other assertions are not to be allowed to which Demetrius is disposed to attend; nor has he refuted in a convincing manner those persons who maintain that we ought to read “far from Chalybe.” For having conceded that, although at present there are not silver mines among the Chalybes, they might formerly have existed, he does not grant that they were far-famed, and worthy of notice, like the iron mines. But some one may say, what should prevent them from being as famous as the iron mines, or does an abundance of iron make a place celebrated, and not an abundance of silver? Again, if the silver mines had obtained celebrity in the age of Homer, but not in the heroic times, can any one blame the poet’s representation? How did their fame reach him? How did the fame of the copper mines at Temesa in Italy, or of the wealth of Thebes in Egypt, reach his ears, although Egyptian Thebes was situated almost at double the distance of the Chaldæi.

But Demetrius does not altogether agree with those whose opinions he espouses. For when he is describing the neighbourhood of Scepsis his own birth-place, he mentions Enea, a village, Argyria, and Alazonia, as near Scepsis, and the Æsepus;⁴ but if these places exist at all, they must be near the sources of the Æsepus. Hecatæus places them beyond the mouths of that river. Palæphatus, who says that the Amazons formerly occupied Alope, and at present Zeleia, does not advance anything in agreement with these statements. But if Menecrates agrees with Demetrius, neither does Menecrates say what this Alope, or Alobe, is, (or, in whatever manner they please to write the name,) nor yet does Demetrius himself.

24. With regard to Apollodorus, who mentions these places in his discourse on the array of the Trojan forces, we have

¹ Il. ii. 863.

² Od. xviii. 5.

³ Od. xxi. 6.

⁴ In Kiepert’s map it is without a name. Leake calls it Boklu. It falls into the sea to the west of Cyzicus.

said much before in reply to him, and we must now speak of him again.¹ He is of opinion that we ought not to understand the Halizoni without the Halys, for no auxiliaries came to Troy from the country on the other side of the Halys. First, then, we will inquire of him who are the Halizoni within the Halys, and situated

“ far from Alybe, where are silver mines ? ”

He will not be able to reply. Next we will ask the reason why he does not admit that some auxiliaries came from the country on the other side of the Halys. For if it was the case, that all the rest were living on this side the Halys, except the Thracians, nothing prevented this one body of allies from coming from afar, from the country beyond the Leuco-Syrians? Or, was it possible for the persons immediately engaged in the war to pass over from those places, and from the country beyond them, as the Amazons, Treres, and Cimmerians, but impossible for allies to do so?

The Amazons were not allies, because Priam had fought in alliance with the Phrygians against them :

“ at that time, says Priam, I was among their auxiliaries on that day, when the Amazons came to attack them.”²

The people also who were living on the borders of the country of the Amazons were not situated at so great a distance that it was difficult to send for them from thence, nor did any animosity exist, I suppose, at that time to prevent them from affording assistance.

25. Nor is there any foundation for the opinion, that all the ancients agree that no people from the country beyond the Halys took part in the Trojan war. Testimony may be found to the contrary. Mæandrius at least says that Heneti came from the country of the Leuco-Syrians to assist the Trojans in the war ; that they set sail thence with the Thracians, and settled about the recess of the Adriatic ; and that the Heneti, who had no place in the expedition, were Cappadocians. This account seems to agree with the circumstance, that the people inhabiting the whole of that part of Cappadocia near the Halys, which extends along Paphlagonia, speak two dialects, and that their language abounds with Paphlagonian names, as

¹ B. vii. c. iii. § 6. B. i. c. ii. § 23.

² Il. iii. 189.

Bagas, Biasas, Æniates, Rhatotes, Zardoces, Tibius, Gasys, Oligasys, and Manes. For these names are frequently to be found in the Bamonitis, the Pimolitis, the Gazaluitis, and Gazacene, and in most of the other districts. Apollodorus himself quotes the words of Homer, altered by Zenodotus ;

“ from Henete, whence comes a race of wild mules,”

and says, that Hecatæus the Milesian understands Henete to mean Amisus. But we have shown that Amisus belongs to the Leuco-Syrians, and is situated beyond the Halys.

26. He also somewhere says that the poet obtained his knowledge of the Paphlagonians, situated in the interior, from persons who had travelled through the country on foot, but that he was not acquainted with the sea-coast any more than with the rest of the territory of Pontus ; for otherwise he would have mentioned it by name. We may, on the contrary, after the description which has just been given of the country, retort and say that he has traversed the whole of the sea-coast, and has omitted nothing worthy of record which existed at that time. It is not surprising that he does not mention Heracleia, Amastris, or Sinope, for they were not founded ; nor is it strange that he should omit to speak of the interior of the country ; nor is it a proof of ignorance not to specify by name many places which were well known, as we have shown in a preceding part of this work.

He says that Homer was ignorant of much that was remarkable in Pontus, as rivers and nations, otherwise he would have mentioned their names. This may be admitted with respect to some very remarkable nations and rivers, as the Scythians, the Palus Mæotis, and the Danube. For he would not have described the Nomades, by characteristic signs, as living on milk, Abii, a people without certain means of subsistence, “ most just ” and “ renowned Hippemolgi,” (milkers of mares,) and not distinguished them as Scythians, or Sauro-matæ, or Sarmatæ, if, indeed, they had these names among the Greeks (at that time). Nor in mentioning the Thracians and Mysians, who live near the Danube, would he have passed over in silence the Danube itself, one of the largest rivers, particularly as, in other instances, he is inclined to mark the boundaries of places by rivers ; nor in speaking of the Cimmerians would he have omitted the Bosphorus, or the Mæotis.

27. With respect then to places not so remarkable, or not famous at that time, or not illustrating the subject of his poem, who can blame the poet for omitting them? As, for example, omitting to mention the Don, famed only as it is for being the boundary of Asia and Europe. The persons however of that time were not accustomed to use the name either of Asia or Europe, nor was the habitable earth divided into three continents; otherwise he would have mentioned them by name on account of their strong characteristic marks, as he mentioned by name Libya (Africa), and the Libs (the south-west wind), blowing from the western parts of Africa. But as the continents were not yet distinguished, it was not necessary that he should mention the Don. There were many things worthy of record, which did not occur to him. For both in actions and in discourse much is done and said without any cause or motive, by merely spontaneously presenting itself to the mind.

It is evident from all these circumstances that every person who concludes that because a certain thing is not mentioned by the poet he was therefore ignorant of it, uses a bad argument; and we must prove by several examples that it is bad, for many persons employ this kind of evidence to a great extent. We must refute them therefore by producing such instances as these which follow, although we shall repeat what has been already said.

If any one should maintain that the poet was not acquainted with a river which he has not mentioned, we should say that his argument is absurd, for he has not mentioned by name even the river Meles, which runs by Smyrna, his birth-place according to many writers, while he has mentioned the rivers Hermus and Hyllus by name, but yet not the Pæctolus,¹ which discharges itself into the same channel as these rivers, and rises in the mountain Tmolus.² He does not mention either Smyrna itself, or the other cities of the Ionians, or most of those of the Æolians, although he specifies Miletus, Samos, Lesbos, and Tenedos. He does not mention the Lethæus, which flows beside Magnesia,³ nor the Marsyas, which rivers empty themselves into the Mæander,⁴ which he mentions by name, as well as

¹ B. xiii. c. iv. § 5, it joins the Hyllus, called Phrygius in the time of Strabo. The Phrygius takes its rise in the mountains north of Thyatira, (Ak Hissar,) and falls into the Hermus (Gedis Tschai).

² Bos Dagh.

³ Manisa.

⁴ Bojuk Meinder.

“ the Rhesus, Heptaporus, Caresus, and Rhodius,”¹

and others, many of which are not more than small streams. While he specifies by name many countries and cities, sometimes he makes an enumeration of rivers and mountains, sometimes he does not do so. He does not mention the rivers in *Ætolia* and *Attica*, nor many others. And if, in mentioning people that live afar off, he does not mention those who are very near, it is certainly not through ignorance of them, for they were well known to other writers. With respect to people who were all equally near, he does not observe one rule, for some he mentions, and not others, as for instance he mentions the *Lycii*, and *Solyimi*, but not the *Milyæ*, nor *Pamphylians*, nor *Pisidians*; the *Paphlagonians*, *Phrygians*, and *Mysians*, but not the *Mariandyni*, nor *Thyni*, nor *Bithynians*, nor *Bebryces*; the *Amazons*, but not the *Leuco-Syrians*, nor *Syrians*, nor *Cappadocians*, nor *Lycaonians*, while he frequently speaks of the *Phœnicians*, *Ægyptians*, and *Æthiophians*. He mentions the *Aleian plain*, and the *Arimi mountains*, but not the nation among which these are situated.

The argument drawn from this is false; the true argument would have been to show that the poet has asserted what is not true. *Apollodorus* has not succeeded in this attempt, and he has more particularly failed when he ventures to call by the name of fiction “ the renowned *Hippemolgi* and *Galactophagi*.” So much then in reply to *Apollodorus*. I now return to the part of my description which follows next in order.

28. Above the places about *Pharnacia* and *Trapezus* are the *Tibareni*, and *Chaldæi*, extending as far as the *Lesser Armenia*.

The *Lesser Armenia* is sufficiently fertile. Like *Sophene* it was always governed by princes who were sometimes in alliance with the other *Armenians*, and sometimes acting independently. They held in subjection the *Chaldæi* and *Tibareni*. Their dominion extended as far as *Trapezus* and *Pharnacia*. When *Mithridates Eupator* became powerful, he made himself master of *Colchis*, and of all those places which were ceded to him by *Antipater* the son of *Sisis*. He bestowed however so much care upon them, that he built seventy-five strongholds, in which he deposited the greatest part of his treasure. The most considerable of these were *Hydara*, *Basgœdariza*, and

¹ Il. xii. 20.

² B. vii. c. iii. § 6.

Sinoria, a fortress situated on the borders of the Greater Armenia, whence Theophanes parodied the name, and called it Synoria.

All the mountainous range of the Paryadres has many such convenient situations for fortresses, being well supplied with water and timber, it is intersected in many places by abrupt ravines and precipices. Here he built most of the strongholds for keeping his treasure. At last on the invasion of the country by Pompey he took refuge in these extreme parts of the kingdom of Pontus, and occupied a mountain near Dasteira in Acilisene, which was well supplied with water. The Euphrates also was near, which is the boundary between Acilisene and the Lesser Armenia. Mithridates remained there till he was besieged and compelled to fly across the mountains into Colchis, and thence to Bosphorus. Pompey built near this same place in the Lesser Armenia Nicopolis, a city which yet subsists, and is well inhabited.

29. The Lesser Armenia, which was in the possession of different persons at different times, according to the pleasure of the Romans, was at last subject to Archelaus. The Tiberi, however, and Chaldæi, extending as far as Colchis, Pharnacia, and Trapezus, are under the government of Pythodorus, a prudent woman, and capable of presiding over the management of public affairs. She is the daughter of Pythodorus of Tralles. She was the wife of Polemo, and reigned conjointly with him for some time. She succeeded, after his death, to the throne. He died in the country of the Aspurgiani, a tribe of barbarians living about Sindica. She had two sons by Polemo, and a daughter who was married to Cotys the Sapæan. He was treacherously murdered, and she became a widow. She had children by him, the eldest of whom is now king. Of the sons of Pythodorus, one as a private person, administers, together with his mother, the affairs of the kingdom, the other has been lately made king of the Greater Armenia. Pythodorus however married Archelaus, and remained with him till his death. At present she is a widow, and in possession of the countries before mentioned, and of others still more beautiful, of which we shall next speak.

30. Sidene, and Themiscyra are contiguous to Pharnacia. Above these countries is situated Phanarœa, containing the best portion of the Pontus, for it produces excellent oil and

wine, and possesses every other property of a good soil. On the eastern side it lies in front of the Paryadres which runs parallel to it ; on the western side it has the Lithrus, and the Ophlimus. It forms a valley of considerable length and breadth. The Lycus, coming out of Armenia, flows through this valley, and the Iris, which issues from the passes near Amaseia. Both these rivers unite about the middle of the valley. A city stands at their confluence which the first founder called Eupatoria, after his own name. Pompey found it half-finished, and added to it a territory, furnished it with inhabitants, and called it Magnopolis. It lies in the middle of the plain. Close to the foot of the Paryadres is situated Cabeira, about 150 stadia further to the south than Magnopolis, about which distance likewise, but towards the west, is Amaseia. At Cabeira was the palace of Mithridates, the water-mill, the park for keeping wild animals, the hunting-ground in the neighbourhood, and the mines.

31. There also is the Cainochorion, (New Castle,) as it is called, a fortified and precipitous rock, distant from Cabeira less than 200 stadia. On its summit is a spring, which throws up abundance of water, and at its foot a river, and a deep ravine. The ridge of rocks on which it stands is of very great height, so that it cannot be taken by siege. It is enclosed with an excellent wall, except the part where it has been demolished by the Romans. The whole country around is so covered with wood, so mountainous, and destitute of water, that an enemy cannot encamp within the distance of 120 stadia. There Mithridates had deposited his most valuable effects, which are now in the Capitol, as offerings dedicated by Pompey.

Pythodoris is in possession of all this country ; (for it is contiguous to that of the barbarians, which she holds as a conquered country ;) she also holds the Zelitis and the Megalopolitis. After Pompey had raised Cabeira to the rank of a city, and called it Diospolis, Pythodoris improved it still more, changed its name to Sebaste, (or Augusta,) and considers it a royal city.

She has also the temple of Mên surnamed of Pharnaces, at Ameria, a village city, inhabited by a large body of sacred menials, and having annexed to it a sacred territory, the produce of which is always enjoyed by the priest. The kings held this temple in such exceeding veneration, that this was the Royal oath, "by the fortune of the king, and by Mên of

Pharnaces." This is also the temple of the moon, like that among the Albani, and those in Phrygia, namely the temple of Mēn in a place of the same name, the temple of Ascæus at Antioch in Pisidia, and another in the territory of Antioch.

32. Above Phanarœa is Comana¹ in Pontus, of the same name as that in the Greater Cappadocia, and dedicated to the same goddess. The temple is a copy of that in Cappadocia, and nearly the same course of religious rites is practised there; the mode of delivering the oracles is the same; the same respect is paid to the priests, as was more particularly the case in the time of the first kings, when twice a year, at what is called the Exodi of the goddess, (when her image is carried in procession,) the priest wore the diadem of the goddess and received the chief honours after the king.

33. We have formerly mentioned Dorylaus the Tactician, who was my mother's great grandfather; and another Dorylaus, who was the nephew of the former, and the son of Philetærus; I said that, although he had obtained from Mithridates the highest dignities and even the priesthood of Comana, he was detected in the fact of attempting the revolt of the kingdom to the Romans. Upon his fall the family also was disgraced. At a later period however Moaphernes, my mother's uncle, rose to distinction near upon the dissolution of the kingdom. But a second time he and his friends shared in the misfortunes of the king, except those persons who had anticipated the calamity and deserted him early. This was the case with my maternal grandfather, who, perceiving the unfortunate progress of the affairs of the king in the war with Lucullus, and at the same time being alienated from him by resentment for having lately put to death his nephew Tibius, and his son Theophilus, undertook to avenge their wrongs and his own. He obtained pledges of security from Lucullus, and caused fifteen fortresses to revolt; in return he received magnificent promises. On the arrival of Pompey, who succeeded Lucullus in the conduct of the war, he regarded as enemies (in consequence of the enmity which subsisted between himself and that general) all those persons who had performed any services that were acceptable to Lucullus. On his return home at the conclusion of the war he prevailed upon the senate not to confirm those honours which Lucullus had promised to some persons of

¹ Gumenek.

Pontus, maintaining it to be unjust towards a general who had brought the war to a successful issue, that the rewards and distribution of honours should be placed in the hands of another.

34. The affairs of Comana were administered as has been described in the time of the kings. Pompey, when he had obtained the power, appointed Archelaus priest, and assigned to him a district of two schoeni, or 60 stadia in circuit, in addition to the sacred territory, and gave orders to the inhabitants to obey Archelaus. He was their governor, and master of the sacred slaves who inhabited the city, but had not the power of selling them. The slaves amounted to no less than six thousand.

This Archelaus was the son of that Archelaus who received honours from Sylla and the senate; he was the friend of Gabinius, a person of consular rank. When the former was sent into Syria, he came with the expectation of accompanying him, when he was making preparations for the Parthian war, but the senate would not permit him to do so, and he abandoned this, and conceived a greater design.

Ptolemy, the father of Cleopatra, happened at this time to be ejected from his kingdom by the Ægyptians. His daughter however, the elder sister of Cleopatra, was in possession of the throne. When inquiries were making in order to marry her to a husband of royal descent, Archelaus presented himself to those who were negotiating the affair, and pretended to be the son of Mithridates Eupator. He was accepted, but reigned only six months. He was killed by Gabinius in a pitched battle, in his attempt to restore Ptolemy.

35. His son however succeeded to the priesthood, and Lycomedes succeeded him, to whom was assigned an additional district of four schoeni (or 120 stadia) in extent. When Lycomedes was dispossessed he was succeeded by Dyteutus, the son of Adiatrix, who still occupies the post, and appears to have obtained this honour from Cæsar Augustus on account of his good conduct on the following occasion.

Cæsar, after leading in triumph Adiatrix, with his wife and children, had resolved to put him to death together with the eldest of his sons. Dyteutus was the eldest; but when the second of his brothers told the soldiers who were leading them away to execution that he was the eldest, there was a contest between the two brothers, which continued for some time, till

the parents prevailed upon Dyteutus to yield to the younger, assigning as a reason, that the eldest would be a better person to protect his mother and his remaining brother. The younger was put to death together with his father ; the elder was saved, and obtained this office. When Cæsar was informed of the execution of these persons, he regretted it, and, considering the survivors worthy of his favour and protection, bestowed upon them this honourable appointment.

36. Comana is populous, and is a considerable mart, frequented by persons coming from Armenia. Men and women assemble there from all quarters from the cities and the country to celebrate the festival at the time of the exodi or processions of the goddess. Some persons under the obligation of a vow are always residing there, and perform sacrifices in honour of the goddess.

The inhabitants are voluptuous in their mode of life. All their property is planted with vines, and there is a multitude of women, who make a gain of their persons, most of whom are dedicated to the goddess. The city is almost a little Corinth. On account of the multitude of harlots at Corinth, who are dedicated to Venus, and attracted by the festivities of the place, strangers resorted thither in great numbers. Merchants and soldiers were quite ruined, so that hence the proverb originated,

“every man cannot go to Corinth.”

Such is the character of Comana.

37. All the country around is subject to Pythodoris, and she possesses also Phanarœa, the Zelitis, and the Megalopolitis.

We have already spoken of Phanarœa.

In the district Zelitis is the city Zela,¹ built upon the mound of Semiramis. It contains the temple of Anaïtis, whom the Armenians also worship. Sacrifices are performed with more pomp than in other places, and all the people of Pontus take oaths here in affairs of highest concern. The multitude of the sacred menials, and the honours conferred upon the priests, were in the time of the kings, upon the plan which I have before described. At present, however, everything is under the power of Pythodoris, but many persons had previously reduced the number of the sacred attendants, injured the property and diminished the revenue belonging to the

¹ Zileh.

temple. The adjacent district of Zelitis, (in which is the city Zela, on the mound of Semiramis,) was reduced by being divided into several governments. Anciently, the kings did not govern Zela as a city, but regarded it as a temple of the Persian gods; the priest was the director of everything relating to its administration. It was inhabited by a multitude of sacred menials, by the priest, who possessed great wealth, and by his numerous attendants; the sacred territory was under the authority of the priest, and it was his own property. Pompey added many provinces to Zelitis, and gave the name of city to Zela, as well as to Megalopolis. He formed Zelitis, Culupene, and Camisene, into one district. The two latter bordered upon the Lesser Armenia, and upon Laviansene. Fossile salt was found in them, and there was an ancient fortress called Camisa, at present in ruins. The Roman governors who next succeeded assigned one portion of these two governments to the priests of Comana, another to the priest of Zela, and another to Ateporix, a chief of the family of the tetrarchs of Galatia; upon his death, this portion, which was not large, became subject to the Romans under the name of a province. This little state is a political body of itself, Carana¹ being united with it as a colony, and hence the district has the name of Caranitis. The other parts are in the possession of Pythodoris, and Dyteutus.

38. There remain to be described the parts of Pontus, situated between this country and the districts of Amisus, and Sinope, extending towards Cappadocia, the Galatians, and the Paphlagonians.

Next to the territory of the Amiseni is Phazemonitis,²

¹ This district is at the foot of the mountains which separated the Roman from the Persian Armenia. Carana (now *Erzrum*, *Erzerum*, or *Garen*) was the capital of this district. It was afterwards called Theodosiopolis, which name was given to it in honour of the Emperor Theodosius the Younger by Anatholius his general in the East, A. D. 416. It was for a long time subject to the Byzantine emperors, who considered it the most important fortress of Armenia. About the middle of the 11th century it received the name of Arze-el-Ruin, contracted into Arzrum or Erzrum. It owed its name to the circumstance, that when Arzek was taken by the Seljuk Turks, A. D. 1049, the inhabitants of that place, which from its long subjection to the Romans had received the epithet of Rûm, retired to Theodosiopolis, and gave it the name of their former abode *Smith*.

² On the S. W. of the ridge of Tauschan Dag.

which extends as far as the Halys, and which Pompey called Neapolitis. He raised the village Phazemon to the rank of a city, and increasing its extent gave to it the name of Neapolis.¹ The northern side of this tract is bounded by the Gazelonitis, and by the country of the Amiseni; the western side by the Halys; the eastern by Phanarœa; the remainder by the territory of Amasis, my native country, which surpasses all the rest in extent and fertility.

The part of Phazemonitis towards Phanarœa is occupied by a lake, sea-like in magnitude, called Stiphane,² which abounds with fish, and has around it a large range of pasture adapted to all kinds of animals. Close upon it is a strong fortress, Cizari, [Icizari,] at present deserted, and near it a royal seat in ruins. The rest of the country in general is bare, but produces corn.

Above the district of Amasis are the hot springs³ of the Phazemonitæ, highly salubrious, and the Sagylum,⁴ a stronghold situated on a lofty perpendicular hill, stretching upwards and terminating in a sharp peak. In this fortress is a reservoir well supplied with water, which is at present neglected, but was useful, on many occasions, to the kings. Here the sons of Pharnaces the king captured and put to death Arsaces, who was governing without the authority of the Roman generals, and endeavouring to produce a revolution in the state. The fortress was taken by Polemo and Lycomedes, both of them kings, by famine and not by storm. Arsaces, being prevented from escaping into the plains, fled to the mountains without provisions. There he found the wells choked up with large pieces of rock. This had been done by order of Pompey, who had directed the fortresses to be demolished, and to leave nothing in them that could be serviceable to robbers, who might use them as places of refuge. Such was the settlement of the Phazemonitis made by Pompey. Those who came afterwards divided this district among various kings.

39. My native city, Amaseia, lies in a deep and extensive valley, through which runs the river Iris.⁵ It is indebted to nature and art for its admirable position and construction. It

¹ Mersivan. The text is corrupt. Groskurd's emendation is followed in the translation.

² Ladik-Gol.

³ Kawsa.

⁴ Ijan (Tauschan) Kalessi.

⁵ Tusanlu-su, a branch of the Ieschil Irmak.

answers the double purpose of a city and a fortress. It is a high rock, precipitous on all sides, descending rapidly down to the river : on the margin of the river, where the city stands, is a wall, and a wall also which ascends on each side of the city to the peaks, of which there are two, united by nature, and completely fortified with towers. In this circuit of the wall are the palace, and the monuments of the kings. The peaks are connected together by a very narrow ridge, in height five or six stadia on each side, as you ascend from the banks of the river, and from the suburbs. From the ridge to the peaks there remains another sharp ascent of a stadium in length, which defies the attacks of an enemy. Within the rock are reservoirs of water, the supply from which the inhabitants cannot be deprived of, as two channels are cut, one in the direction of the river, the other of the ridge. Two bridges are built over the river, one leading from the city to the suburbs, the other from the suburbs to the country beyond ; for near this bridge the mountain, which overhangs the rock, terminates.

A valley extends from the river ; it is not very wide at its commencement, but afterwards increases in breadth, and forms the plain called the Chilocomon (The Thousand Villages). Next is the Diacopene, and the Pimolisene, the whole of which is a fertile district extending to the Halys.

These are the northern parts of the country of the Amasenses, and are in length about 500 stadia. Then follows the remainder, which is much longer, extending as far as Babanonus, and the Ximene,¹ which itself reaches to the Halys. The breadth is reckoned from north to south, to the Zelitis and the Greater Cappadocia, as far as the Trocmi.² In Ximene there is found fossile salt, (ἄλες, Hales,) from which it is supposed the river had the name of Halys. There are many ruined fortresses in my native country, and large tracts of land made a desert by the Mithridatic war. The whole of it, however, abounds with trees. It affords pasture for horses, and is adapted to the subsistence of other animals ; the whole of it is very habitable. Amaseia was given to the kings, but at present it is a (Roman) province.

¹ West of Koseh Dagh.

² Situated between the Kizil Irmak and the river Delidsche Irmak, a tributary of the former.

40. There remains to be described the country within the Halys, belonging to the province of Pontus, and situated about the Olgassys,¹ and contiguous to the Sinopic district. The Olgassys is a very lofty mountain, and difficult to be passed. The Paphlagonians have erected temples in every part of this mountain. The country around, the Blaene, and the Domānītis, through which the river Amnias² runs, is sufficiently fertile. Here it was that Mithridates Eupator entirely destroyed³ the army of Nicomedes the Bithynian, not in person, for he himself happened to be absent, but by his generals. Nicomedes fled with a few followers, and escaped into his own country, and thence sailed to Italy. Mithridates pursued him, and made himself master of Bithynia as soon as he entered it, and obtained possession of Asia as far as Caria and Lycia. Here is situated Pompeiopolis,⁴ in which city is the Sandaracurgium,⁵ (or Sandaraca works,) it is not far distant from Pimolisa, a royal fortress in ruins, from which the country on each side of the river is called Pimolisene. The Sandaracurgium is a mountain hollowed out by large trenches made by workmen in the process of mining. The work is always carried on at the public charge, and slaves were employed in the mine who had been sold on account of their crimes. Besides the great labour of the employment, the air is said to be destructive of life, and scarcely endurable in consequence of the strong odour issuing from the masses of mineral; hence the slaves are short-lived. The mining is frequently suspended from its becoming unprofitable, for great expense is incurred by the employment of more than two hundred workmen, whose number is continually diminishing by disease and fatal accidents.

So much respecting Pontus.

41. Next to Pompeiopolis is the remainder of the inland parts of Paphlagonia as far as Bithynia towards the west. This tract, although small in extent, was governed, a little before our time, by several princes, but their race is extinct; at present it is in possession of the Romans. The parts bordering upon Bithynia are called Timonitis; the country of Geza-

¹ Alkas-Dagh.

² Gok-Irmak, or Kostambul Tschai, flowing between the mountain ridges. Jeralagoz-Dagh and Sarikawak-Dagh.

³ B. C. 88.

⁴ Tasch-Kopri.

⁵ Pliny, xxxiv. c. 18.

torix, Marmolitix, Sanisene, and Potamia. There was also a Cimiatene, in which was Cimiata, a strong fortress situated at the foot of the mountainous range of the Olgassys. Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes, (or the Founder,) made it his head-quarters when engaged in the conquest of Pontus, and his successors kept possession of it to the time of Mithridates Eupator. The last king of Paphlagonia was Deïotarus,¹ son of Castor, and surnamed Philadelphus, who possessed Gangra,² containing the palace of Morzeus, a small town, and a fortress.

42. Eudoxus, without defining the spot, says, that fossil fish³ are found in Paphlagonia in dry ground, and in marshy ground also about the lake Ascanius,⁴ which is below Cius, but he gives no clear information on the subject.

We have described Paphlagonia bordering upon Pontus; and as the Bithynians border upon the Paphlagonians towards the west, we shall endeavour to describe this region also. We shall then set out again from the Bithynians and the Paphlagonians, and describe the parts of the country next to these nations lying towards the south; they extend as far as the Taurus, and are parallel to Pontus and Cappadocia; for some order and division of this kind are suggested by the nature of the places.

CHAPTER IV.

1. BITHYNIA is bounded on the east by the Paphlagonians Mariandyni, and by some tribes of the Epicteti; on the north by the line of the sea-coast of the Euxine, extending from the mouth of the Sangarius⁵ to the straits at Byzantium and Chalcedon; on the west by the Propontis; on the south by Mysia and Phrygia Epictetus, as it is called, which has the name also of Hellespontic Phrygia.

¹ Great-grandson of Deïotarus I.

² According to Alexander Polyhistor, the town was built by a goatherd, who had found one of his goats straying there, but this is probably a mere philological speculation, *gangra* signifying "a goat" in the Paphlagonian language. In ecclesiastical writers it is often mentioned as the metropolitan see of Paphlagonia. The orchards of this town were celebrated for their apples. Athen. iii.—*Smith*.

³ Book iv. c. i. § 6. Athen. b. viii.

⁴ Isnik Gol.

⁵ Sakaria.

2. Here upon the mouth of the Pontus is situated Chalcedon, founded by the Megareans,¹ the village Chrysopolis, and the Chalcedonian temple. In the country a little above the sea-coast is a fountain, Azaritia, (Azaretia?) which breeds small crocodiles.

Next follows the coast of the Chalcedonians, the bay of Astacus,² as it is called, which is a part of the Propontis.

Here Nicomedia³ is situated, bearing the name of one of the Bithynian kings by whom it was founded. Many kings however have taken the same name, as the Ptolemies, on account of the fame of the first person who bore it.

On the same bay was Astacus a city founded by Megareans and Athenians; it was afterwards again colonized by Dædalus. The bay had its name from the city. It was razed by Lysimachus. The founder of Nicomedia transferred its inhabitants to the latter city.

3. There is another bay⁴ continuous with that of Astacus, which advances further towards the east, and where is situated Prusias,⁵ formerly called Cius. Philip, the son of Demetrius, and father of Perseus, gave it to Prusias, son of Zelas, who had assisted him in destroying both this and Myrleia,⁶ a neighbouring city, and also situated near Prusa. He rebuilt them from their ruins, and called the city Cius Prusias, after his own name, and Myrleia he called Apameia, after that of his wife. This is the Prusias who received Hannibal, (who took refuge with him hither after the defeat of Antiochus,) and retired from Phrygia⁷ on the Hellespont, according to agreement with the Attalici.⁸ This country was formerly called Lesser Phrygia, but by the Attalici Phrygia Epictetus.⁹ Above Prusias is a mountain which is called Arganthonius.¹⁰ Here is the scene of the fable of Hylas, one of the companions of Hercules in the ship Argo, who, having disembarked in order to obtain water for the vessel, was carried away by nymphs. Cius, as the story goes, was a friend and companion of Hercules; on his return from Colchis, he settled there and founded the city which bears his name. At the present time a festival called Orei-

¹ B. vii. c. vi. § 2.² G. of Ismid.³ Ismid or Iskimid.⁴ B. of Gemlik.⁵ Brusa.⁶ Mudania.⁷ Livy, xxxviii. 39.⁸ The kings of Pergamus.⁹ The Acquired.¹⁰ The ridge of Katerlu Dag and Samanlu Dag.

basia, is celebrated by the Prusienses, who wander about the mountains and woods, a rebel rout, calling on Hylas by name, as though in search of him.

The Prusienses having shown a friendly disposition towards the Romans in their administration of public affairs, obtained their freedom. But the Apamies were obliged to admit a Roman colony.

Prusa, situated below the Mysian Olympus, on the borders of the Phrygians and the Mysians, is a well-governed city; it was founded by Cyrus,¹ who made war against Crœsus.

4. It is difficult to define the boundaries of the Bithynians, Mysians, Phrygians, of the Doliones about Cyzicus, and of the Mygdones and Troes; it is generally admitted that each of these tribes ought to be placed apart from the other. A proverbial saying is applied to the Phrygians and Mysians,

“The boundaries of the Mysi and Phryges are apart from one another,” but it is difficult to define them respectively. The reason is this; strangers who came into the country were soldiers and barbarians; they had no fixed settlement in the country of which they obtained possession, but were, for the most part, wanderers, expelling others from their territory, and being expelled themselves. All these nations might be supposed to be Thracians, because Thracians occupy the country on the other side, and because they do not differ much from one another.

5. But as far as we are able to conjecture, we may place Mysia between Bithynia and the mouth of the *Æsepus*, contiguous to the sea, and nearly along the whole of Olympus. Around it, in the interior, is the *Epictetus*, nowhere reaching the sea, and extending as far as the eastern parts of the *Ascanian lake* and district, for both bear the same name. Part of this territory was Phrygian, and part Mysian; the Phrygian was further distant from Troy; and so we must understand the words of the poet², when he says,

“Phorcys, and the god-like *Ascanius*, were the leaders of the Phryges far from *Ascania*,”

that is, the Phrygian *Ascania*; for the other, the Mysian *Ascania*, was nearer to the present *Nicæa*, which he mentions, when he says,

¹ In the text, Prusias. The translation follows the suggestion of Kramer.

² Il. ii. 862.

“Palmys, Ascanius, and Morys, sons of Hippotion, the leader of the Mysi, fighting in close combat, who came from the fertile soil of Ascania, as auxiliaries.”¹

It is not then surprising that he should speak of an Ascanius, a leader of the Phrygians, who came from Ascania, and of an Ascanius, a leader of the Mysians, coming also from Ascania, for there is much repetition of names derived from rivers, lakes, and places.

6. The poet himself assigns the *Æsepus* as the boundary of the Mysians, for after having described the country above Ilium, and lying along the foot of the mountains subject to *Æneas*, and which he calls *Dardania*, he places next towards the north *Lycia*, which was subject to *Pandarus*, and where *Zeleia*² was situated; he says,

“They who inhabited *Zeleia*, at the very foot of *Ida*, *Aphneii* Trojans, who drink of the dark stream of *Æsepus* ;”³

below *Zeleia*, towards the sea, on this side of *Æsepus*, lies the plain of *Adrasteia*, and *Tereia*, *Pitya*, and in general the present district of *Cyzicene* near *Priapus*,⁴ which he afterwards describes. He then returns again to the parts towards the east, and to those lying above, by which he shows that he considered the country as far as the *Æsepus* the northern and eastern boundary of the *Troad*. Next to the *Troad* are *Mysia* and *Olympus*.⁵ Ancient tradition then suggests some such disposition of these nations. But the present changes have produced many differences in consequence of the continual succession of governors of the country, who confounded together people and districts, and separated others. The *Phrygians* and *Mysians* were masters of the country after the capture of *Troy*; afterwards the *Lydians*; then the *Æolians* and *Ionians*; next, the *Persians* and *Macedonians*; lastly, the *Romans*, under whose government most of the tribes have lost even their languages and names, in consequence of a new partition of the country having been made. It will be proper to take this into consideration when we describe its present state, at the same time showing a due regard to antiquity.

7. In the inland parts of *Bithynia* is *Bithynium*,⁶ situated above *Tieium*,⁷ and to which belongs the country about *Salon*,

¹ Il. xiii. 792.

² *Sarakoi*.

³ Il. ii. 824.

⁴ *Karabogha*.

⁵ *Keschisch-Dagh*.

⁶ *Claudiopolis*, now *Boli*.

⁷ *Tilijos*.

affording the best pasturage for cattle, whence comes the cheese of Salon. Nicæa,¹ the capital of Bithynia, is situated on the Ascanian lake. It is surrounded by a very large and very fertile plain, which in the summer is not very healthy. Its first founder was Antigonus, the son of Philip, who called it Antigonía. It was then rebuilt by Lysimachus, who changed its name to that of his wife Nicæa. She was the daughter of Antipater. The city is situated in a plain. Its shape is quadrangular, eleven stadia in circuit. It has four gates. Its streets are divided at right angles, so that the four gates may be seen from a single stone, set up in the middle of the Gymnasium. A little above the Ascanian lake is Otrœa, a small town situated just on the borders of Bithynia towards the east. It is conjectured that Otrœa was so called from Otreus.

8. That Bithynia was a colony of the Mysians, first Scylax of Caryanda will testify, who says that Phrygians and Mysians dwell around the Ascanian lake. The next witness is Dionysius, who composed a work on "the foundation of cities." He says that the straits at Chalcedon, and Byzantium, which are now called the Thracian, were formerly called the Mysian Bosphorus. Some person might allege this as a proof that the Mysians were Thracians; and Euphorio says,

"by the waters of the Mysian Ascanius;"

and thus also Alexander the Ætolian,

"who have their dwellings near the Ascanian waters, on the margin of the Ascanian lake, where Dolion dwelt, the son of Silenus and of Melia."

These authors testify the same thing, because the Ascanian lake is found in no other situation but this.

9. Men distinguished for their learning, natives of Bithynia, were Xenocrates the philosopher, Dionysius the dialectician, Hipparchus, Theodosius and his sons the mathematicians, Cleophanes the rhetorician of Myrleia, and Asclepiades the physician of Prusa.²

¹ Isnik. The Turkish name is a contraction of *εἰς Νίκαιαν*, as Ismir, Smyrna, is a contraction of *εἰς Σμύρνην*, Istambol, Constantinople, of *εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, Stanco, Cos, of *εἰς τὴν Κῶ*.

² Xenocrates, one of the most distinguished disciples of Plato, was of Chalcedon. Dionysius the dialectician is probably the same as Dionysius of Heracleia, who abandoned the Stoics to join the sect of Epicurus. Hipparchus, the first and greatest of Greek astronomers, (B. C. 160—145.) was of Nicæa. So also was Diophanes, quoted by Varro and Columella,

10. To the south of the Bithynians are the Mysians about Olympus (whom some writers call Bithyni Olympeni, and others Hellespontii) and Phrygia upon the Hellespont. To the south of the Paphlagonians are the Galatians, and still further to the south of both these nations are the Greater Phrygia, and Lycaonia, extending as far as the Cilician and Pisidian Taurus. But since the parts continuous with Paphlagonia adjoin Pontus, Cappadocia, and the nations which we have just described, it may be proper first to give an account of the parts in the neighbourhood of these nations, and then proceed to a description of the places next in order.

CHAPTER V.

1. To the south of the Paphlagonians are the Galatians, of whom there are three tribes; two of them, the Trocmi and the Tolistobogii, have their names from their chiefs; the third, the Tectosages, from the tribe of that name in Celtica. The Galatians took possession of this country after wandering about for a long period, and overrunning the country subject to the Attalic and the Bithynian kings, until they received by a voluntary cession the present Galatia, or Gallo-Græcia, as it is called. Leonnorijs seems to have been the chief leader of these people when they passed over into Asia. There were three nations that spoke the same language, and in no respect differed from one another. Each of them was divided into four portions called tetrarchies, and had its own tetrarch, its own judge, and one superintendent of the army, all of whom were under the control of the tetrarch, and two subordinate super-

as the abbreviator of the twenty books on Agriculture by Mago, in the Punic language. Suidas speaks of Theodosius, a distinguished mathematician, who, according to Vossius, may be here meant. A treatise of his "on Spherics" still exists, and was printed in Paris in 1558. Of Cleophanes of Myrleia little is known. Strabo mentions also a grammarian, Asclepiades of Myrleia, in b. iii. c. iv. § 19. To these great names may be added as of Bithynian origin, but subsequent to the time of Strabo, Dion Chrysostom, one of the most eminent among Greek rhetoricians and sophists; he was born at Nicomedia, and died about A. D. 117. Arrian, the author of "India," and the "Anabasis" (the Asiatic expedition) "of Alexander," was also born at Nicomedia towards the end of A. 1. 100.

intendents of the army. The Council of the twelve Tetrarchs consisted of three hundred persons, who assembled at a place called the Drynemetum.¹ The council determined causes relative to murder, the others were decided by the tetrarchs and the judges. Such, anciently, was the political constitution of Galatia; but, in our time, the government was in the hands of three chiefs, then of two, and at last it was administered by Deiotarus, who was succeeded by Amyntas. At present, the Romans possess this as well as all the country which was subject to Amyntas, and have reduced it into one province.

2. The Trocmi occupy the parts near Pontus and Cappadocia, which are the best which the Galatians possess. They have three walled fortresses, Tavium, a mart for the people in that quarter, where there is a colossal statue of Jupiter in brass, and a grove, which is used as a place of refuge; Mithridatium, which Pompey gave to Bogodiatarus, (Deiotarus?) having separated it from the kingdom of Pontus; and thirdly, Danala, where Pompey, when he was about to leave the country to celebrate his triumph, met Lucullus and delivered over to him as his successor the command of the war.

This is the country which the Trocmi possess.

The Tectosages occupy the parts towards the greater Phrygia near Pessinus,² and the Orcaorci. They had the fortress Ancyra,³ of the same name as the small Phrygian city towards Lydia near Blaudus.⁴ The Tolistobogii border upon the Bithynians, and Phrygia Epictetus, as it is called. They possess the fortresses Blucium, (Luceium,) which was the royal seat of Deiotarus, and Peium, which was his treasure-hold.

3. Pessinus is the largest mart of any in that quarter. It contains a temple of the Mother of the Gods, held in the highest veneration. The goddess is called Agdistis. The priests anciently were a sort of sovereigns, and derived a large revenue from their office. At present their consequence is much diminished, but the mart still subsists. The sacred enclosure was adorned with fitting magnificence by the Attalic kings,⁵ with a temple, and porticos of marble. The Romans

¹ Probably a grove.

² Bala Hissar, to the south of Siwri-Hissar; between these two places is Mt. Dindymus, Guneseth-Dagh.

³ On the west of the lake Simau.

⁴ Suleimanli.

⁵ The kings of Pergamus.

gave importance to the temple by sending for the statue of the goddess from thence according to the oracle of the Sibyl, as they had sent for that of Asclepius from Epidaurus.

The mountain Dindymus is situated above the city; from Dindymus comes Dindymene, as from Cybela, Cybele. Near it runs the river Sangarius, and on its banks are the ancient dwellings of the Phrygians, of Midas, and of Gordius before his time, and of some others, which do not preserve the vestiges of cities, but are villages a little larger than the rest. Such is Gordium,¹ and Gorbeus (Gordeus), the royal seat of Castor, son of Saocondarius, (Saocondarus?) in which he was put to death by his father-in-law, Deïotarus, who there also murdered his own daughter. Deïotarus razed the fortress, and destroyed the greater part of the settlement.

4. Next to Galatia towards the south is the lake Tatta,² lying parallel to that part of the Greater Cappadocia which is near the Morimeni. It belongs to the Greater Phrygia, as well as the country continuous with this, and extending as far as the Taurus, and of which Amyntas possessed the greatest part. Tatta is a natural salt-pan. The water so readily makes a deposit around everything immersed in it, that upon letting down wreaths formed of rope, chaplets of salt are drawn up. If birds touch the surface of the water with their wings, they immediately fall down in consequence of the concretion of the salt upon them, and are thus taken.

CHAPTER VI.

1. SUCH is the description of Tatta. The places around Orcaorci, Pitnisus and the mountainous plains of Lycaonia, are cold and bare, affording pasture only for wild asses; there is a great scarcity of water, but wherever it is found the wells are very deep, as at Soatra, where it is even sold. Soatra is a village city near Garsabora (Garsaura?). Although the country is ill supplied with water, it is surprisingly well adapted for feeding sheep, but the wool is coarse. Some persons have acquired very great wealth by these flocks alone. Amyntas had above three hundred flocks of sheep in these

¹ Juliopolis.

² Tuz-Tscholli,

parts. In this district there are two lakes, the greater Coralis, the smaller Trogitis. Somewhere here is Iconium,¹ a small town, well built, about which is a more fertile tract of land than the pastures for the wild asses before mentioned. Polemo possessed this place.

Here the Taurus approaches this country, separating Cappadocia and Lycaonia from Cilicia Tracheia. It is the boundary of the Lycaonians and Cappadocians, between Coropassus, a village of the Lycaonians, and Gareathyra (Garsaura), a small town of the Cappadocians. The distance between these fortresses is about 120 stadia.

2. To Lycaonia belongs Isaurica, near the Taurus, in which are the Isaura, two villages of the same name, one of which is surnamed Palæa, or the Old, the other [the New], the latter is well fortified.² There were many other villages dependent upon these. They are all of them, however, the dwellings of robbers. They occasioned much trouble to the Romans, and to Publius Servilius, surnamed Isauricus, with whom I was acquainted; he subjected these places to the Romans, and destroyed also many of the strong-holds of the pirates, situated upon the sea.

3. Derbe,³ the royal seat of the tyrant Antipater, surnamed Derbætes, is on the side of the Isaurian territory close upon Cappadocia. Laranda⁴ also belonged to Antipater. In my time Amyntas attacked and killed Antipater Derbætes, and got possession of the Isaura and of Derbe. The Romans gave him the Isaura where he built a palace for himself, after having destroyed Isauria Palæa (the Old). He began to build in the same place a new wall, but before its completion he was killed by the Cilicians in an ambushade, when invading the country of the Homonadeis.

4. For being in possession of Antiocheia near Pisidia, and the country as far as Apollonias,⁵ near Apameia Cibotus,⁶ some parts of the Paroreia, and Lycaonia, he attempted to exterminate the Cilicians and Pisidians, who descended from the Taurus and overran this district, which belonged to the Phrygians and Cilicians (Lycaonians). He razed also many

¹ Konia.

² Meineke's correction.

³ Its position is uncertain, probably Divle, to the S. of the Lake Ak-Gol. See *Smith*, art. *Derbe*.

⁴ Caraman.

⁵ Tschol-Abad.

⁶ Aphiom Kara Hissar.

fortresses, which before this time were considered impregnable, among which was Cremna, but he did not attempt to take by storm Sandalium, situated between Cremna and Sagalassus.

5. Cremna is occupied by a Roman colony.

Sagalassus is under the command of the same Roman governor, to whom all the kingdom of Amyntas is subject. It is distant from Apameia a day's journey, having a descent of nearly 30 stadia from the fortress. It has the name also of Selgessus. It was taken by Alexander.

Amyntas made himself master of Cremna and passed into the country of the Homonadeis, who were supposed to be the most difficult to reduce of all the tribes. He had already got into his power most of their strong-holds, and had killed the tyrant himself, when he was taken prisoner by an artifice of the wife of the tyrant, whom he had killed, and was put to death by the people. Cyrinius (Quirinus)¹ reduced them by famine and took four thousand men prisoners, whom he settled as inhabitants in the neighbouring cities, but he left no person in the country in the prime of life.

Among the heights of Taurus, and in the midst of rocks and precipices for the most part inaccessible, is a hollow and fertile plain divided into several valleys. The inhabitants cultivate this plain, but live among the overhanging heights of the mountains, or in caves. They are for the most part armed, and accustomed to make incursions into the country of other tribes, their own being protected by mountains, which serve as a wall.

CHAPTER VII.

1. CONTIGUOUS to these, among other tribes of the Pisidians, are the Selgeis, the most considerable tribe of the nation.

The greater part of the Pisidians occupy the summits of Taurus, but some tribes situated above Side² and Aspen-

¹ Sulpitius Quirinus. The Cyrenius "governor of Syria" in St. Luke. Tacitus (Ann. B. iii. c. 48) speaks of his expedition against the Homonadeis, and Josephus of his arrival in Syria, where he was sent with Coponius by Augustus.

² Eske-Adatia.

dus,¹ which are Pamphylian cities, occupy heights, all of which are planted with olives. The parts above these, a mountainous country, are occupied by the Catennenses, who border upon the Selgeis and the Homonadeis. The Sagalasseis occupy the parts within the Taurus towards Milyas.

2. Artemidorus says that Selge, Sagalassus, Petnelissus, Adada, Tymbrias, Cremna, Pityassus, (Tityassus?) Amblada, Anabura, Sinda, Aarassus, Tarbassus, Termessus, are cities of the Pisidians. Of these some are entirely among the mountains, others extend on each side even as far as the country at the foot of the mountains, and reach to Pamphylia and Milyas, and border on Phrygians, Lydians, and Carians, all of whom are disposed to peace, although situated to the north.²

The Pamphylians, who partake much of the character of the Cilician nation, do not altogether abstain from predatory enterprises, nor permit the people on the confines to live in peace, although they occupy the southern parts of the country at the foot of Taurus.

On the confines of Phrygia and Caria, are Tabæ,³ Sinda, and Amblada, whence is procured the Amblada wine, which is used in diet prescribed for the sick.

3. All the rest of the mountain tribes of the Pisidians whom I have spoken of are divided into states governed by tyrants, and follow like the Cilicians a predatory mode of life. It is said that anciently some of the Leleges, a wandering people, were intermixed with them, and from the similarity of their habits and manners settled there.

Selge⁴ had the rank of a city from the first when founded by the Lacedæmonians, but at a still earlier period by Calchas. Latterly it has maintained its condition and flourished in consequence of its excellent constitution and government, so that at one time it had a population of 20,000 persons. The place deserves admiration from the advantages which nature has bestowed upon it. Among the summits of Taurus is a very fertile tract capable of maintaining many thousand inhabitants. Many spots produce the olive and excellent vines, and afford abundant pasture for animals of all kinds. Above and

¹ Balkesi.

² To the north of the chain of Taurus which commenced at the promontory Trogium opposite Samos.

³ Tabas.

⁴ Surk.

all around are forests containing trees of various sorts. The styrax is found here in great abundance, a tree not large but straight in its growth. Javelins, similar to those of the cornel tree, are made of the wood of this tree. There is bred in the trunk of the styrax tree, a worm, which eats through the timber to the surface, and throws out raspings like bran, or saw-dust, a heap of which is collected at the root. Afterwards a liquid distils which readily concretes into a mass like gum. A part of this liquid descends upon and mixes with the raspings at the root of the tree, and with earth; a portion of it acquires consistence on the surface of the mass, and remains pure. That portion which flows along the surface of the trunk of the tree, and concretes, is also pure. A mixture is made of the impure part, which is a combination of wood-dust and earth; this has more odour than the pure styrax, but is inferior to it in its other properties. This is not commonly known. It is used for incense in large quantities by superstitious worshippers of the gods.

The Selgic iris¹ also, and the unguent which is made from it, are in great esteem. There are few approaches about the city, and the mountainous country of the Selgeis, which abounds with precipices and ravines, formed among other rivers by the Eurymedon² and the Cestrus,³ which descend from the Selgic mountains, and discharge themselves into the Pamphylian Sea. There are bridges on the roads. From the strength and security of their position the Selgeis were never at any time, nor on any single occasion, subject to any other people, but enjoyed unmolested the produce of their country, with the exception of that part situated below them in Pamphylia, and that within the Taurus, for which they were carrying on a continual warfare with the kings.

Their position with respect to the Romans was that they possessed this tract on certain conditions. They sent ambassadors to Alexander and offered to receive his commands in the character of friends, but at present they are altogether subject to the Romans, and are included in what was formerly the kingdom of Amyntas.

¹ Pliny, b. xv. c. 7, and b. xii. c. 4.

² Kopru-Su.

³ Ak-Su.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. THE people called Mysians, and Phrygians, who live around the so-called Mysian Olympus, border upon the Bithynians to the south. Each of these nations is divided into two parts. One is called the Greater Phrygia, of which Midas was king. A part of it was occupied by the Galatians. The other is the Lesser, or Phrygia on the Hellespont, or Phrygia around Olympus, and is also called Epictetus.

Mysia is also divided into two parts; Olympic Mysia, which is continuous with Bithynia, and with the Epictetus, (which, Artemidorus says, was inhabited by the Mysians beyond the Danube,) and the part around the Caicus,¹ and the Pergamene² as far as Teuthrania, and the mouths of the river.

2. This country, however, as we have frequently observed, has undergone so many changes, that it is uncertain whether the district around Sipylus,³ which the ancients called Phrygia, were a part of the Greater or the Lesser Phrygia, from whence Tantalus, Pelops, and Niobe were called Phrygians. Whatever the explanation may be, the change is certain. For Pergamene and Elaïtis,⁴ through which country the Caicus passes, and empties itself into the sea, and Teuthrania, situated between these two districts, where Teuthras lived, and Telephus was brought up, lies between the Hellespont, and the country about Sipylus, and Magnesia, which is at the foot of the mountain, so that, as I have said, it is difficult

“To assign the confines of the Mysians and Phryges.”—

3. The Lydians also, and the Mæones, whom Homer calls Meones, are in some way confounded with these people and with one another; some authors say that they are the same, others that they are different, nations. Add to this that some writers regard the Mysians as Thracians, others as Lydians, according to an ancient tradition, which has been preserved by Xanthus the Lydian, and by Menecrates of Elæa, who assign as the origin of the name Mysians, that the Lydians call the beech-tree (Oxya) Mysos, which grows in great abundance near Olympus, where it is said decimated persons⁵ were exposed, whose descendants are the

¹ Bakyr-Tschai. ² The district around Bergama. ³ Sipuli-Dagh.

⁴ The district between Bergama and the sea.

⁵ Protheüs, who had led the Maguetes to Troy, upon his return from

later Mysians, and received their appellation from the Mysos, or beech-tree growing in that country. The language also is an evidence of this. It is a mixture of Lydian and Phrygian words, for they lived some time in the neighbourhood of Olympus. But when the Phrygians passed over from Thrace, and put to death the chief of Troy and of the country near it, they settled here, but the Mysians established themselves above the sources of the Caïcus near Lydia.

4. The confusion which has existed among the nations in this district, and even the fertility of the country within the Halys, particularly near the sea, have contributed to the invention of fables of this sort. The richness of the country provoked attacks, from various quarters, and at all times, of tribes who came from the opposite coast, or neighbouring people contended with one another for the possession of it. Inroads and migrations took place chiefly about the period of the Trojan war, and subsequently to that time, Barbarians as well as Greeks showing an eagerness to get possession of the territory of other nations. This disposition, however, showed itself before the time of the Trojan war; for there existed then tribes of Pelasgi, Caucones, and Leleges, who are said to have wandered, anciently, over various parts of Europe. The poet represents them as assisting the Trojans, but not as coming from the opposite coast. The accounts respecting the Phrygians and the Mysians are more ancient than the Trojan times.

Two tribes bearing the name of Lycians, lead us to suppose that they are the same race; either the Trojan Lycians sent colonies to the Carians, or the Carian Lycians to the Trojans. Perhaps the same may be the case with the Cilicians, for they also are divided into two tribes; but we have not the same evidence that the present Cilicians existed before the Trojan times. Telephus may be supposed to have come with his mother from Arcadia; by her marriage with Teuthras, (who had received them as his guests,) Telephus was admitted into the

that expedition, and in compliance with a vow which he had made to Apollo, selected every tenth man and sent them to the temple at Delphi. These Magnetes, for some reason, abandoned the temple and embarked for Crete; from thence they passed into Asia, accompanied by some Cretans, and founded Magnesia near the Mæander. B. xiv. c. i. § 11.

family of Teuthras, was reputed to be his son, and succeeded to the kingdom of the Mysians.

5. "The Carians, who were formerly islanders, and Leleges," it is said, "settled on the continent with the assistance of the Cretans. They built Miletus, of which the founder was Sarpedon from Miletus in Crete. They settled the colony of Termilæ in the present Lycia, but, according to Herodotus,¹ these people were a colony from Crete under the conduct of Sarpedon, brother of Minos and Rhadamanthus, who gave the name of Termilæ to the people formerly called Milyæ, and still more anciently Solymi; when, however, Lycus the son of Pandion arrived, he called them Lycii after his own name." This account shows that the Solymi and Lycians were the same people, but the poet distinguishes them. He represents Bellerophon setting out from Lycia, and

"fighting with the renowned Solymi."²

He says Peisander (Isander?), his son, Mars

"slew when fighting with the Solymi,"³

and speaks of Sarpedon as a native of Lycia.⁴

6. That the common prize, proposed to be obtained by the conquerors, was the fertile country which I am describing, is confirmed by many circumstances which happened both before and after the Trojan times. When even the Amazons ventured to invade it, Priam and Bellerophon are said to have undertaken an expedition against these women. Anciently there were cities which bore the names of the Amazons. In the Ilian plain there is a hill

"which men call Batiæia, but the immortals, the tomb of the bounding (πολυσκάρθμοιο) Myrina,"

who, according to historians, was one of the Amazons, and they found this conjecture on the epithet, for horses are said to be εὐσκάρθμοι on account of their speed; and she was called πολύσκαρθμος from the rapidity with which she drove the chariot. Myrina therefore, the place, was named after the Amazon. In the same manner the neighbouring islands were invaded on account of their fertility; among which were Rhodes and Cos. That they were inhabited before the Trojan times clearly appears from the testimony of Homer.⁵

¹ Herod. i. 173; vii. 92.

² Il. vi. 184.

³ Il. vi. 204.

⁴ Il. vi. 199.

⁵ Il. ii. 655, 677

7. After the Trojan times, the migrations of Greeks and of Treres, the inroads of Cimmerians and Lydians, afterwards of Persians and Macedonians, and lastly of Galatians, threw everything into confusion. An obscurity arose not from these changes only, but from the disagreement between authors in their narration of the same events, and in their description of the same persons; for they called Trojans Phrygians, like the Tragic poets; and Lycians Carians, and similarly in other instances. The Trojans who, from a small beginning, increased so much in power that they became kings of kings, furnished a motive to the poet and his interpreters, for determining what country ought to be called Troy. For the poet calls by the common name of Trojans all their auxiliaries, as he calls their enemies Danai and Achæi. But certainly we should not give the name of Troy to Paphlagonia, or to Caria, or to Lycia, which borders upon it. I mean when the poet says,

“the Trojans advanced with the clashing of armour and shouts,”¹

and where he speaks of their enemies,

“but the Achæi advanced silently, breathing forth warlike ardour,”²

and thus frequently in other passages.

We must endeavour, however, to distinguish as far as we are able one nation from another, notwithstanding this uncertainty. If anything relative to ancient history escapes my notice, it must be pardoned, for this is not the province of the geographer; my concern is with the present state of people and places.

8. There are two mountains situated above the Propontis, the Mysian Olympus³ and Ida.⁴ At the foot of Olympus is Bithynia, and, contiguous to the mountain, between Ida and the sea, is Troy.

We shall afterwards speak of Troy, and of the places continuous with it on the south. At present we shall give an account of the places about Olympus, and of the adjoining country as far as the Taurus, and parallel to the parts which we have previously described.

The country lying around Olympus is not well inhabited. On its heights are immense forests and strongholds, well adapt-

¹ Il. iii. 2.

² Il. iii. 8.

³ Keschisch Dagh.

⁴ Kas-Dagh.

ed for the protection of robbers, who, being able to maintain themselves there for any length of time, often set themselves up as tyrants, as Cleon a captain of a band of robbers did in my recollection.

9. Cleon was a native of the village Gordium, which he afterwards enlarged, and erected into a city, giving it the name of Juliopolis. His first retreat and head-quarters was a place called Callydium, one of the strongest holds. He was of service to Antony in attacking the soldiers who collected money for Labienus, at the time that the latter occupied Asia, and thus hindered the preparations which he was making for his defence. In the Actian war he separated himself from Antony and attached himself to the generals of Cæsar; he was rewarded above his deserts, for in addition to what he received from Antony he obtained power from Cæsar, and exchanged the character of a freebooter for that of a petty prince. He was priest of Jupiter Abrettenus, the Mysian god, and a portion of the Morena was subject to him, which, like Abrettena, is Mysian. He finally obtained the priesthood of Comana in Pontus, and went to take possession of it, but died within a month after his arrival. He was carried off by an acute disease, occasioned either by excessive repletion; or, according to the account of those employed about the temple, inflicted by the anger of the goddess. The story is this. Within the circuit of the sacred enclosure is the dwelling of the priest and priestess. Besides other sacred observances relative to the temple, the purity of this enclosure is an especial object of vigilance, by abstinence from eating swine's flesh. The whole city, indeed, is bound to abstain from this food, and swine are not permitted to enter it. Cleon, however, immediately upon his arrival displayed his lawless disposition and character by violating this custom, as if he had come there not as a priest, but a polluter of sacred things.

10. The description of Olympus is as follows. Around it, to the north, live Bithynians, Mygdonians, and Doliones; the rest is occupied by Mysians and Epicteti. The tribes about Cyzicus¹ from Æsepus² as far as Rhyndacus³ and the lake Dascylitis,⁴ are called for the most part Doliones; those next to the Doliones, and extending as far as the territory of the Myrleani,⁵ are called Mygdones. Above the

Artaki. ² Satal-dere? ³ Mualitsch-Tschai. ⁴ Iaskili. ⁵ Mudania.

Dascylitis are two large lakes, the Apolloniatis,¹ and the Miletopolitis.² Near the Dascylitis is the city Dascylium, and on the Miletopolitis, Miletopolis. Near a third lake is Apollonia on the Rhyndacus, as it is called. Most of these places belong at present to the Cyziceni.

11. Cyzicus is an island³ in the Propontis, joined to the continent by two bridges. It is exceedingly fertile. It is about 500 stadia in circumference. There is a city of the same name near the bridges, with two close harbours, and more than two hundred docks for vessels. One part of the city is in a plain, the other near the mountain which is called Arcton-oros (or Bear-mountain). Above this is another mountain, the Dindymus, with one peak, having on it a temple founded by the Argonauts in honour of Dindymene, mother of the gods. This city rivals in size, beauty, and in the excellent administration of affairs, both in peace and war, the cities which hold the first rank in Asia. It appears to be embellished in a manner similar to Rhodes, Massalia,⁴ and ancient Carthage. I omit many details. There are three architects, to whom is intrusted the care of the public edifices and engines. The city has also three store-houses, one for arms, one for engines, and one for corn. The Chalcidic earth mixed with the corn prevents it from spoiling. The utility of preserving it in this manner was proved in the Mithridatic war. The king attacked the city unexpectedly with an army of 150,000 men and a large body of cavalry, and made himself master of the opposite hill, which is called the hill of Adras-teia, and of the suburb. He afterwards transferred his camp to the neck of land above the city, blockaded it by land, and attacked it by sea with four hundred ships. The Cyziceni resisted all these attempts, and were even nearly capturing the king in a subterraneous passage, by working a counter-mine. He was, however, apprized of it, and escaped by retreating in time out of the excavation. Lucullus, the Roman general, was able, though late, to send succours into the city by night. Famine also came to the aid of the Cyziceni by spreading among this large army. The king did not foresee this, and after losing great numbers of his men went away.

¹ Loubadi.² Manijas.³ According to Pliny, b. v. c. 32, it was united to the mainland by Alexander.⁴ Marseilles.

The Romans respected the city, and to this present time it enjoys freedom. A large territory belongs to it, some part of which it has held from the earliest times; the rest was a gift of the Romans. Of the Troad they possess the parts beyond the *Æsepus*, namely, those about *Zelea* and the plain of *Adrasteia*; a part of the lake *Dascylitis* belongs to them, the other part belongs to the Byzantines. They also possess a large district near the *Dolionis*, and the *Mygdonis*, extending as far as the lake *Miletopolitis*, and the *Apolloniatis*. Through these countries runs the river *Rhyndacus*, which has its source in the *Azanitis*. Having received from *Mysia* *Abrettene*, among other rivers, the *Macestus*,¹ which comes from *Ancyra*² in the *Abæitis*, it empties itself into the *Propontis* at the island *Besbicus*.³

In this island of the *Cyziceni* is the mountain *Artace*, well wooded, and in front of it lies a small island of the same name; near it is the promontory *Melas* (or *Black*), as it is called, which is met with in coasting from *Cyzicus* to *Priapus*.⁴

12. To *Phrygian Epictetus* belong the *Azani*, and the cities *Nacoleia*, *Cotiaeiium*,⁵ *Midiaeiium*, *Dorylæum*,⁶ and *Cadi*.⁷ Some persons assign *Cadi* to *Mysia*.

Mysia extends in the inland parts from *Olympene* to *Pergamene*, and to the plain of *Caïcus*, as it is called; so that it lies between *Ida* and the *Catacecaumene*, which some place in *Mysia*, others in *Mæonia*.

13. Beyond the *Epictetus* to the south is the *Greater Phrygia*, leaving on the left *Pessinus*, and the parts about *Orcaorci*, and *Lycaonia*, and on the right *Mæones*, *Lydians*, and *Carians*. In the *Epictetus* are *Phrygia Paroreia*, and the country towards *Pisidia*, and the parts about *Amorium*,⁸ *Eumeneia*,⁹ and *Synnada*.¹⁰ Next are *Apameia Cibotus*,¹¹ and *Laodiceia*,¹² the largest cities in *Phrygia*. Around them lie the towns [and places], *Aphrodisias*,¹³ *Colossæ*,¹⁴ *Themisonium*,¹⁵ *Sanaus*, *Metropolis*,¹⁶ *Apollonias*, and farther off than these, *Peltæ*, *Tabææ*, *Eucarpia*, and *Lysias*.

14. The *Paroreia*¹⁷ has a mountainous ridge extending from east to west. Below it on either side stretches a large plain,

¹ Simau-Su.² Simau-Gol.³ Imrali, or Kalo-limno.⁴ Karabogher.⁵ Kiutahia.⁶ Eski-Schehr.⁷ Gedis.⁸ Hergan Kaleh.⁹ Ischekli.¹⁰ Afium-Karahissar.¹¹ Dinear.¹² Iorghan-Ladik.¹³ Geira.¹⁴ Destroyed by an earthquake in the time of Nero, afterwards Κεζος.¹⁵ Teseni.¹⁶ Ballyk.¹⁷ Sultan Dagh.

cities are situated near the ridge, on the north side, Philomelium,¹ on the south Antiocheia, surnamed Near Pisidia.² The former lies entirely in the plain, the other is on a hill, and occupied by a Roman colony. This was founded by the Magnetes, who live near the Mæander. The Romans liberated them from the dominion of the kings, when they delivered up the rest of Asia within the Taurus to Eumenes. In this place was established a priesthood of Men Arcæus, having attached to it a multitude of sacred attendants, and tracts of sacred territory. It was abolished after the death of Amyntas by those who were sent to settle the succession to his kingdom.

Synnada is not a large city. In front of it is a plain planted with olives, about 60 stadia in extent. Beyond is Docimia, a village, and the quarry of the Synnadic marble. This is the name given to it by the Romans, but the people of the country call it Docimite and Docimæan. At first the quarry produced small masses, but at present, through the extravagance of the Romans, pillars are obtained, consisting of a single stone and of great size, approaching the alabastrite marble in variety of colours; although the distant carriage of such heavy loads to the sea is difficult, yet both pillars and slabs of surprising magnitude and beauty are conveyed to Rome.

15. Apameia is a large mart of Asia, properly so called, and second in rank to Ephesus, for it is the common staple for merchandise brought from Italy and from Greece. It is built upon the mouth of the river Marsyas, which runs through the middle of it, and has its commencement above the city; being carried down to the suburb with a strong and precipitous current, it enters the Mæander,³ which receives also another river, the Orgas, and traverses a level tract with a gentle and unruffled stream. Here the Mæander becomes a large river, and flows for some time through Phrygia; it then separates Caria and Lydia at the plain, as it is called, of the Mæander, running in a direction excessively tortuous, so that from the course of this river all windings are called Mæanders. Towards its termination it runs through the part of Caria occupied by the Ionians; the mouths by which it empties itself are between Miletus and Priene.⁴ It rises in a hill called Celænæ, on which was a city of the same name. Antiochus

¹ Ak Schehr.² Ialobatsch.³ Mender Tschai.⁴ Samsun.

Soter transferred the inhabitants to the present Apameia, and called the city after his mother Apama, who was the daughter of Artabazus. She was given in marriage to Seleucus Nicator. Here is laid the scene of the fable of Olympus and Marsyas, and of the contest between Marsyas and Apollo. Above is situated a lake¹ on which grows a reed, which is suited to the mouth-pieces of pipes. From this lake, it is said, spring the Marsyas and the Mæander.

16. Laodiceia,² formerly a small town, has increased in our time, and in that of our ancestors, although it received great injury when it was besieged by Mithridates Eupator; the fertility however of the soil and the prosperity of some of its citizens have aggrandized it. First, Hiero embellished the city with many offerings, and bequeathed to the people more than 2000 talents; then Zeno the rhetorician, and his son Polemo, were an ornament and support to it; the latter was thought by Antony, and afterwards by Augustus Cæsar, worthy even of the rank of king in consequence of his valiant and upright conduct.

The country around Laodiceia breeds excellent sheep, remarkable not only for the softness of their wool, in which they surpass the Milesian flocks, but for their dark or raven colour. The Laodiceans derive a large revenue from them, as the Colosseni do from their flocks, of a colour of the same name.

Here the Caprus and the Lycus, a large river, enter the Mæander. From the Lycus, a considerable river, Laodiceia has the name of Laodiceia on the Lycus. Above the city is the mountain Cadmus, from which the Lycus issues, and another river of the same name as the mountain. The greater part of its course is under-ground; it then emerges, and unites with other rivers, showing that the country abounds with caverns and is liable to earthquakes. For of all countries Laodiceia is very subject to earthquakes, as also the neighbouring district Carura.

17. Carura³ is the boundary of Phrygia and Caria. It is

¹ The lake above Celænæ bore the name of Aulocremæ or Pipe Fountain, probably from the reeds which grew there. Pliny, b. v. c. 29.

² Urumluk.

³ The place is identified by the hot springs about 12 miles from Denizli or Jenidschek.

a village, where there are inns for the reception of travellers, and springs of boiling water, some of which rise in the river Mæander, and others on its banks. There is a story, that a pimp had lodgings in the inns for a great company of women, and that during the night he and all the women were overwhelmed by an earthquake and disappeared. Nearly the whole of the country about the Mæander, as far as the inland parts, is subject to earthquakes, and is undermined by fire and water. For all this cavernous condition of the country, beginning from the plains, extends to the Charonia; it exists likewise in Hierapolis, and in Acharaca in the district Nysæis, also in the plain of Magnesia, and in Myus. The soil is dry and easily reduced to powder, full of salts, and very inflammable. This perhaps is the reason why the course of the Mæander is winding, for the stream is diverted in many places from its direction, and brings down a great quantity of alluvial soil, some part of which it deposits in various places along the shore, and forcing the rest forwards occasions it to drift into the open sea. It has made, for example, Priene, which was formerly upon the sea, an inland city, by the deposition of banks of alluvial earth along an extent of 40 stadia.

18. Phrygia Catacecaumene, (or the Burnt,) which is occupied by Lydians and Mysians, obtained this name from something of the following kind. In Philadelphia,¹ a city adjoining to it, even the walls of the houses are not safe, for nearly every day they are shaken, and crevices appear. The inhabitants are constantly attentive to these accidents to which the ground is subject, and build with a view to their occurrence.

Apameia among other cities experienced, before the invasion of Mithridates, frequent earthquakes, and the king, on his arrival, when he saw the overthrow of the city, gave a hundred talents for its restoration. It is said that the same thing happened in the time of Alexander; for this reason it is probable that Neptune is worshipped there, although they are an inland people, and that it had the name of Celænæ from Celænus,² the son of Neptune, by Celæno, one of the Danaïdes, or from the black colour of the stones, or from the blackness which is the effect of combustion. What is related of Sipyulus and its overthrow is not to be regarded as a fable. For earthquakes overthrew the present Magnesia, which is situated

¹ Ala Schehr.

² The Black.

below that mountain, at the time that Sardis and other celebrated cities in various parts sustained great injury.¹ The emperor² gave a sum of money for their restoration, as formerly his father had assisted the Tralliani on the occurrence of a similar calamity, when the gymnasium and other parts of the city were destroyed; in the same manner he had assisted also the Laodiceans.

19. We must listen, however, to the ancient historians, and to the account of Xanthus, who composed a history of Lydian affairs; he relates the changes which had frequently taken place in this country,—I have mentioned them in a former part of my work.³ Here is laid the scene of the fable of what befell Typhon; here are placed the Arimi, and this country is said to be the Catacecaumene. Nor do historians hesitate to suppose, that the places between the Mæander and the Lydians are all of this nature, as well on account of the number of lakes and rivers, as the caverns, which are to be found in many parts of the country. The waters of the lake between Laodiceia and Apameia, although like a sea, emit a muddy smell, as if they had come through a subterraneous channel. It is said that actions are brought against the Mæander for transferring land from one place to another by sweeping away the angles of the windings, and a fine is levied out of the toll, which is paid at the ferries.

20. Between Laodiceia and Carura is a temple of Mén Carus, which is held in great veneration. In our time there was a large Herophilian⁴ school of medicine under the direction of Zeuxis,⁵ and afterwards of Alexander Philalethes, as in the time of our ancestors there was, at Smyrna, a school of

¹ The number of cities destroyed were twelve, and the catastrophe took place in the night. An inscription relating to this event is still preserved at Naples. Tacit. Ann. B. ii. c. 47. Sueton. in V. Tiberii.

² Tiberius, the adopted son of Augustus.

³ B. i. c. iii. § 4.

⁴ Herophilus, a celebrated physician, and contemporary of Erasistratus. He was one of the first founders of the medical school in Alexandria, and whose fame afterwards surpassed that of all others. He lived in the 4th and 3rd centuries B. C.

⁵ Zeuxis was the author of a commentary on Hippocrates: it is now lost; even in the time of Galen, about A. D. 150, it was rare. Alexander Philalethes, who succeeded Zeuxis, had as his pupil and probably successor Demosthenes Philalethes, who was the author of a treatise on the eyes, which was still in existence in the 14th century.

the disciples of Erasistratus under the conduct of Hicesius. At present there is nothing of this kind.

21. The names of some Phrygian tribes, as the Berecyntes [and Cerbesii], are mentioned, which no longer exist. And Alcman says,

“He played the Cerbesian, a Phrygian air.”

They speak also of a Cerbesian pit which sends forth destructive exhalations; this however exists, but the people have no longer the name of Cerbesii. Æschylus in his *Niobe*¹ confounds them; Niobe says that she shall remember Tantalus, and his story;

“those who have an altar of Jupiter, their paternal god, on the Idaean hill,”

and again;

“Sipylus in the Idaean land,”

—and Tantalus says,

“I sow the furrows of the Berecynthian fields, extending twelve days’ journey, where the seat of Adrasteia and Ida resound with the lowing of herds and the bleating of sheep; all the plain re-echoes with their cries.”

¹ The *Niobe*, a lost tragedy of Sophocles, is often quoted; this is probably here meant.

BOOK XIII.

ASIA.

SUMMARY.

The Thirteenth Book contains the part of Asia south of the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), the whole of the sea-coast, and the adjacent islands. The author dwells some time on Troy, though deserted, on account of its distinction, and the great renown it derived from the war.

CHAPTER I.

1. THESE are the limits of Phrygia. We return again to the Propontis, and to the sea-coast adjoining the *Æsepus*,¹ and shall observe, in our description of places, the same order as before.

The first country which presents itself on the sea-coast is the Troad.² Although it is deserted, and covered with ruins, yet it is so celebrated as to furnish a writer with no ordinary excuse for expatiating on its history. But we ought not only to be excused, but encouraged, for the reader should not impute the fault of prolixity to us, but to those whose curiosity and desire of information respecting the celebrated places of antiquity is to be gratified. The prolixity is greater than it would be otherwise, from the great number of nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who have occupied the country, and from the disagreement among writers, who do not relate the same things of the same persons and places, nor even do they express themselves with clearness. Among these in particular is Homer, who suggests occasions for conjecture in the greatest part of his local descriptions. We are therefore to examine what the poet and other writers advance, premising a summary description of the nature of the places.

2. The coast of the Propontis extends from Cyzicene and the places about the *Æsepus* and *Granicus*³ as far as Abydos,

¹ Satal-dere.

² The Troad is called Biga by the Turks, from the name of a town which now commands that district. Biga is the ancient Sidene.

³ Kodscha-Tschai. Oustvola. *Gossellin*.

and Sestos.¹ Between Abydos and Lectum² is the country about Ilium, and Tenedos and Alexandreia Troas.³ Above all these is the mountain Ida, extending as far as Lectum. From Lectum to the river Caïcus⁴ and the Canæ mountains as they are called is the district comprising Assus,⁵ Adramy-tium,⁶ Atarneus,⁷ Pitane,⁸ and the Elaïtic bay, opposite to all which places lies the island Lesbos.⁹ Next follows the country about Cyme¹⁰ as far as Hermus,¹¹ and Phocæa,¹² where Ionia begins, and Æolis terminates. Such then is the nature of the country.

The poet implies that it was the Trojans chiefly who were divided into eight or even nine bodies of people, each forming a petty principedom, who had under their sway the places about Æsepus, and those about the territory of the present Cyzicene, as far as the river Caïcus. The troops of auxiliaries are reckoned among the allies.

3. The writers subsequent to Homer do not assign the same boundaries, but introduce other names, and a greater number of territorial divisions. The Greek colonies were the cause of this; the Ionian migration produced less change, for it was further distant from the Troad, but the Æolian colonists occasioned it throughout, for they were dispersed over the whole of the country from Cyzicene as far as the Caïcus, and occupied besides the district between the Caïcus and the river Hermus. It is said that the Æolian preceded the Ionian migration four generations, but it was attended with delays, and the settlement of the colonies took up a longer time. Orestes was the leader of the colonists, and died in Arcadia. He was preceded by his son Penthilus, who advanced as far as Thrace, sixty years¹³ after the Trojan

¹ The ruins of Abydos are on the eastern side of the Hellespont, near a point called Nagara. Sestos, of which the ruins also exist, called Zemenic, are on the opposite coast.

² Baba Kalessi.

³ Eski Stamboul, or Old Constantinople.

⁴ Bakir-Tschai, or Germasti. ⁵ Beiram-koi, or Asso, or Adschane.

⁶ Edremid or Adramytti. ⁷ Dikeli-koi. ⁸ Tschandarlik.

⁹ Mytilene. ¹⁰ Lamurt-koi. ¹¹ Gedis-Tschai.

¹² Karadscha-Fokia.

¹³ The return of the Heracleidæ having taken place, according to Thucydides and other writers, eighty years after the capture of Troy, some critics have imagined that the text of Strabo in this passage should be changed from *ἑξήκοντα ἔτεσι*, sixty years, to *οὐδοήκοντα ἔτεσι*, eighty years.

war, about the time of the return of the Heracleidæ to Peloponnesus. Then Archelaus the son of Penthilus conducted the Æolian colonies across the sea to the present Cyzicene, near Dascylium. Gras his youngest son proceeded as far as the river Granicus, and, being provided with better means, transported the greater part of those who composed the expedition to Lesbos, and took possession of it.

On the other side, Cleuas, the son of Dorus, and Malaus, who were descendants of Agamemnon, assembled a body of men for an expedition about the same time as Penthilus, but the band of Penthilus passed over from Thrace into Asia before them; while the rest consumed much time near Locris, and the mountain Phricius. At last however they crossed the sea, and founded Cyme, to which they gave the name of Phriconis, from Phricius, the Locrian mountain.

4. The Æolians then were dispersed over the whole country, which we have said the poet calls the Trojan country. Later writers give this name to the whole, and others to a part, of Æolis; and so, with respect to Troja, some writers understand the whole, others only a part, of that country, not entirely agreeing with one another in anything.

According to Homer, the commencement of the Troad is at the places on the Propontis, reckoning it from the Æsepus. According to Eudoxus, it begins from Priapus, and Artace, situated in the island of the Cyziceni opposite to Priapus, and thus he contracts the boundaries [of the Troad]. Damastes contracts them still more by reckoning its commencement from Parium.¹ He extends the Troad as far as Lectum. But different writers assign different limits to this country. Charon of Lampsacus diminishes its extent by three hundred stadia more, by reckoning its commencement from Practius, for this is the distance between Parium and Practius, but protracts it to Adramyttium. It begins, according to Scylax of Caryanda, at Abydos. There is the same diversity of

Thucydides, in the same chapter, and in the space of a few lines, speaks of the return of the Bœotians to their own country, as having taken place sixty years after the capture of Troy; and of the return of the Heracleidæ to the Peloponnesus, as having taken place eighty years after the same event; it is probable that Strabo, who followed Thucydides, substituted, through inattention, one number for another.

¹ Kamaraes, or Kemer. (Kamar, Arab. the Moon.)

opinion respecting the boundaries of Æolis. Ephorus reckons its extent from Abydos to Cyne, but different writers compute it in different ways.

5. The situation of the country actually called Troja is best marked by the position of Ida, a lofty mountain, looking to the west, and to the western sea, but making a slight bend to the north and towards the northern coast. This latter is the coast of the Propontis, extending from the straits near Abydos to the Æsepus, and to the territory of Cyzicene. The western sea is the exterior (part of the) Hellespont, and the Ægæan Sea.

Ida has many projecting parts like feet, and resembles in figure a tarantula, and is bounded by the following extreme points, namely, the promontory¹ at Zeleia, and that called Lectum; the former terminates in the inland parts a little above Cyzicene (to the Cyziceni belongs the present Zeleia), and Lectum projects into the Ægæan Sea, and is met with in the coasting voyage from Tenedos to Lesbos.

“They (namely, Somnus and Juno) came, says Homer, to Ida, abounding with springs, the nurse of wild beasts, to Lectum where first they left the sea,”²

where the poet describes Lectum in appropriate terms, for he says correctly that Lectum is a part of Ida, and that this was the first place of disembarkation for persons intending to ascend Mount Ida.³ [He is exact in the epithet “abounding with springs;” for the mountain, especially in that part, has a very large supply of water, which appears from the great number of rivers which issue from it;

“all the rivers which rise in Ida, and proceed to the sea, the Rhesus, and Heptaporus,”⁴

and others, which he mentions afterwards, and which are now to be seen by us.]

In speaking of the projections like feet on each side of Ida, as Lectum, and Zeleia,⁵ he distinguishes in proper terms

¹ Near Mussatsch-Koi.

² Il. xiv. 283.

³ The passage in brackets Meineke suspects to be an interpolation, as Rhesus and Heptaporus cannot be placed in this part of Ida, nor do any of the streams mentioned by Homer in the same passage flow into the Ægean Sea.

⁴ Il. xii. 19.

⁵ Il. ii. 824.

the summit Gargarum,¹ calling it the top² (of Ida), for there is now in existence in the higher parts of Ida a place, from which the present Gargara, an Æolian city, has its name. Between Zeleia and Lectum, proceeding from the Propontis, are first the parts extending to the straits at Abydos. Then the parts below the Propontis, extending as far as Lectum.

6. On doubling Lectum a large bay opens,³ formed by Mount Ida, which recedes from Lectum, and by Canæ, the promontory opposite to Lectum on the other side. Some persons call it the Bay of Ida, others the Bay of Adramyttium. On this bay are situated the cities of the Æolians, extending, as we have said, to the mouths of the Hermus. I have mentioned also in a former part of my work, that in sailing from Byzantium in a straight line towards the south, we first arrive at Sestos and Abydos through the middle of the Propontis; then at the sea-coast of Asia as far as Caria. The readers of this work ought to attend to the following observation; although we mention certain bays on this coast, they must understand the promontories also which form them, situated on the same meridian.⁴

7. Those who have paid particular attention to this subject conjecture, from the expressions of the poet, that all this coast was subject to the Trojans, when it was divided into nine dynasties, but that at the time of the war it was under the sway of Priam, and called Troja. This appears from the detail. Achilles and his army perceiving, at the beginning of the war, that the inhabitants of Ilium were defended by walls, carried on the war beyond them, made a circuit, and took the places about the country;

“I sacked with my ships twelve cities, and eleven in the fruitful land of Troja.”⁵

¹ The whole range of Ida now bears various names: the highest summit is called Kas-dagh. Gossellin says that the range is called Karadagh, but this name (black mountain) like Kara-su (Black river) and Kara-Koi (Black village) are so commonly applied that they amount to no distinction; in more modern maps this name does not appear. It may be here observed that the confusion of names of those parts in the Turkish empire which were formerly under the Greeks, arises from the use of names in both languages.

² Il. xiv. 292.

³ The Gulf of Edremid or Jalea, the ancient Elæa.

⁴ The meridian, according to our author's system, passing through Constantinople, Rhodes, Alexandria, Syene, and Meröe.

⁵ Il. ix. 328.

By Troja he means the continent which he had ravaged. Among other places which had been plundered, was the country opposite Lesbos,—that about Thebe, Lyrnessus, and Pedasus belonging to the Leleges, and the territory also of Eurypylus, the son of Telephus ;

“as when he slew with his sword the hero Eurypylus, the son of Telephus;”¹

and Neoptolemus,

“the hero Eurypylus.”

The poet says these places were laid waste, and even Lesbos ;

“when he took the well-built Lesbos,”²

and,

“he sacked Lyrnessus and Pedasus,”³

and,

“laid waste Lyrnessus, and the walls of Thebe.”⁴

Briseïs was taken captive at Lyrnessus ;

“whom he carried away from Lyrnessus.”⁵

In the capture of this place the poet says, Mynes and Epistrophus were slain, as Briseïs mentions in her lament over Patroclus,

“Thou didst not permit me, when the swift-footed Achilles slew my husband, and destroyed the city of the divine Mynes, to make any lamentation;”⁶

for by calling Lyrnessus “the city of the divine Mynes,” the poet implies that it was governed by him who was killed fighting in its defence.

Chryseïs was carried away from Thebe ;

“we came to Thebe, the sacred city of Eetion,”⁷

and Chryseïs is mentioned among the booty which was carried off from that place.

Andromache, daughter of the magnanimous Eetion, Eetion king of the Cilicians, who dwelt under the woody Placus at Thebe Hypoplacia.⁸

This is the second Trojan dynasty after that of Mynes, and in agreement with what has been observed are these words of Andromache ;

¹ Od. xviii. 518.

² Il. ix. 129.

³ Il. xx. 92.

⁴ Il. ii. 691.

⁵ Il. ii. 690.

⁶ Il. xix. 295.

⁷ Il. i. 366.

⁸ Il. vi. 395.

“Hector, wretch that I am; we were both born under the same destiny; thou at Troja in the palace of Priam, but I at Thebe.”

The words are not to be understood in their direct sense, but by a transposition; “both born in Troja, thou in the house of Priam, but I at Thebe.”

The third dynasty is that of the Leleges, which is also a Trojan dynasty;

“of Altes, the king of the war-loving Leleges,”¹

by whose daughter Priam had Lycaon and Polydorus. Even the people, who in the Catalogue are said to be commanded by Hector, are called Trojans;

“Hector, the mighty, with the nodding crest, commanded the Trojans;”²
then those under Æneas,

“the brave son of Anchises had the command of the Dardanii,”³
and these were Trojans, for the poet says,

“Thou, Æneas, that counsellest Trojans;”⁴

then the Lycians under the command of Pandarus he calls Trojans;

“Aphneian Trojans, who inhabited Zeleia at the farthest extremity of Ida, who drink of the dark waters of Æsepus, these were led by Pandarus, the illustrious son of Lycaon.”⁵

This is the sixth dynasty.

The people, also, who lived between the Æsepus and Abydos were Trojans, for the country about Abydos was governed by Asius;

“those who dwelt about Percote and Practius, at Sestos, Abydos, and the noble Arisbe, were led by Asius, the son of Hyrtacus.”⁶

Now it is manifest that a son of Priam, who had the care of his father’s brood mares, dwelt at Abydos;

“he wounded the spurious son of Priam, Democoon, who came from Abydos from the pastures of the swift mares.”⁷

At Percote,⁸ the son of Hicetaon was the herdsman of oxen, but not of those belonging to strangers;

“first he addressed the brave son of Hicetaon, Melanippus, who was lately tending the oxen in their pastures at Percote.”⁹

¹ Il. xxi. 86.

² Il. iii. 816.

³ Il. ii. 819.

⁴ Il. xx. 83.

⁵ Il. ii. 824.

⁶ Il. ii. 835.

⁷ Il. iv. 499.

⁸ Bergas.

⁹ Il. xv. 546.

so that this country also was part of the Troad, and the subsequent tract as far as Adrasteia, for it was governed by

“the two sons of Merops of Percote.”¹

All therefore were Trojans from Abydos to Adrasteia, divided, however, into two bodies, one governed by Asius, the other by the Meropidæ, as the country of the Cilicians is divided into the Thebaic and the Lyrnessian Cilicia. To this district may have belonged the country under the sway of Eurypylyus, for it follows next to the Lyrnessis, or territory of Lyrnessus.²

That Priam³ was king of all these countries the words with which Achilles addresses him clearly show ;

“we have heard, old man, that your riches formerly consisted in what

¹ Il. ii. 831.

² So that Cilicia was divided into three principalities, as Strabo observes below, c. i. § 70. But perhaps this division was only invented for the purpose of completing the number of the nine principalities, for Strabo above, c. i. § 2, speaks in a manner to let us suppose that other authors reckoned eight only. However this may be, the following is the number of the dynasties or principalities established by our author. 1. That of Mynes; 2. that of Eetion, both in Cilicia; 3. that of Altes; 4. that of Hector; 5. that of Æneas; 6. that of Pandarus; 7. that of Asius; 8. that of the son of Merops; 9. that of Eurypylyus, also in Cilicia. *Corajj.*

³ Granting to Priam the sovereignty of the districts just mentioned by Strabo, his dominion extended over a country about twenty maritime leagues in length and the same in breadth. It would be impossible to determine the exact limits of these different districts, but it is seen that

The Trojans, properly so called, occupied the basin of the Scamander (Menderes-Tschai).

The Cilicians, commanded by Eetion, occupied the territory which surrounds the present Gulf of Adramytti.

The Cilicians of Mynes were to the south of the above.

The Leleges extended along a part of the northern coast of the Gulf of Adramytti, from Cape Baba.

The Dardanians were above the Trojans, and the chain of Ida. On the north, extending on both sides of the Hellespont, were the people of Arisbe, Sestos, and Abydos.

The people of Adrasteia occupied the Propontis, as far as the Granicus.

The Lycians, the country beyond, as far as the Æsepus and Zeleia.

Strabo mentioned a ninth (c. i. § 2) principality subject to Priam; he does not mention it by name, or rather it is wanting in the text. M. de Choiseul-Gouffier, (*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, vol. ii.) with much probability, thinks that this principality was that of the island of Lesbos. *Gossellin.*

Lesbos, the city of Macar, contained, and Phrygia above it and the vast Hellespont.”¹

8. Such was the state of the country at that time. Afterwards changes of various kinds ensued. Phrygians occupied the country about Cyzicus as far as Practius; Thracians, the country about Abydos; and Bebryces and Dryopes, before the time of both these nations. The next tract of country was occupied by Tteres, who were also Thracians; the plain of Thebe, by Lydians, who were then called Mæonians, and by the survivors of the Mysians, who were formerly governed by Telephus and Teuthoras.

Since then the poet unites together Æolis and Troja, and since the Æolians occupied all the country from the Hermus as far as the sea-coast at Cyzicus, and founded cities, we shall not do wrong in combining in one description Æolis, properly so called, (extending from the Hermus to Lectum,) and the tract which follows, as far as the Æsepus; distinguishing them again in speaking of them separately, and comparing what is said of them by Homer and by other writers with their present state.

9. According to Homer, the Troad begins from the city Cyzicus and the river Æsepus. He speaks of it in this manner:

“Aphneian Trojans, who inhabited Zeleia at the farthest extremity of Ida, who drink the dark waters of Æsepus, these were led by Pandarus, the illustrious son of Lycaon.”²

These people he calls also Lycians. They had the name of Aphneii, it is thought, from the lake Aphnitis, for this is the name of the lake Dascylitis.

10. Now Zeleia is situated at the farthest extremity of the country lying at the foot of Ida, and is distant 190 stadia from Cyzicus, and about 80³ from the nearest sea, into which the Æsepus discharges itself.

The poet then immediately gives in detail the parts of the sea-coast which follow the Æsepus;

“those who occupied Adrasteia, and the territory of Apæsus, and Pityeia and the lofty mountain Tereia, these were commanded by Adrastus, and Amphius with the linen corslet, the two sons of Merops of Percote,”⁴

¹ Il. xxiv. 543.

² Il. ii. 824.

³ M. Falconer prétend qu' au lieu de 80 stades il faut lire 180.—Nos cartes modernes confirment la conjecture de M. Falconer. *Gosselin*.

⁴ Il. ii. 828.

These places lie below Zeleia, and are occupied by Cyziceni, and Priapeni as far as the sea-coast. The river Tarsius¹ runs near Zeleia; it is crossed twenty times on the same road, like the Heptaporus, mentioned by the poet, which is crossed seven times. The river flowing from Nicomedia to Nicæa is crossed four-and-twenty times; the river which flows from Phloe to Eleia, several times; [that flowing from * * * * to Scardon,²] five-and-twenty times; that running from Coscinii to Alabanda, in many places, and the river flowing from Tyana through the Taurus to Soli, is crossed seventy-five times.

11. Above the mouth of the Æsepus about * * stadia is a hill on which is seen the sepulchre of Memnon, the son of Tithonus. Near it is the village of Memnon. Between the Æsepus and Priapus flows the Granicus, but for the most part it flows through the plain of Adrasteia, where Alexander defeated in a great battle the satraps of Dareius, and obtained possession of all the country within the Taurus and the Euphrates.

On the banks of the Granicus was the city Sidene, with a large territory of the same name. It is now in ruins.

Upon the confines of Cyzicene and Priapene is Harpagia, a place from which, so says the fable, Ganymede was taken away by force. Others say that it was at the promontory Dardanium, near Dardanus.

12. Priapus is a city on the sea, with a harbour. Some say that it was built by Milesians, who, about the same time, founded Abydos and Proconnesus; others, that it was built by Cyziceni. It has its name from Priapus,³ who is worshipped there; either because his worship was transferred thither from Orneæ near Corinth, or the inhabitants were disposed to worship him because the god was said to be the son of Bacchus and a nymph, for their country abounds with vines, as also the country on their confines, namely, the territory of the Pariani and of the Lampsaceni. It was for this reason that Xerxes assigned Lampsacus⁴ to Themistocles to supply him with wine.

It was in later times that Priapus was considered as a god.

¹ Karadere.

² For *Σκάρθων* in the text—read *ὁ δ' ἐκ εἰς Σκάρθωνα*. Meineke, who however suspects the whole passage to be an interpolation.

³ Peor Apis, or Baal Peor?

⁴ Lapsaki or Lampsaki.

Hesiod for instance knew nothing of Priapus, and he resembles the Athenian gods Orthane, Conisalus, Tychon, and others such as these.

13. This district was called Adrasteia, and the plain of Adrasteia, according to the custom of giving two names to the same place, as Thebe, and the plain of Thebe; Mygdonia, and the plain of Mygdonia.

Callisthenes says that Adrasteia had its name from King Adrastus, who first built the temple of Nemesis. The city Adrasteia is situated between Priapus and Parium, with a plain of the same name below it, in which there was an oracle of the Actæan Apollo and Artemis near the sea-shore.¹ On the demolition of the temple, all the furniture and the stonework were transported to Parium, where an altar, the workmanship of Hermocreon, remarkable for its size and beauty, was erected, but the oracle, as well as that at Zeleia, was abolished. No temple either of Adrasteia or Nemesis exists. But there is a temple of Adrasteia near Cyzicus. Antimachus, however, says,

“There is a great goddess Nemesis, who has received all these things from the immortals. Adrastus first raised an altar to her honour on the banks of the river Æsepus, where she is worshipped under the name of Adrasteia.”

14. The city of Parium lies upon the sea, with a harbour larger than that of Priapus, and has been augmented from the latter city; for the Pariani paid court to the Attalic kings, to whom Priapene was subject, and, by their permission, appropriated to themselves a large part of that territory.

It is here the story is related that the Ophiogeneis have some affinity with the serpent tribe (τοὺς ὄφεις). They say that the males of the Ophiogeneis have the power of curing persons bitten by serpents by touching them without intermission, after the manner of the enchanters. They first transfer to themselves the livid colour occasioned by the bite, and then cause the inflammation and pain to subside. According to the fable, the founder of the race of Ophiogeneis, a hero, was transformed from a serpent into a man. He was perhaps one of the African Psylli. The power continued in the race for some time.

¹ The reading is very doubtful.

Parium was founded by Milesians, Erythræans, and Parians.

15. Pitya is situated in Pityus in the Parian district, and having above it a mountain abounding with pine trees (πιτυῶδες); it is between Parium and Priapus, near Linum, a place upon the sea, where the Linusian cockles are taken, which excel all others.

16. In the voyage along the coast from Parium to Priapus are the ancient and the present Proconnesus,¹ with a city, and a large quarry of white marble, which is much esteemed. The most beautiful works in the cities in these parts, and particularly those in Cyzicus, are constructed of this stone.

Aristeas, the writer of the poems called Arimaspeian, the greatest of impostors, was of Proconnesus.

17. With respect to the mountain Tereia, some persons say that it is the range of mountains in Peirossus, which the Cyziceni occupy, contiguous to Zeleia, among which was a royal chase for the Lydian, and afterwards for the Persian, kings. Others say that it was a hill forty stadia from Lampsacus, on which was a temple sacred to the mother of the gods, sur-named Tereia.

18. Lampsacus, situated on the sea, is a considerable city with a good harbour, and, like Abydos, supports its state well. It is distant from Abydos about 170 stadia. It had formerly, as they say Chios had, the name of Pityusa. On the opposite territory in Cherronesus is Callipolis,² a small town. It is situated upon the shore, which projects so far towards Asia opposite to Lampsacus that the passage across does not exceed 40 stadia.

19. In the interval between Lampsacus and Parium was Pæsus, a city, and a river Pæsus.³ The city was razed, and the Pæseni, who, as well as the Lampsaceni, were a colony of Milesians, removed to Lampsacus. The poet mentions the city with the addition of the first syllable,

“and the country of Apæsus;”⁴

and without it,

“a man of great possessions, who lived at Pæsus;”⁵

and this is still the name of the river.

¹ Marmara, from the marble, *μάρμαρον*, found there.

² Gallipoli.

³ Beiram-dere.

⁴ Il. ii. 328.

⁵ Il. v. 612.

Colonæ also is a colony of Milesians. It is situated above Lampsacus, in the interior of the territory Lampsacene. There is another Colonæ situated upon the exterior Hellenistic Sea, at the distance of 140 stadia from Ilium; the birth-place, it is said, of Cynus. Anaximenes mentions a Colonæ in the Erythræan territory, in Phocis, and in Thesaly. Iliocolone is in the Parian district. In Lampsacene is a place well planted with vines, called Gergithium, and there was a city Gergitha, founded by the Gergithi in the Cymæan territory, where formerly was a city called Gergitheis, (used in the plural number, and of the feminine gender,) the birth-place of Cephalon¹ the Gergithian, and even now there exists a place in the Cymæan territory called Gergithium, near Larissa.

Neoptolemus,² surnamed the Glossographer, a writer of repute, was of Parium. Charon,³ the Historian, was of Lampsacus. Adeimantes,⁴ Anaximenes,⁵ the Rhetorician, and Metrodorus, the friend of Epicurus, even Epicurus himself might be said to be a Lampsacene, having lived a long time at Lampsacus, and enjoyed the friendship of Idomeneus and Leontes, the most distinguished of its citizens.

It was from Lampsacus that Agrippa transported the Prostrate Lion, the workmanship of Lysippus, and placed it in the sacred grove between the lake⁶ and the strait.

20. Next to Lampsacus is Abydos, and the intervening places, of which the poet speaks in such a manner as to comprehend both Lampsacene and some parts of Pariane, for, in the Trojan times, the above cities were not yet in existence :

‘ those who inhabited Percote, Præctus, Sestus, Abydos, and the famed Arisbe, were led by Asius, the son of Hyrtacus, ’⁷

¹ The same person probably as Cephalion, author of a History of the Trojan War.

² Neoptolemus composed a glossary, or dictionary, divided into several books.

³ Charon was the author of a History of the Persian War, and of the Annals of Lampsacus.

⁴ Adeimantes was probably one of the courtiers of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

⁵ Anaximenes was the author of a History of Early Times, and of a work entitled, The Death of Kings. The “ Rhetoric addressed to Alexander, ” now known as The Rhetoric of Aristotle, has been ascribed to him. For the above see Athenæus.

⁶ Called “ Stagnum Agrippæ ” in Tacit. Ann. b. xv. c. 37.

⁷ Il. ii. 835.

who, he says,

“came from Arisbe, from the river Selleïs in a chariot drawn by large and furious coursers;”

implying by these words that Arisbe was the royal seat of Asius, whence, he says, he came,

“drawn by coursers from the river Selleïs.”

But these places are so little known, that writers do not agree among themselves about their situation, except that they are near Abydos, Lampsacus, and Parium, and that the name of the last place was changed from Percope to Percote.

21. With respect to the rivers, the poet says that the Selleïs flows near Arisbe, for Asius came from Arisbe and the river Selleïs. Practius is a river, but no city of that name, as some have thought, is to be found. This river runs between Abydos and Lampsacus; the words, therefore,

“and dwelt near Practius,”

must be understood of the river, as these expressions of the poet,

“they dwelt near the sacred waters of Cephisus,”¹

and

“they occupied the fertile land about the river Parthenius.”²

There was also in Lesbos a city called Arisba, the territory belonging to which was possessed by the Methymnæans. There is a river Arisbus in Thrace, as we have said before, near which are situated the Cabrenii Thracians. There are many names common to Thracians and Trojans, as Scæi, a Thracian tribe, a river Scæus, a Scæan wall, and in Troy, Scæan gates. There are Thracians called Xanthii, and a river Xanthus in Troja; an Arisbus which discharges itself into the Hebrus,³ and an Arisbe in Troja; a river Rhesus in Troja, and Rhesus, a king of the Thracians. The poet mentions also another Asius, besides the Asius of Arisbe,

“who was the maternal uncle of the hero Hector, own brother of Hecuba, and son of Dymas who lived in Phrygia on the banks of the Sangarius.”⁴

22. Abydos was founded by Milesians by permission of Gyges, king of Lydia; for those places and the whole of the Troad were under his sway. There is a promontory near

¹ I. iv. 522.

² II. ii. 254.

³ The Maritza in Roumelia.

⁴ II. xvi. 717.

Dardanus called Gyges. Abydos is situated upon the mouth of the Propontis and the Hellespont, and is at an equal distance from Lampsacus and Ilium, about 170 stadia. At Abydos is the Hepta Stadium, (or strait of seven stadia,) the shores of which Xerxes united by a bridge. It separates Europe from Asia. The extremity of Europe is called Cherronesus, from its figure; it forms the straits at the Zeugma (or Junction)¹ which is opposite to Abydos.

Sestos is the finest² city in the Cherronesus, and from its proximity to Abydos was placed under the command of the same governor, at a time when the same limits were not assigned to the governments and to the continents. Sestos and Abydos are distant from each other, from harbour to harbour, about 30 stadia. The Zeugma is a little beyond the cities; on the side of the Propontis, beyond Abydos, and on the opposite side, beyond Sestos. There is a place near Sestos, called Apobathra, where the raft was fastened. Sestos lies nearer the Propontis, and above the current which issues from it; whence the passage is more easy from Sestos by deviating a little towards the tower of Hero, when, letting the vessel go at liberty, the stream assists in effecting the crossing to the other side. In crossing from Abydos to the other side persons must sail out in the contrary direction, to the distance of about eight stadia towards a tower which is opposite Sestos; they must then take an oblique course, and the current will not be entirely against them.

After the Trojan war, Abydos was inhabited by Thracians, then by Milesians. When the cities on the Propontis were burnt by Dareius, father of Xerxes, Abydos shared in the calamity. Being informed, after his return from Scythia, that the Nomades were preparing to cross over to attack him, in revenge for the treatment which they had experienced, he set fire to these cities, apprehending that they would assist in transporting the Scythian army across the strait.

In addition to other changes of this kind, those occasioned by time are a cause of confusion among places.

We spoke before of Sestos, and of the whole of the Cherronesus, when we described Thrace. Theopompus says that

¹ A bridge of boats which could be unfixed at pleasure for the passage of vessels.

² Meineke reads *κραιίστην*, the strongest fortified, instead of *ἀριστήν*.

Sestos is a small but well-fortified place, and is connected with the harbour by a wall of two plethra in extent, and for this reason, and by its situation above the current, it commands the passage of the strait.

23. In the Troad, above the territory of Abydos is Astyra, which now belongs to the Abydeni,—a city in ruins, but it was formerly an independent place, and had gold-mines, which are now nearly exhausted, like those in Mount Tmolus near the Pactolus.

From Abydos to the *Æsepus* are, it is said, about 700 stadia, but not so much in sailing in a direct line.

24. Beyond Abydos are the parts about Ilium, the sea-coast as far as Lectum, the places in the Trojan plain, and the country at the foot of Ida, which was subject to *Æneas*. The poet names the Dardanii in two ways, speaking of them as

“Dardanii governed by the brave son of Anchises,”¹

calling them Dardanii, and also Dardani;

“Troes, and Lycii, and close-fighting Dardani.”²

It is probable that the Dardania,³ so called by the poet, was anciently situated there;

“Dardanus, the son of cloud-compelling Jupiter, founded Dardania :”⁴

at present there is not a vestige of a city.

25. Plato conjectures that, after the deluges, three kinds of communities were established; the first on the heights of the mountains, consisting of a simple and savage race, who had taken refuge there through dread of the waters, which overflowed the plains; the second, at the foot of the mountains, who regained courage by degrees, as the plains began to dry; the third, in the plains. But a fourth, and perhaps a fifth, or more communities might be supposed to be formed, the last of which might be on the sea-coast, and in the islands, after all fear of deluge was dissipated. For as men approached the sea with a greater or less degree of courage, we should have greater variety in forms of government, diversity also in manners and habits, accord-

¹ Il. ii. 819.

² Il. xv. 425.

³ The ancient Dardania in the interior; a second Dardania was afterwards built on the sea-coast.

⁴ Il. xx. 215.

ing as a simple and savage people assumed the milder character of the second kind of community. There is, however, a distinction to be observed even among these, as of rustic, half rustic, and of civilized people. Among these finally arose a gradual change, and an assumption of names, applied to polished and high character, the result of an improved moral condition produced by a change of situation and mode of life. Plato says that the poet describes these differences, alleging as an example of the first form of society the mode of life among the Cyclops, who subsisted on the fruits of the earth growing spontaneously, and who occupied certain caves in the heights of mountains;

“all things grow there,” he says, “without sowing seed, and without the plough.

“But they have no assemblies for consulting together, nor administration of laws, but live on the heights of lofty mountains, in deep caves, and each gives laws to his wife and children.”¹

As an example of the second form of society, he alleges the mode of life under Dardanus;

“he founded Dardania; for sacred Ilium was not yet a city in the plain with inhabitants, but they still dwelt at the foot of Ida abounding with streams.”²

An example of the third state of society is taken from that in the time of Ilus, when the people inhabited the plains. He is said to have been the founder of Ilium, from whom the city had its name. It is probable that for this reason he was buried in the middle of the plain, because he first ventured to make a settlement in it,

“they rushed through the middle of the plain by the wild fig-tree near the tomb of ancient Ilus, the son of Dardanus.”³

He did not, however, place entire confidence in the situation, for he did not build the city where it stands at present, but nearly thirty stadia higher to the east, towards Ida, and Dardania, near the present village of the Ilienses. The present Ilienses are ambitious of having it supposed that theirs is the ancient city, and have furnished a subject of discussion to those who form their conjectures from the poetry of Homer; but it does not seem to be the city meant by the poet. Other writers also relate, that the city had frequently changed its place, but at last about the time of Cræsus it became station-

¹ Od. ix. 109, 112.

² Il. xx. 216.

³ Il. xi. 166.

ary. Such changes, which then took place, from higher to lower situations, mark the differences, I conceive, which followed in the forms of government and modes of life. But we must examine this subject elsewhere.

26. The present city of Ilium was once, it is said, a village, containing a small and plain temple of Minerva; that Alexander, after¹ his victory at the Granicus, came up, and decorated the temple with offerings, gave it the title of city, and ordered those who had the management of such things to improve it with new buildings; he declared it free and exempt from tribute. Afterwards, when he had destroyed the Persian empire, he sent a letter, expressed in kind terms, in which he promised the Ilienses to make theirs a great city, to build a temple of great magnificence, and to institute sacred games.

After the death of Alexander, it was Lysimachus who took the greatest interest in the welfare of the place; built a temple, and surrounded the city with a wall of about 40 stadia in extent. He settled here the inhabitants of the ancient cities around, which were in a dilapidated state. It was at this time that he directed his attention to Alexandria, founded by Antigonus, and surnamed Antigonia, which was altered (into Alexandria). For it appeared to be an act of pious duty in the successors of Alexander first to found cities which should bear his name, and afterwards those which should be called after their own. Alexandria continued to exist, and became a large place; at present it has received a Roman colony, and is reckoned among celebrated cities.

27. The present Ilium was a kind of village-city, when the Romans first came into Asia and expelled Antiochus the Great from the country within the Taurus. Demetrius of Scepsis says that, when a youth, he came, in the course of his travels, to this city, about that time, and saw the houses so neglected that even the roofs were without tiles. Hegesianax² also relates, that the Galatians, who crossed over from Europe, being in want of some strong-hold, went up to the city, but immediately left it, when they saw that it was not fortified with a wall; afterwards it underwent great reparation and

¹ According to Arrian and Plutarch, it was before his victory.

² A native of Alexandria-Troas and a grammarian; he was the author of Commentaries on various authors and of a History of the Trojan War.—*Athenæus*.

improvement. It was again injured by the Romans under the command of Fimbrias. They took it by siege in the Mithridatic war. Fimbrias was sent as quæstor, with the consul Valerius Flaccus, who was appointed to carry on the war against Mithridates. But having excited a sedition, and put the consul to death in Bithynia, he placed himself at the head of the army and advanced towards Ilium, where the inhabitants refused to admit him into the city, as they regarded him as a robber. He had recourse to force, and took the city on the eleventh day. When he was boasting that he had taken a city on the eleventh day, which Agamemnon had reduced with difficulty in the tenth year of the siege with a fleet of a thousand vessels, and with the aid of the whole of Greece, one of the Ilienses replied, "We had no Hector to defend the city."

Sylla afterwards came, defeated Fimbrias, and dismissed Mithridates, according to treaty, into his own territory. Sylla conciliated the Ilienses by extensive repairs of their city. In our time divus Cæsar showed them still more favour, in imitation of Alexander. He was inclined to favour them, for the purpose of renewing his family connexion with the Ilienses, and as an admirer of Homer.

There exists a corrected copy of the poems of Homer, called "the casket-copy." Alexander perused it in company with Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, and having made some marks and observations deposited it in a casket¹ of costly workmanship which he found among the Persian treasures. On account then of his admiration of the poet and his descent from the Æacidæ, (who were kings of the Molossi, whose queen they say was Andromache, afterwards the wife of Hector,) Alexander treated the Ilienses with kindness.

But Cæsar, who admired the character of Alexander, and had strong proofs of his affinity to the Ilienses, had the greatest possible desire to be their benefactor. The proofs of his affinity to the Ilienses were strong, first as being a Roman, —for the Romans consider Æneas to be the founder of their race,—next he had the name of Julius, from Iulus, one of his

¹ According to Pliny, b. vii. 29, this casket contained the perfumes of Darius, unguentorum scrinium. According to Plutarch, (Life of Alexander,) the poem of Homer was the Iliad revised and corrected by Aristotle. From what Strabo here says of Callisthenes and Anaxarchus, we may probably understand a second revision made by them under the inspection of Alexander.

ancestors, a descendant of Æneas. He therefore assigned to them a district, and guaranteed their liberty with exemption from imposts, and they continue at present to enjoy these advantages. They maintain by this evidence that the ancient Ilium, even by Homer's account, was not situated there. I must however first describe the places which commence from the sea-coast, where I made the digression.

28. Next to Abydos is the promontory Dardanis,¹ which we mentioned a little before, and the city Dardanus, distant 70 stadia from Abydos. Between them the river Rhodius discharges itself, opposite to which on the Cherronesus is the Cynos-sema,² which is said to be the sepulchre of Hecuba. According to others, the Rhodius empties itself into the Æsepus. It is one of the rivers mentioned by the poet,

“Rhesus, and Heptaporus, Caresus, and Rhodius.”³

Dardanus is an ancient settlement, but so slightly thought of, that some kings transferred its inhabitants to Abydos, others re-settled them in the ancient dwelling-place. Here Cornelius Sylla, the Roman general, and Mithridates, surnamed Eupator, conferred together, and terminated the war by a treaty.

29. Near Dardanus is Ophrynum, on which is the grove dedicated to Hector in a conspicuous situation, and next is Pteleos, a lake.

30. Then follows Rhœteium, a city on a hill, and continuous to it is a shore on a level with the sea, on which is situated a monument and temple of Ajax, and a statue. Antony took away the latter and carried it to Ægypt, but Augustus Cæsar restored it to the inhabitants of Rhœteium, as he restored other

¹ Called above, § 22, Cape Dardanium (Cape Barber). Pliny gives the name Dardanium to the town which Herodotus and Strabo call Dardanus, and places it at an equal distance from Rhœteium and Abydos. The modern name Dardanelles is derived from it.

² The name was given, it is said, in consequence of the imprecations of Hecuba on her captors. Others say that Hecuba was transformed into a bitch. The tomb occupied the site of the present castle in Europe called by the Turks Kilid-bahr.

³ Pliny states that in his time there were no traces of the Rhodius, nor of the other rivers mentioned by Strabo in following Homer. According to others, the Rhodius is the torrent which passes by the castle of the Dardanelles in Asia, called by the Turks Sultan-kalessi, and therefore cannot unite with the Æsepus.

statues to other cities. Antony took away the most beautiful offerings from the most celebrated temples to gratify the Ægyptian queen, but Augustus Cæsar restored them to the gods.

31. After Rhœteium is Sigeium,¹ a city in ruins, and the naval station, the harbour of the Achæans, the Achæan camp, the Stomalimne, as it is called, and the mouths of the Scamander. The Scamander and the Simoeis, uniting in the plain,² bring down a great quantity of mud, bank up the sea-coast, and form a blind mouth, salt-water lakes, and marshes.

Opposite the Sigeian promontory on the Cherronesus is the Protesilæium,³ and Eleussa, of which I have spoken in the description of Thrace.

32. The extent of this sea-coast as we sail in a direct line from Rhœteium to Sigeium, and the monument of Achilles, is 60 stadia. The whole of the coast lies below the present Ilium; the part near the port of the Achæans,⁴ distant from the present Ilium about 12 stadia, and thirty stadia more from

¹ Ienischer.

² The Scamander no longer unites with the Simoïs, and for a considerable length of time has discharged itself into the Archipelago. The ancient mouth of these rivers preserve, however, the name Menderé, which is an evident alteration of Scamander, and the name Menderé has also become that of the ancient Simoïs. It is to be observed that Demetrius of Scepsis, whose opinions on what regards these rivers and the position of Troy are quoted by Strabo, constantly takes the Simoïs or Menderé for the Scamander of Homer. The researches of M. de Choiseul-Gouffier on the Troad appear to me clearly to demonstrate that Demetrius of Scepsis is mistaken.—*Gossellin*.

³ The temple or tomb of Protesilaus, one of the Greek princes who went to the siege of Troy, and the first who was killed on disembarking. Artayctes, one of the generals of Xerxes, pillaged the temple and profaned it by his debauchery. According to Herodotus, (b. ix. 115,) who narrates the circumstance, the temple and the tomb of Protesilaus must have been in Eleussa (Paleo-Castro) itself, or at least very near this city. Chandler thought he had discovered this tomb near the village which surrounds the castle of Europe.

⁴ The port of the Achæans, the spot, that is, where the Greeks disembarked on the coast of the Troad, at the entrance of the Hellespont, appears to have been comprehended between the hillock called the Tomb of Achilles and the southern base of the heights, on which is situated another tomb, which goes by the name of the Tomb of Ajax. This space of about 1500 toises in length, now sand and lagunes, where the village Koum Kale and the fortress called the New Castle of Asia stand, and which spreads across the mouth of the Menderé, once formed a creek, the bottom of which, from examination on the spot, extended 1200 or 1500

the ancient Ilium,¹ which is higher up in the part towards Ida.

Near the Sigeium is a temple and monument of Achilles, and monuments also of Patroclus and Antilochus.² The Ilienses perform sacred ceremonies in honour of them all, and even of Ajax. But they do not worship Hercules, alleging as a reason that he ravaged their country. Yet some one might say that he laid it waste in such a manner that he left it to future spoilers in an injured condition indeed, but still in the condition of a city; wherefore the poet expresses himself in this manner,

“He ravaged the city of Ilium, and made its streets desolate,”³

for desolation implies a deficiency of inhabitants, but not a complete destruction of the place; but those persons destroyed it entirely, whom they think worthy of sacred rites, and worship as gods; unless, perhaps, they should plead that these persons engaged in a just, and Hercules in an unjust, war, on account of the horses of Laomedon. To this is opposed a fabulous tale, that it was not on account of the horses but of the reward for the delivery of Hesione from the sea-monster.

toises from the present shore. It is from the bottom of this marshy creek the 12 stadia must be measured which Strabo reckons from the Port of the Achæans to New Ilium. These 12 stadia, estimated at 700 to a degree, (like the generality of other measures adopted by Strabo in this district,) are equal to 977 toises, and conduct in a straight line to the western point of the mountain Tchiblak, where there are remains of buildings which may be the vestiges of New Ilium.

The other 30 stadia, which, according to Strabo, or rather according to Demetrius of Scepsis, was the distance from New Ilium to the town of the Ilienses, are equal to 2440 toises, and terminate at the most eastern edge of the table-land of Tchiblak, in a spot where ruins of a temple and other edifices are seen. Thus there is nothing to prevent our taking this place for the site of the town of the Ilienses, and this is the opinion of many modern travellers. But did this town occupy the same ground as the ancient Ilium, as Demetrius of Scepsis believed? Strabo thinks not, and we shall hereafter see the objections he has to offer against the opinion of Demetrius.—*Gossellin*.

¹ Consequently ancient Ilium, according to Strabo, was forty-two stadia from the coast. Scylax places it at twenty-five stadia; but probably the copyists of this latter writer have confounded the numerical Greek letters κε (25) with με (45).

² According to Homer, (Od. xxiv. 75,) Patroclus must have the same tomb with Achilles, as their ashes were united in the same urn; those of Antilochus were contained in a separate urn.

³ Il. v. 642.

Let us, however, dismiss this subject, for the discussion leads to the refutation of fables only, and probably there may be reasons unknown to us which induced the Ilienses to worship some of these persons, and not others. The poet seems, in speaking of Hercules, to represent the city as small, since he ravaged the city

“with six ships only, and a small band of men.”¹

From these words it appears that Priam from a small became a great person, and a king of kings, as we have already said.

A short way from this coast is the Achæium, situated on the continent opposite Tenedos.

33. Such, then, is the nature of the places on the sea-coast. Above them lies the plain of Troy, extending as far as Ida to the east, a distance of many stadia.² The part at the foot of the mountain is narrow, extending to the south as far as the places near Scepsis, and towards the north as far as the Lycians about Zeleia. This country Homer places under the command of Æneas and the Antenoridae, and calls it Dardania. Below it is Cebrenia, which for the most part consists of plains, and lies nearly parallel to Dardania. There was also formerly a city Cybrene. Demetrius (of Scepsis) supposes that the tract about Ilium, subject to Hector, extended to this place, from the Naustathmus (or station for vessels) to Cebrenia, for he says that the sepulchre of Alexander Paris exists there, and of Cœnone, who, according to historians, was the wife of Alexander, before the rape of Helen; the poet says,

“Cebriones, the spurious son of the far-famed Priam,”³

who, perhaps, received his name from the district, (Cebrenia,) or, more probably, from the city (Cebrene⁴). Cebrenia extends as far as the Scepsian district. The boundary is the Scamander, which runs through the middle of Cebrenia and

¹ Il. v. 641.

² This plain, according to Demetrius, was to the east of the present Menderé, and was enclosed by this river and the mountain Tchiblak.

³ Il. xvi. 738.

⁴ If the name Cebrene or Cebrenia were derived from Cebriones, it would have been, according to analogy, Cebrionia; but it would have been better to have supposed the name to have been derived from Cebren, the more so as this river was supposed to be the father of Cœnone the wife of Alexander (Paris). Whatever may be the origin of the name, the city Cebrene was, according to Ephorus, a colony of Cyme in Æolia.

Scepsia. There was continual enmity and war between the Scepsians and Cebrenians, till Antigonus settled them both together in the city, then called Antigonía, but at present Alexandria. The Cebrenians remained there with the other inhabitants, but the Scepsians, by the permission of Lysimachus, returned to their own country.

34. From the mountainous tract of Ida near these places, two arms, he says, extend to the sea, one in the direction of Rhœteium, the other of Sigeium, forming a semicircle, and terminate in the plain at the same distance from the sea as the present Ilium, which is situated between the extremities of the above-mentioned arms, whereas the ancient Ilium was situated at their commencement. This space comprises the Simoïsian plain through which the Simoeis runs, and the Scamandrian plain, watered by the Scamander. This latter plain is properly the plain of Troy, and Homer makes it the scene of the greatest part of his battles, for it is the widest of the two; and there we see the places named by him, the Eri-neos, the tomb of Æsyetes,¹ Batiëia, and the tomb of Ilus. With respect to the Scamander and the Simoeis, the former, after approaching Sigeium, and the latter Rhœteium, unite their streams a little in front of the present Ilium,² and then empty themselves near Sigeium, and form as it is called the Stomalimne. Each of the above-mentioned plains is separated from the other by a long ridge³ which is in a straight line with the above-mentioned arms;⁴ the ridge begins at the pre-

¹ The position of the tomb of Æsyetes is said to be near a village called by the Turks Udjek, who also give the name Udjek-tepe to the tomb itself. The tomb of Ilus, it is presumed, must be in the neighbourhood of the ancient bed of Scamander, and Batiëia below the village Bounar-bachi.

² This and the following paragraph more especially are at variance with the conjecture of those who place New Ilium at the village Tchiblak, situated beyond and to the north of the Simoïs.

³ As there are no mountains on the left bank of the Menderé, at the distance at which Demetrius places the town of the Ilienses, the long ridge or height of which Strabo speaks can only be referred to the hill of Tchiblak. In that case the Simoïs of Demetrius must be the stream Tchiblak, which modern maps represent as very small, but which Major Rennell, on authority as yet uncertain, extends considerably, giving it the name Shinar, which according to him recalls that of Simoïs.—*Gossellin*.

⁴ Kramer proposes the insertion of ὦν before τῶν εἰρημένων ἀγκώνων

sent Ilium and is united to it; it extends as far as Cebrenia, and completes with the arms on each side the letter θ .

35. A little above this ridge of land is the village of the Ilienses, supposed to be the site of the ancient Ilium, at the distance of 30 stadia from the present city. Ten stadia above the village of the Ilienses is Callicolone, a hill beside which, at the distance of five stadia, runs the Simoeis.

The description of the poet is probable. First what he says of Mars,

“but on the other side Mars arose, like a black tempest, one while with a shrill voice calling upon the Trojans from the summit of the citadel, at another time running along Callicolone beside the Simoeis;”¹

for since the battle was fought on the Scamandrian plain, Mars might, according to probability, encourage the men, one while from the citadel, at another time from the neighbouring places, the Simoeis and the Callicolone, to which the battle might extend. But since Callicolone is distant from the present Ilium 40 stadia, where was the utility of changing places at so great a distance, where the array of the troops did not extend? and the words

“The Lycii obtained by lot the station near Thymbra,”²

which agree better with the ancient city, for the plain Thym-

$\epsilon\pi'$ $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, by which we are to understand that the extremities of the arms and of the ridge are in the same straight line.

Groskurd reads $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\zeta\epsilon\upsilon$ before $\tau. \epsilon. \alpha.$, changes the construction of the sentence, and reads the letter ψ instead of ϵ . His translation is as follows: “Both-mentioned plains are separated from each other by a long neck of land between the above-mentioned arms, which takes its commencement from the present Ilium and unites with it, extending itself in a straight line as far as Cebrenia, and forms with the arms on each side the letter ψ .”

The topography of the plain of Troy and its neighbourhood is not yet sufficiently known to be able to distinguish all the details given by Demetrius. It appears only that he took the Tchiblak for the Simois, and placed the plain of Troy to the right of the present Menderé, which he called the Scamander. This opinion, lately renewed by Major Rennell, presents great and even insurmountable difficulties when we endeavour to explain on this basis the principal circumstances of the Iliad. It must be remembered that in the time of Demetrius the remembrance of the position of ancient Troy was entirely lost, and that this author constantly reasoned on the hypothesis, much contested in his time, that the town of the Ilienses corresponded with that of ancient Ilium. *Observations on the Topography of the plain of Troy by James Rennell.—Gossellin.*

¹ Il. xx. 51.

² Il. x. 430.

bra,¹ is near, and the river Thymbrius, which runs through it, discharges itself into the Scamander, near the temple of Apollo Thymbraeus, but is distant 50 stadia from the present Ilium. The Erineos,² a rugged spot abounding with wild fig-trees, lies below the ancient city, so that Andromache might say in conformity with such a situation,

“but place your bands near Erineos, where the city is most accessible to the enemy, and where they can mount the wall,”³

but it is very far distant from the present city. The beech-tree was a little lower than the Erineos; of the former Achilles says,

“When I fought with the Achæans Hector was not disposed to urge the fight away from the wall, but advanced only as far as the Scæan gates, and the beech-tree.”⁴

36. Besides, the Naustathmus, which retains its name at present, is so near the present city that any person may justly be surprised at the imprudence of the Greeks, and the want of spirit in the Trojans;—imprudence on the part of the Greeks, that they should have left the place for so long a time unfortified with a wall, in the neighbourhood of so large a city, and so great a body of men, both inhabitants and auxiliaries; for the wall, Homer says, was constructed at a late period; or perhaps no wall was built and the erection and destruction of it, as Aristotle says, are due to the invention of the poet;—a want of spirit on the part of the Trojans, who, after the wall was built, attacked that, and the Naustathmus, and the vessels themselves, but had not the courage before there was a wall to approach and besiege this station, although the distance was not great, for the Naustathmus is near Sigeium. The Scamander discharges itself near this place at the distance of 20 stadia from Ilium.⁵ If any one shall say that the Naustathmus is the present harbour of the Achæans, he must mean a place still nearer, distant about twelve stadia from the sea,

¹ Tumbrek.

² Erineos, a wild fig-tree. Homer, it is to be observed, speaks of a single wild fig-tree, whereas Strabo describes a spot planted with them. This place, or a place near the ancient Ilium, is called by the Turks, according to M. Choiseul-Gouffier, Indgirdagh—i. e. the mountain of fig-trees, although none were to be found there whether cultivated or wild.

³ Il. vi. 433.

⁴ Il. ix. 352.

⁵ 1628 toises. The alluvial deposit has now extended the mouth of the Menderé 3400 toises from the ruins where the measurement indicated the position of New Ilium.—*Gosselin*.

which is the extent of the plain in front of the city to the sea; but he will be in error if he include (in the ancient) the present plain, which is all alluvial soil brought down by the rivers,¹ so that if the interval is 12 stadia at present, it must have been at that period less in extent by one half. The story framed by Ulysses, which he tells Eumæus, implies a great distance from the Naustathmus to the city;

“when we lay in ambush below Troy,”²

and he adds afterwards,

“for we had advanced too far from the ships.”³

Scouts are despatched to learn whether the Trojans will remain near the ships when drawn away far from their own walls, or whether

“they will return back to the city.”⁴

Polydamas also says,

“Consider well, my friends, what is to be done, for my advice is to return now to the city, for we are far from the walls.”⁵

Demetrius (of Scepsis) adds the testimony of Hestîæa⁶ of Alexandria, who composed a work on the Iliad of Homer, and discusses the question whether the scene of the war was about the present city, and what was the Trojan plain which the poet mentions as situated between the city and the sea, for the plain seen in front of the present city is an accumulation of earth brought down by the rivers, and formed at a later period.

37. Polites also,

“who was the scout of the Trojans, trusting to his swiftness of foot, and who was on the summit of the tomb of the old Æsyetes,”⁷

was acting absurdly. For although he was seated

“on the summit of the tomb,”

yet he might have observed from the much greater height of the citadel, situated nearly at the same distance, nor would his swiftness of foot have been required for the purpose of security, for the tomb of Æsyetes, which exists at present on the road to Alexandria, is distant five stadia from the citadel.

¹ The passage is corrupt, and the translation is rather a paraphrase, assisted by the conjectures of Kramer.

² Od. xiv. 469. ³ Od. xiv. 496. ⁴ Il. xx. 209. ⁵ Il. xviii. 254.

⁶ Hestîæa was distinguished for her commentary on Homer somewhat in the same manner as Madame Dacier in modern times. ⁷ Il. ii. 792.

Nor is the course of Hector round the city at all a probable circumstance, for the present city will not admit of a circuit round it on account of the continuous ridge of hill, but the ancient city did allow such a course round it.¹

38. No trace of the ancient city remains. This might be expected, for the cities around were devastated, but not entirely destroyed, whereas when Troy was overthrown from its foundation all the stones were removed for the reparation of the other cities. Archæanax of Mitylene is said to have fortified Sigeium with the stones brought from Troy. Sigeium was taken possession of by the Athenians, who sent Phryno, the victor in the Olympic games, at the time the Lesbians advanced a claim to nearly the whole Troad. They had in-

¹ M. Lechevalier, who extends Ilium and its citadel Pergamus to the highest summit of the mountain Bounar-bachi, acknowledges that the nature of the ground would prevent the course of Hector and Achilles taking place round this position, in consequence of the rivers and the precipices which surround it on the S. E. To meet the objection which these facts would give rise to, M. Lechevalier interprets the expressions of Homer in a manner never thought of by the ancient grammarians, although they contorted the text in every possible manner, to bend it to their peculiar opinions. Would it not be more easy to believe that at the time of the siege of Troy this city was no longer on the summit of the mountain, nor so near its ancient acropolis as it was at first; and that the inhabitants moved under the reign of Ilus, as Plato says, and as Homer leads us to conclude, to the entrance of the plain and to the lower rising grounds of Ida? The level ground on the top mountain which rises above Bounar-bachi, and on which it has been attempted to trace the contour of the walls of ancient Ilium and of its citadel, is more than 3200 toises in circumference.

But it is difficult to conceive how, at so distant a period and among a people half savage, a space of ground so large and without water could be entirely occupied by a town, whose power scarcely extended beyond 25 leagues. On the other hand, as the exterior circuit of this mountain is more than 5500 toises, it is not to be conceived how Homer, so exact in his description of places, should have represented Achilles and Hector, already fatigued by a long-continued battle, as making an uninterrupted course of about seven leagues round this mountain, before commencing in single combat. It appears to me therefore that the Troy of Homer must have covered a much less space of ground than is generally supposed, and according to all appearances this space was bounded by a hillock, on which is now the village of Bounar-bachi. This hillock is about 700 or 800 toises in circumference; it is isolated from the rest of the mountain; and warriors in pursuing one another could easily make the circuit. This would not prevent Pergamus from being the citadel of Ilium, but it was separated from it by an esplanade, which served as a means of communication between the town and the fortress.—*Gosselin*.

deed founded most of the settlements, some of which exist at present, and others have disappeared. Pittacus of Mitylene, one of the seven wise men, sailed to the Troad against Phryno, the Athenian general, and was defeated in a pitched battle. (It was at this time that the poet Alcæus, as he himself says, when in danger in some battle, threw away his arms and fled. He charged a messenger with injunctions to inform those at home that Alcæus was safe, but that he did not bring away his arms. These were dedicated by the Athenians as an offering in the temple of Minerva Glaukopis.)¹ Upon Phryno's proposal to meet in single combat, Pittacus advanced with his fishing gear,² enclosed his adversary in a net, pierced him with his three-pronged spear, and despatched him with a short sword. The war however still continuing, Periander was chosen arbitrator by both parties, and put an end to it.

39. Demetrius accuses Timæus of falsehood, for saying that Periander built a wall round the Achilleium out of the stones brought from Ilium as a protection against the attacks of the Athenians, and with a view to assist Pittacus; whereas this place was fortified by the Mitylenæans against Sigeium, but not with stones from Ilium, nor by Periander. For how should they choose an enemy in arms to be arbitrator?

The Achilleium is a place which contains the monument of Achilles, and is a small settlement. It was destroyed, as also Sigeium, by the Ilienses on account of the refractory disposition of its inhabitants. For all the sea-coast as far as Dardanus was afterwards, and is at present, subject to them.

Anciently the greatest part of these places were subject to the Æolians, and hence Ephorus does not hesitate to call all the country from Abydos to Cume by the name of Æolis. But Thucydides³ says that the Mitylenæans were deprived of the Troad in the Peloponnesian war by the Athenians under the command of Paches.

40. The present Ilienses affirm that the city was not entirely demolished when it was taken by the Achæans, nor at any time deserted. The Locrian virgins began to be sent

¹ This paragraph, according to Kramer. is probably an interpolation.

² Herod. viii. c. 85.

³ Thucyd., b. iii. c. 50, does not use the word Troad, but says "all the towns possessed by the Mitylenæans."

there, as was the custom every year, a short time afterwards. This however is not told by Homer. Nor was Homer acquainted with the violation of Cassandra,¹ but says that she was a virgin about that time :

“ He slew Othryoneus, who had lately come to the war from Cabetes, induced by the glory of the contest, and who sought in marriage the most beautiful of the daughters of Priam, Cassandra, without a dower.”²

He does not mention any force having been used, nor does he attribute the death of Ajax by shipwreck to the wrath of Minerva, nor to any similar cause, but says, in general terms, that he was an object of hatred to Minerva, (for she was incensed against all who had profaned her temple,) and that Ajax died by the agency of Neptune for his boasting speeches.

The Locrian virgins were sent there when the Persians were masters of the country.

41. Such is the account of the Ilienses. But Homer speaks expressly of the demolition of the city :

“ The day will come when at length sacred Ilium shall perish,³

After we have destroyed the lofty city of Priam,⁴

By counsel, by wisdom, and by artifice,

The city of Priam was destroyed in the tenth year.”⁵

Of this they produce evidence of the following kind ; the statue of Minerva, which Homer represents as in a sitting posture, is seen at present to be a standing figure, for he orders them

“ to place the robe on the knees of Athene,”⁶

in the same sense as this verse,

“ no son of mine should sit upon her knees,”⁷

and it is better to understand it thus, than as some explain it, “ by placing the robe at the knees,” and adduce this line,

“ she sat upon the hearth in the light of the fire,”⁸

¹ Poets and mythologists subsequent to Homer supposed Cassandra, the daughter of Priam, to have been violated by Ajax, the Locrian ; that as a punishment for his crime this hero perished by shipwreck on his return from Troy, and that three years afterwards Locris was visited by a famine, which occasioned great destruction to the inhabitants. The oracle consulted on the occasion of this calamity advised the Locrians to send annually to Minerva of Ilium two young women chosen by lot. They obeyed and continued to send them for 1000 years, until the time of the sacred war.

² Il. xiii. 363.

³ Il. vi. 448.

⁴ Od. iii. 130.

⁵ Il. xii. 15.

⁶ Il. vi. 92 and 273.

⁷ Il. ix. 455.

⁸ Il. vi. 305.

for "near the hearth." For what would the laying the robe at the knees mean? And they who alter the accent, and for γούνασιν read γουρασιν, like θυιάσιν, or in whatever way they understand it,¹ come to no conclusion. Many of the ancient statues of Minerva are found in a sitting posture, as those at Phocæa, Massalia, Rome, Chios, and many other cities. But modern writers, among whom is Lycurgus the rhetorician, agree that the city was destroyed, for in mentioning the city of the Ilienses he says, "who has not heard, when it was once razed by the Greeks, that it was uninhabited?"²

42. It is conjectured that those who afterwards proposed to rebuild it avoided the spot as inauspicious, either on account of its calamities, of which it had been the scene, or whether Agamemnon, according to an ancient custom, had devoted it to destruction with a curse, as Cræsus, when he destroyed Sidene, in which the tyrant Glaucias had taken refuge, uttered a curse against those who should rebuild its walls. They therefore abandoned that spot and built a city elsewhere.

The Astypalæans, who were in possession of Rhœteium, were the first persons that founded Polium near the Simoïs, now called Polisma, but not in a secure spot, and hence it was soon in ruins.

The present settlement, and the temple, were built in the time of the Lydian kings; but it was not then a city; a long time afterwards, however, and by degrees, it became, as we have said, a considerable place.

Hellanicus, in order to gratify the Ilienses, as is his custom, maintains that the present and the ancient city are the same. But the district on the extinction of the city was divided by the possessors of Rhœteium and Sigeium, and the other neighbouring people among themselves. Upon the rebuilding of the city, however, they restored it.

43. Ida is thought to be appropriately described by Homer,

¹ The corrupt passage replaced by asterisks is εἶθ' ἰκετεύοντες τε φρένας; which is unintelligible.

² The following is a translation of the passage, as found in the speech of Lycurgus, still preserved to us:

"Who has not heard of Troy, the greatest City of those times, and sovereign of all Asia, that when once destroyed by The Greeks it remained for ever uninhabited?"

as abounding with springs on account of the multitude of rivers which issue from it, particularly where Dardania as far as Scepsis lies at its foot, and the places about Ilium.

Demetrius, who was acquainted with these places, (for he was a native,) thus speaks of them: "There is a height of Ida called Cotylus; it is situated about 120 stadia above Scepsis, and from it flow the Scamander, the Granicus, and the *Æsepus*;¹ the two last, being the contributions of many smaller sources, fall into the Propontis, but the Scamander, which has but a single source, flows towards the west. All these sources are in the neighbourhood of each other, and are comprised within a circuit of 20 stadia. The termination of the *Æsepus* is farthest distant from its commencement, namely, about 500 stadia."

We may, however, ask why the poet says, "They came to the fair fountains, whence burst forth two streams of the eddying Scamander, one flowing with water warm,"² that is, hot; he proceeds, however, "around issues vapour as though caused by fire—the other gushes out in the summer, cold like hail, or frozen as snow,"

for no warm springs are now found in that spot, nor is the source of the Scamander there, but in the mountain, and there is one source instead of two.³ It is probable that the

¹ Modern maps place the Cotylus, and consequently the sources of the river which Demetrius calls Scamander, at more than 30,000 toises, or nearly eleven leagues, to the S. E. of the entrance of the Hellespont, when the source of the Scamander should be near Troy; and Troy itself, according to the measurement adopted by Demetrius, ought not to be more than 3400 toises, or a league and a quarter, from the sea. There is therefore a manifest contradiction, and it appears, as I have already remarked, that the river called Scamander by Demetrius, is not the river so called by Homer, but the Simoïs of the poet.—*Gossellin*.

Modern travellers accuse Demetrius with having confounded the Scamander with the Simoïs. The Simoïs they say rises in Cotylus, (Kasdagh,) as also the Granicus, (Oustrola,) and the *Æsepus*, (Satal-dere,) but the sources of the Scamander are below, and to the W. of Ida, near the village called by the Turks Bounar-bachi, which signifies the head of the source. If it is an error, Demetrius is not alone responsible for it, as Hellenicus (Schol. in Iliad xxi. 242) also says that the Scamander had its source in Mount Ida itself. Both probably rested on the authority of Homer, who places the source of the Scamander in Ida. They did not, however, observe that Homer employs the expression ἀπ' Ἰδαίων ὀρέων in a more extensive sense.—*Du Theil*.

² Il xxii. 147.

³ We owe to the researches of M. de Choiseul Gouffier, published

warm spring has failed, but the cold spring flowing from the Scamander along a subterraneous channel emerges at this place; or, because the water was near the Scamander, it was called the source of that river, for there are several springs, which are said to be its sources.

44. The Andirus empties itself into the Scamander; a

without his knowledge in 1793, an acquaintance with these two springs, which present nearly the same phenomena as described by Homer. These springs have since been seen by many travellers; they are situated at the foot of a small hill on which is Bounar-bachi, and about 6500 toises in a straight line from the mouth of the Menderé. The stream which flows from them never fails, and after having run for some time parallel to the Menderé, it turns suddenly to throw itself into the Archipelago, near the middle of the interval which separates the ruins of Alexandria-Troas from the cape Koum-kale, but still leaving traces of a bed through which it formerly flowed to join the Menderé. We are now convinced that this little river is the Scamander of Homer, that the present Menderé is the Simoïs of that poet, and that the ancient Ilium, which was near the sources of the Scamander, must have been situated on the heights of Bounar-bachi.

In the time of Homer these two rivers united together and discharged themselves into the sea by the same mouth: but the course of the Scamander has been changed for a long time, since, according to Pliny, (v. c. 33,) a part of its waters spread themselves over a marsh, and the remainder flowed unto the Ægæan Sea, between Alexandria-Troas and Sigeum. This ancient author therefore gave to the little river (which he called Palæscamander, the old Scamander) exactly the same course which the stream Bounar-bachi still follows. This change of direction in the course of the river appears to me to have been anterior to the time of Demetrius of Scepsis, for this alone can explain his error. For, no longer finding a stream which runs on the left of the present Menderé, and which might represent the Scamander, he thought proper to transfer this latter name to the Simoïs, and to look for the site of the Ilium of Homer, as also of the plain which was the scene of the combats described by the poet, on the right of this river. Thence he is persuaded that the town of the Ilienses occupied the same site as the ancient Ilium, and that the stream of the Tschiblak was the Simoïs.

I must remark that the Menderé is a torrent, the waters of which fail during a great part of the year, whilst the stream of the Bounar-bachi always continues to flow. This advantage is probably the reason why it preserved the name of Scamander to the sea, although it ran into the bed of the Simoïs and was far inferior to this torrent in the length of its course. Hence it may be perceived how the name of Scamander, now changed into that of Menderé, has remained attached to this ancient mouth, how ultimately it was given to the whole course of the Simoïs, and how Demetrius of Scepsis was led into error by the change in the course of the true Scamander, and by the transfer of its name to the Simoïs.—*Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce par M. de Choiseul Gouffier. Le Voyage dans la Troas, par M. Lechevalier. The Topography of Troy, W. Gell.—Gossellin.*

river which comes from the district of Caresene, a mountainous country, in which are many villages. It is well cultivated by the husbandmen. It adjoins Dardania, and extends as far as the places about Zeleia and Pityeia. The country, it is said, had its name from the river Caresus, mentioned by the poet,

“ the Rhesus, Heptaporus, Caresus, and Rhodius,”¹

but the city of the same name as the river is in ruins.

Demetrius again says, the river Rhesus is now called Rhoeites, unless it is the Rhesus which empties itself into the Granicus.

The Heptaporus, which is called also Polyporus, is crossed seven times in travelling from the places about Cale Peuce (or the beautiful pitch tree) to the village Melænæ and to the Asclepieium, founded by Lysimachus.

Attalus, the first king, gives this account of the beautiful pitch tree; its circumference, he says, was 24 feet; the height of the trunk from the root was 67 feet; it then formed three branches, equally distant from each other; it then contracts into one head, and here it completes the whole height of two plethra, and 15 cubits. It is distant from Adramyttium 180 stadia towards the north.

The Caresus flows from Malus, a place situated between Palæsepsis and Achæium, in front of the isle of Tenedos, and empties itself into the Æsepus.

The Rhodius flows from Cleandria and Gordus, which are distant 60 stadia from Cale Peuce, and empties itself into the Ænius (Æsepus?).

45. In the valley about the Æsepus, on the left of its course, the first place we meet with is Polichna, a walled stronghold; then Palæsepsis, next Alizonium, a place invented for the supposed existence of the Halizoni whom we have mentioned before.² Then Caresus, a deserted city, and Caresene, and a river of the same name, (Caresus,) which also forms a considerable valley, but less than that about the Æsepus. Next follow the plains of Zeleia, and the mountain plains, which are well cultivated. On the right of the Æsepus, between Polichna and Palæsepsis is Nea-Come,³ and Argylia,

¹ Il. xii. 20.

² B. xii. c. iii. § 21.

³ Below Strabo calls this same place Ænea, and in b. xii. c. iii. § 23, Enea-Come. Pliny calls it Nea; it is said to be the same place called by the Turks Ene.

(the silver mines,)¹ which are another fiction framed to support the same hypothesis, in order that the words of Homer may be defended,

“where silver is produced.”²

Where then is Alybe, or Alope, or in whatever way they please to play upon the name? For they ought to have had the impudence to invent this place also, and not to leave their system imperfect and exposed to detection, when they had once ventured so far. This is the contradiction which may be given to Demetrius.

As to the rest, we ought at least in the greatest number of instances to attend to a man of experience, and a native of the country, who also had bestowed so much thought and time on this subject as to write thirty books to interpret little more than 60 lines of the catalogue of the Trojan forces.

Palæscopsis, according to Demetrius, is distant from Ænea 50, and from the river Æsepus 30, stadia, and the name of Palæscopsis is applied to many other places.³

We return to the sea-coast, from which we have digressed.

46. After the Sigeian promontory, and the Achæium, and Tenedos itself, distant not more than 40 stadia from the continent. It is about 80 stadia in circumference. It contains an Æolian city, and has two harbours, and a temple of Apollo Smintheus, as the poet testifies ;

“Smintheus, thou that reignest over Tenedos.”⁴

There are several small islands around it, and two in particular, called Calydnæ,⁵ situated in the course of the voyage to Lectum. There are some writers who call Tenedos Calydna,

¹ Ἀργύρια, in the neuter gender, with the accent on the antipenultima, means “silver mines.” But Ἀργυρία, with the accent on the penultima, becomes the name of a town.

² Il. ii. 856.

³ What other places? I do not think that Strabo or Demetrius have mentioned any other place bearing the name of Palæscopsis.—*Du Theil*.

⁴ Il. i. 38.

⁵ There are no islands to the south of Tenedos,—that is, between Tenedos and Cape Lectum (Baba). The state of the text might induce us to suppose that, instead of Lectum, Strabo wrote Sigeum. Then the Calydnæ islands would answer to the Mauro islands or to the isles des Lapins.—*Gosselin*.

and others *Leucophrys*.¹ There are other small islands around it besides these. They lay near the scene of the fable about *Tennes*, from whom the island has its name, and of the story of *Cygnus*, a Thracian by descent, and father, according to some writers, of *Tennes*, and king of *Colonæ*.

47. Continuous with the *Achæium* are *Larisa* and *Colonæ*, formerly belonging to the people of *Tenedos*, who occupied the opposite coast; and the present *Chrysa*, situated upon a rocky height above the sea, and *Hamaxitus* lying below, and close to *Lectum*. But at present *Alexandreia* is continuous with the *Achæium*; the inhabitants of those small towns, and of many other strongholds, were embodied in *Alexandreia*. Among the latter were *Cebrene* and *Neandria*. The territory is in the possession of the *Alexandrini*, and the spot in which *Alexandreia* is now situated was called *Sigia*.

48. The temple of *Apollo Smintheus* is in this *Chrysa*, and the symbol, a mouse, which shows the etymology of the epithet *Smintheus*, lying under the foot of the statue.² They are the workmanship of *Scopas* of *Paros*. They reconcile the history, and the fable about the mice, in this following manner.

The *Teuceri*, who came from *Crete*, (of whom *Callinus*, the elegiac poet, gave the first history, and he was followed by many others,) were directed by an oracle to settle wherever the earth-born inhabitants should attack them, which, it is said, occurred to them near *Hamaxitus*, for in the night-time great multitudes of field-mice came out and devoured all arms or utensils which were made of leather; the colony therefore settled there. These people also called the mountain *Ida*, after the name of the mountain in *Crete*.

¹ Called also *Lyrnessa* and *Phœnice*. The first of these names is the same as that of one of the 12 towns on the continent sacked by *Achilles*. The name *Phœnice* was given to it probably by a *Phœnician* colony. *Leucophrys*, (white brows,) from the colour of the coast.

² From *σμίνθος*, a rat, in the *Æolic* dialect. The worship of *Apollo Smintheus* was not confined to the town of *Chrysa* alone; it was common to all the continent of the *Troad* and to the adjacent islands; it extended along the whole coast to the island of *Rhodes*, as *Strabo* afterwards informs us. He has already told us that there was a temple of *Apollo Smintheus* in the island of *Tenedos*. Coins of this island exist, bearing the effigy of the god with a rat under the chin. The town of *Hamaxitus*, on the continent, had also its temple of *Apollo Smintheus*, where was not only to be seen the picture of a rat near the tripod of the god, but also tame rats, maintained at the public expense.

But Heracleides of Pontus says, that the mice, which swarmed near the temple, were considered as sacred, and the statue is represented as standing upon a mouse.

Others say, that a certain Teucer came from Attica, who belonged to the Demus of Troes, which is now called Xype-teon, but that no Teuceri came from Crete. They adduce as a proof of the intermixture of Trojans with Athenians, that an Ericthonius was a founder of both people.

This is the account of modern writers. But the traces which now exist in the plain of Thebe, and at Chrysa situated there, coincide better with the description of Homer; and of these we shall speak immediately.¹

The name of Smintheus is to be found in many places, for near Hamaxitus itself, besides the Sminthian Apollo at the temple, there are two places called Sminthia, and others in the neighbouring district of Larissa. In the district also of Pariane is a place called Sminthia; others in Rhodes,² Lindus, and in many places besides. The temple is now called Sminthium.

Separate from the other is the Halesian plain near Lectum, which is not extensive, and the Tragasæan salt-pan near Hamaxitus,³ where the salt spontaneously concretes on the blowing of the Etesian winds. On Lectum stands an altar dedicated to the Twelve Gods, erected, it is said, by Agamemnon.

These places are in sight of Ilium, at the distance of a little more than 200 stadia. On the other side the parts about Abydos are visible, although Abydos is somewhat nearer.

49. After doubling Lectum, there follow the most considerable cities of the Æolians, the bay of Adramyttium, on which Homer seems to have placed the greater part of the Leleges, and the Cilicians, divided into two tribes. There also is the coast of the Mitylenæans with some villages of the Mitylenæans on the continent. The bay has the name of the Idæan bay, for the ridge extending from Lectum to Ida overhangs

¹ Sect. 63.

² In the island of Rhodes more especially many Sminthia must have existed, as Andreas, a native of Lindus, one of the three cities of the island, made these temples the subject of a treatise entitled "On the Sminthia of Rhodes."

³ The Turks call the place Fousla, "the salt-pan."

the commencement of the bay, where, according to the poet,¹ the Leleges were first settled.

50. I have spoken before of the Leleges, and I shall now add that the poet speaks of a Pedasus, a city of theirs which was subject to Altes ;

“ Altes, king of the war-loving Leleges. governs
The lofty Pedasus on the river Satnioeis : ”²

the spot exists but there is no city. Some read, but incorrectly, “ below Satnioeis,” as if the city lay at the foot of a mountain called Satnioeis ; yet there is no mountain there called Satnioeis, but a river, on which the city is placed. The city is at present deserted. The poet mentions the river ;

“ Ajax pierced with his spear Satnius, the son of CEnops, whom the beautiful nymph Naïs bore to CEnops, when he tended herds on the banks of the Satnioeis.”³

And in another place ;

“ CEnops dwelt on the banks of the smooth-flowing Satnioeis
In lofty Pedasus.”⁴

Later writers called it Satioeis, and some writers Saphnioeis. It is a great winter torrent, which the poet, by mentioning it, made remarkable. These places are continuous with the districts Dardania and Scepsia, and are as it were another Dardania, but lower than the former.

51. The country comprised in the districts of Antandria, Cebrene, Neandria, and the Hamaxitus, as far as the sea opposite to Lesbos, now belongs to the people of Assus and Gargara.⁵

The Neandrians are situated above Hamaxitus on this side Lectum, but more towards the interior, and nearer to Ilium, from which they are distant 130 stadia. Above these people are the Cebrenii, and above the Cebrenii the Dardanii, extending as far as Palæscepsis, and even to Scepsis.

The poet Alcæus calls Antandrus a city of the Leleges :

“ First is Antandrus, a city of the Leleges.”

Demetrius of Scepsis places it among the adjacent cities, so that it might be in the country of the Cilicians, for these people are rather to be regarded as bordering upon the Le-

¹ Il. x. 429.

² Il. xxi. 86.

³ Il. xiv. 443.

⁴ Il. vi. 34.

⁵ At the foot of the mountain on which is now the village Ine.

leges, having as their boundary the southern side of Mount Ida. These however are situated low down, and approach nearer the sea-coast at Adramyttium. After Lectum, at the distance of 40 stadia is Polymedium,¹ a stronghold; then at the distance of 80 stadia Assus, situated a little above the sea; next at 140 stadia Gargara, which is situated on a promontory, which forms the gulf, properly called the gulf of Adramyttium. For the whole of the sea-coast from Lectum to Canæ, and the Elaïtic bay, is comprised under the same name, the gulf of Adramyttium. This, however, is properly called the Adramyttene gulf, which is enclosed within the promontory on which Gargara stands, and that called the promontory Pyrrha,² on which is a temple of Venus. The breadth of the entrance forms a passage across from promontory to promontory of 120 stadia. Within it is Antandrus,³ with a mountain above it, which is called Alexandria, where it is said the contest between the goddesses was decided by Paris; and Aspaneus, the depository of the timber cut from the forests of Ida; it is here that wood is brought down and disposed of to those who want it.

Next is Astyra, a village and grove sacred to Artemis As tyrene. Close to it is Adramyttium, a city founded by a colony of Athenians, with a harbour, and a station for vessels. Beyond the gulf and the promontory Pyrrha is Cisthene, a deserted city with a harbour. Above it in the interior is a copper mine, Perperena, Trarium, and other similar settlements.

On this coast after Cisthene are the villages of the Mitylenæans, Coryphantis and Heracleia; next to these is Attea; then Atarneus,⁴ Pitane,⁵ and the mouths of the Caïcus. These, however, belong to the Elaïtic gulf. On the opposite side of the Caïcus are Elæa,⁶ and the remainder of the gulf as far as Canæ.

We shall resume our description of each place, lest we should have omitted any one that is remarkable. And first with regard to Scepsis.

52. Palæscepsis is situated above Cebrene towards the most elevated part of Ida near Polichna. It had the name of

¹ Palamedium? Pliny, b. v. c. 30.

² Karatepe-bournou, or Cape San Nicolo.

³ Antandro.

⁴ Dikeli-koi.

⁵ Tschandarlyk.

⁶ Ialea.

Scepsis¹ either for some other reason or because it was within view of the places around, if we may be allowed to derive words then in use among Barbarians from the Greek language. Afterwards the inhabitants were transferred to the present Scepsis, 60 stadia lower down, by Scamandrius, the son of Hector, and by Ascanius, the son of Æneas; these two families reigned, it is said, a long time at Scepsis. They changed the form of government to an oligarchy; afterwards the Milesians united with the Scepsians, and formed a democracy.² The descendants of these families had nevertheless the name of kings, and held certain dignities. Antigonus incorporated the Scepsians with the inhabitants of Alexandria (Troas); Lysimachus dissolved this union, and they returned to their own country.

53. The Scepsian (Demetrius) supposes that Scepsis was the palace of Æneas, situated between the dominion of Æneas and Lyrnessus, where, it is said, he took refuge when pursued by Achilles.

“Remember you not,” says Achilles, “how I chased you when alone and apart from the herds, with swift steps, from the heights of Ida, thence indeed you escaped to Lyrnessus; but I took and destroyed it.”³

Present traditions respecting Æneas do not agree with the story respecting the first founders of Scepsis. For it is said that he was spared on account of his hatred to Priam:

“he ever bore hatred to Priam, for never had Priam bestowed any honour upon him for his valour.”⁴

His companion chiefs, the Antenoridæ, and Antenor, and myself, escaped on account of the hospitality which the latter had shown to Menelaus.

Sophocles, in his play, *The Capture of Troy*, says, that a panther's skin was placed before Antenor's door as a signal that his house should be spared from plunder. Antenor and

¹ From *σκέπτομαι*, (sceptomai,) *I see to a distance*, from which the compound *περισκέπτομαι*, (perisceptomai,) *I see to a distance around*. Strabo perceived the absurdity of such an etymology. Others derived the name of this place from *σκήπτομαι*, *I pretend*, whence *σκήψις*, (skepsis,) *a pretext*, because it was on this part of the chain of Ida that Rhea, on the birth of Jupiter, substituted for him a stone clothed as an infant, and presented it to be devoured by Saturn in place of her child. This etymology is conformable to analogy, although founded on a ridiculous fable. ² B. xiii. c. i. § 6. ³ Il. xx. 188. ⁴ Il. xiii. 460

his four sons, together with the surviving Heneti, are said to have escaped into Thrace, and thence into Henetica on the Adriatic;¹ but Æneas, with his father Anchises and his son Ascanius, are said to have collected a large body of people, and to have set sail. Some writers say that he settled about the Macedonian Olympus; according to others he founded Capuæ,² near Mantinea in Arcadia, and that he took the name of the city from Capys. There is another account, that he disembarked at Ægesta³ in Sicily, with Elymus, a Trojan, and took possession of Eryx⁴ and Lilybæus,⁵ and called the rivers about Ægesta Scamander and Simois; that from Sicily he went to Latium, and settled there in obedience to an oracle enjoining him to remain wherever he should eat his table. This happened in Latium, near Lavinium, when a large cake of bread which was set down instead of, and for want of, a table, was eaten together with the meat that was laid upon it.

Homer does not agree either with these writers or with what is said respecting the founders of Scepsis. For he represents Æneas as remaining at Troy, succeeding to the kingdom, and delivering the succession to his children's children after the extinction of the race of Priam :

“the son of Saturn hated the family of Priam : henceforward Æneas shall reign over the Trojans, and his children's children to late generations.”⁶

In this manner not even the succession of Scamandrius could be maintained. He disagrees still more with those writers who speak of his wanderings as far as Italy, and make him end his days in that country. Some write the verse thus :

“The race of Æneas and his children's children,” meaning the Romans, ‘shall rule over all nations.’”

54. The Socratic philosophers, Erastus, Coriscus, and Neleus, the son of Coriscus, a disciple of Aristotle, and Theophrastus, were natives of Scepsis. Neleus succeeded to the possession of the library of Theophrastus, which included that of Aristotle; for Aristotle gave his library, and left his school,

¹ See note ⁴, vol. i. p. 76.

² Some assert that Capys, the father of Anchises, was the founder of Capua or Caphya in Italy. The town in Arcadia was afterwards called Caphya or Caphyæ. ³ Segesta. ⁴ Trapani. ⁵ Cape Boë.

⁶ Il. xx. 306.

to Theophrastus. Aristotle¹ was the first person with whom we are acquainted who made a collection of books, and suggested to the kings of Ægypt the formation of a library. Theophrastus left his library to Neleus, who carried it to Scepsis, and bequeathed it to some ignorant persons who kept the books locked up, lying in disorder. When the Scepsians understood that the Attalic kings, on whom the city was dependent, were in eager search for books, with which they intended to furnish the library at Pergamus, they hid theirs in an excavation under-ground; at length, but not before they had been injured by damp and worms, the descendants of Neleus sold the books of Aristotle and Theophrastus for a large sum of money to Apellicon of Teos. Apellicon² was rather a lover of books than a philosopher; when therefore he attempted to restore the parts which had been eaten and corroded by worms, he made alterations in the original text and introduced them into new copies; he moreover supplied the defective parts unskilfully, and published the books full of errors. It was the misfortune of the ancient Peripatetics, those after Theophrastus, that being wholly unprovided with the books of Aristotle, with the exception of a few only, and those chiefly of the exoteric³ kind, they were unable to philosophize according

¹ This statement is not in contradiction with those (Athen. b. i. c. 3) who assert that Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, and Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, were the first who formed libraries. The libraries of these two princes, who lived six centuries before our time, were probably confined to half a dozen poets, and it may be supposed that the care Pisistratus took to collect the poems of Homer did not extend to poets posterior to his time. But in the time of Aristotle there existed many poems, a great number of oratorical discourses, historical works, and various treatises of philosophy.

² Apellicon proclaimed himself a philosopher of the school of Aristotle. From what Athenæus, b. v., says of him, he appears to have used his great wealth for the purposes of ostentation rather than of employing it for the benefit of others. He was sent by Aristion, (or Athenion, as Athenæus calls him,) tyrant of Athens, to Delos, at the head of ten thousand soldiers, to remove the treasures of the temple. He was defeated by the Romans, and having lost his whole army, escaped with difficulty.

³ This name was given to books intended to be seen and read by every one, but which did not contain the fundamental dogmas which Aristotle only communicated to those of his own school. The books which contained these doctrines were called, by way of distinction, *esoteric*. Such at least is the opinion of those who admit of the existence of a secret doctrine, and a public doctrine, in the philosophy of Aristotle. This passage of Strabo however seems to favour those who maintained a different

to the principles of the system, and merely occupied themselves in elaborate discussions on common places. Their successors however, from the time that these books were published, philosophized, and propounded the doctrine of Aristotle more successfully than their predecessors, but were under the necessity of advancing a great deal as probable only, on account of the multitude of errors contained in the copies.

Even Rome contributed to this increase of errors; for immediately on the death of Apellicon, Sylla, who captured Athens, seized the library of Apellicon. When it was brought to Rome, Tyrannion,¹ the grammarian, who was an admirer of Aristotle, courted the superintendent of the library and obtained the use of it. Some vendors of books, also, employed bad scribes and neglected to compare the copies with the original. This happens in the case of other books which are copied for sale both here and at Alexandria.

This may suffice on this subject.

55. Demetrius the grammarian, whom we have frequently mentioned, was a native of Scepsis. He composed a comment on the catalogue of the Trojan forces. He was contemporary with Crates and Aristarchus. He was succeeded by Metrodorus,² who changed from being a philosopher to

opinion, namely, that this celebrated distinction of *exoteric* and *esoteric* doctrines, which is peculiar to the works of Aristotle, is not founded on any essential difference of doctrine, but rather on a difference of method, so that the word *exoteric* was applied to works where the opinions of the philosopher were set forth in a manner to be understood by all intelligent readers, whether of his own school or strangers; and *esoteric* to those works where his opinions were thoroughly discussed, and in a scientific manner, and which, not being intelligible to every one, required to be explained by the master himself.

¹ Tyrannion was a native of Amisus, whose lectures he attended (b. xii. c. iii. § 16). He is often quoted among the commentators of Homer. It was he also who gave copies of the works of Aristotle to Andronicus of Rhodes, for whom he made a catalogue of them.

² Metrodorus was not only a fellow-countryman of Demetrius, who was one of the richest and most distinguished citizens of Scepsis, but also his contemporary and protégé. A small treatise of Metrodorus is cited, entitled *περὶ ἀλειπτικῆς*, which may mean "on anointing with oil," or "on oil used in the public exercises." It seems however very probable that the treatise on the Troad, (*Τρωϊκά*), which Athenæus attributes to another Metrodorus of Chios, was the work of this Metrodorus of Scepsis. The place of his birth, which was in the Troad, might have suggested, as it did to his patron, the idea of treating a subject liable to discussion, and to endeavour to throw light upon it by the words of Homer. Add to

engage in public affairs. His writings are for the most part in the style of the rhetoricians. He employed a new and striking kind of phraseology. Although he was poor, yet, in consequence of the reputation which he had acquired, he married a rich wife at Chalcedon, and acquired the surname of the Chalcedonian. He paid great court to Mithridates Eupator, whom he accompanied with his wife on a voyage to Pontus, and received from him distinguished honours. He was appointed to preside over a tribunal where the party condemned by the judge had no power of appeal to the king. His prosperity however was not lasting, for he incurred the enmity of some very unjust persons, and deserted from the king at the very time that he was despatched on an embassy to Tigranes the Armenian. Tigranes sent him back much against his inclination to Eupator, who was then flying from his hereditary kingdom. Metrodorus died on the road, either in consequence of orders from the king, or by natural disease, for both causes of his death are stated.

So much then respecting Scepsis.

56. Next to Scepsis are Andeira, Pionia, and Gargaris. There is found at Andeira a stone, which when burnt becomes iron. It is then put into a furnace together with some kind of earth, when it distils a mock silver, (*Pseudargyrum*,) or with the addition of copper it becomes the compound called *oreichalcum*. There is found a mock silver near *Tmolus* also. These places and those about *Assus* were occupied by the *Leleges*.

57. *Assus* is a strong place, and well fortified with walls. There is a long and perpendicular ascent from the sea and the harbour, so that the verse of *Stratoniceus* the citharist seems to be applicable to it ;

this that *Strabo* quotes also *Metrodorus* on the subject of the *Amazons*, whose history appears so closely connected with the *Trojan war* that all who have touched on the one, have also treated of the other. *Pliny* quotes also a *Metrodorus* on the subject of the serpents of the river *Rhyndacus*, near the *Troad*. It is also a question whether *Metrodorus* was one of those who occupied themselves with mnemonics, or the art of increasing and strengthening the memory. According to *Plutarch*, *Metrodorus* was the victim of *Mithridates*. *Tigranes*, who had placed the philosopher in his power, more from inadvertence than intentionally, so much regretted his death that he celebrated magnificent obsequies to his memory.

“Go to Assus, if you mean to reach quickly the confines of death.”

The harbour is formed of a large mole.

Cleanthes, the Stoic philosopher, was a native of this place. He succeeded to the school of Zeno of Citium, and left it to Chrysippus of Soli. Here also Aristotle resided for some time, on account of his relationship to Hermeas the tyrant. Hermeas was an eunuch, servant of a money-changer. When he was at Athens he was the hearer both of Plato and of Aristotle. On his return he became the associate in the tyranny of his master, who attacked the places near Atarneus and Assus. He afterwards succeeded his master, sent for both Aristotle and Xenocrates, and treated them with kindness. He even gave his niece in marriage to Aristotle. But Memnon of Rhodes, who was at that time general in the service of the Persians, invited to his house Hermeas, under the mask of friendship, and on pretence of business. He seized Hermeas, and sent him to the king, who ordered him to be hanged. The philosophers, avoiding places in possession of the Persians, escaped by flight.

58. Myrsilus says that Assus was founded by Methymnæans; but according to Hellanicus it was an Æolian city, like Gargara and Lamponia of the Æolians. Gargara¹ was founded from Assus; it was not well peopled, for the kings introduced settlers from Miletropolis,² which they cleared of its in-

¹ Gargara is the same town called above by Strabo Gargaris, unless he meant by the latter name the territory of Gargara, a distinction we find made below between Pedasa and Pedasis. The author of the *Etymologicum Magnum* calls the place Gargarus, and informs us that the inhabitants abandoned it on account of the cold, it being situated on Mount Ida; that they founded a new town in the plain, and that the town abandoned afterwards received the name of Old Gargara.

The town called Lamponia by Strabo is called Lamponium by Hellanicus and Herodotus.

² By “the kings,” we must probably understand the kings of Bithynia rather than the kings of Persia, as understood by Rambach (*De Miletø ejusque coloniæ*); for if we suppose that colonists are here meant who came to Gargara from Miletus after the destruction of this latter town by the Persians, how could Demetrius of Scepsis say of the Gargareans that, “Æolians as they were, or instead of Æolians they became semi-barbarians?” He ought at least to have said, “that they became Ionians,” for Miletus, a Greek city of Ionia, at the time of its destruction by the Persians, was far from being barbarous. But Miletropolis, although from its name and position in the territory of Cyzicus was probably, like Cyzicus, a colony of Miletus, yet might have been peopled with barbari-

habitants, so that Demetrius the Scepsian says that, instead of being Æolians, the people became semi-barbarians. In the time of Homer all these places belonged to Leleges, whom some writers represent as Carians, but Homer distinguishes them,

“Near the sea are Carians, and Pæonians with curved bows, Leleges, and Caucones.”¹

The Leleges were therefore a different people from the Carians, and lived between the people subject to Æneas and the Cilicians, as they are called by the poet. After being plundered by Achilles, they removed to Caria, and occupied the country about the present Halicarnassus.

59. Pedasus, the city which they abandoned, is no longer in existence. But in the interior of the country belonging to the people of Halicarnassus there was a city called by them Pedasa, and the territory has even now the name of Pedasis. It is said that this district contained eight cities, occupied by the Leleges, who were formerly so populous a nation as to possess Caria as far as Myndus, Bargylia, and a great part of Pisidia. In later times, when they united with the Carians in their expeditions, they were dispersed throughout the whole of Greece, and the race became extinct.

Mausolus, according to Callisthenes, assembled in Halicarnassus² alone the inhabitants of six out of the eight cities, but allowed Suangela and Myndus to remain untouched. Herodotus³ relates that whenever anything unfortunate was about to befall the inhabitants of Pedasus⁴ and the neighbourhood a beard appeared on the face of the priestess of Minerva, and that this happened three times.

There is now existing in the territory of the Stratoniceis⁵ a small town called Pedasum. There are to be seen throughout the whole of Caria and at Miletus sepulchres, and fortifications, and vestiges of settlements of the Leleges.

60. The tract of sea-coast following next after the Leleges was occupied, according to Homer, by Cilicians, but at present it is occupied by Adramytteni, Atarneitæ, and Pitanæi as far as the mouth of the Caïcus. The Cilicians were divided into

ans at the time Gargara received colonists. Mualitsh is the modern name of Miletopolis.

¹ Il. x. 428.

² Budrun, the birth-place of Herodotus.

³ Herod. i. 175; viii. 104.

⁴ Paitschin?

⁵ Eski-Hissar.

two dynasties, as we have before said,¹ the head of one was Eetion, the other Mynes.

61. Homer says that Thebe was the city of Eetion ;

“ We went to Thebe, the sacred city of Eetion.”²

To him also belonged Chrysa, which contained the temple of Apollo Smintheus, for Chryseïs was taken from Thebe ;

“ We went,”

he says,

“ to Thebe, ravaged it, and carried everything away ; the sons of the Achæans divided the booty among themselves, but selected for Atrides the beautiful Chryseïs.”

Lyrnessus he calls the city of Mynes, for

“ having plundered Lyrnessus, and destroyed the walls of Thebe,”³

Achilles slew Mynes and Epistrophus, so that when Bryseïs says,

“ you suffered me not to weep when the swift Achilles slew my husband, and laid waste the city of the divine Mynes,”⁴

the poet cannot mean Thebe, for that belonged to Eetion, but Lyrnessus, for both cities lay in what was afterwards called the plain of Thebe, which, on account of its fertility, was a subject of contest among the Mysians and Lydians formerly, and latterly among the Greeks who had migrated from Æolis and Lesbos. At present Adramytteni possess the greater part of it ; there are Thebe and Lyrnessus, a strong place, but both are deserted. One is situated at the distance of 60 stadia from Adramyttium on one side, and the other 88 stadia on the other side.

62. In the Adramyttene district are Chrysa and Cilla. There is at present near Thebe a place called Cilla, in which is a temple of Apollo Cillæus. Beside it runs a river, which comes from Mount Ida. These places are near Antandria. The Cillæum in Lesbos has its name from this Cilla. There is also a mountain Cillæum between Gargara and Antandrus. Daes of Colonæ says that the temple of Apollo Cillæus was founded at Colonæ by the Æolians, who came by sea from Greece. At Chrysa also it is said that there is a Cillæan Apollo, but it is uncertain whether it is the same as Apollo Smintheus, or a different statue.

¹ C. vii. § 49.

² Il. i. 366.

³ Il. ii. 691.

⁴ Il. ii. 295.

63. Chrysa is a small town on the sea-coast with a harbour. Near and above it is Thebe. Here was the temple of Apollo Smintheus, and here Chryseis lived. The place at present is entirely abandoned. To the present Chrysa, near Hamaxitus, was transferred the temple of the Cilicians, one party of whom went to Pamphylia, the other to Hamaxitus. Those who are not well acquainted with ancient histories say that Chryses and Chryseis lived there, and that Homer mentions the place. But there is no harbour at this place, yet Homer says,

“but when they entered the deep harbour,”¹—

nor is the temple on the sea-coast, but Homer places it there; “Chryseis left the ship; then the sage Ulysses, leading her to the altar, placed her in the hands of her beloved father.”²

Nor is it near Thebe, but it is near it, according to Homer, for he says, that Chryseis was taken away from thence.

Nor is there any place of the name of Cilla in the district of the Alexandria, (Troas,) nor a temple of Apollo Cillæus, whereas the poet joins them together:

“who art the guardian of Chrysa, and the divine Cilla.”³

But it is in the plain of Thebe that they are seen near together. The voyage from the Cilician Chrysa to the Naustathmus (or naval station) is about 700 stadia, and occupies a day, which is as much as Ulysses seems to have completed; for immediately upon leaving the vessel he offers sacrifice to the god, and being overtaken by the evening, remains there. In the morning he sets sail. It is scarcely a third of the above-mentioned distance from Hamaxitus, so that Ulysses could have performed his sacrifice and have returned to the Naustathmus the same day. There is also a monument of Cillus, a large mound, near the temple of Apollo Cillæus. He is said to have been the charioteer of Pelops, and to have had the chief command in these parts. Perhaps the country Cilicia had its name from him, or he had his from the country.

64. The story about the Teuceri, and the mice from whom the name of Smintheus is derived, (for mice are called Sminthii,) must be transferred to this place.

¹ Il. i. 432.

² Il. i. 439.

³ Il. i. 37.

Writers defend the derivation of titles from insignificant objects by examples of this kind; as from the *parnopos*, which the *Cætæans* call *cornopos*, *Hercules* had a surname, and was worshipped under the title of *Hercules Cornopion*, because he had delivered them from locusts. So the *Erythræans*, who live near the river *Melios*, worship *Hercules Ipoctonus*, because he destroyed the *ipes*, or worms, which are destructive to vines; for this pest is found everywhere except in the country of the *Erythræans*. The *Rhodians* have in the island a temple of *Apollo Erythibius*, so called from *erysibe*, (mildew,) and which they call *erythibe*. Among the *Æolians* in *Asia* one of their months is called *Pornopion*, for this name the *Bœotians* give to *parnopos*, (locusts,) and a sacrifice is performed to *Apollo Pornopion*.

65. The country about *Adramyttium* is *Mysia*. It was once subject to *Lydians*, and there are now *Pylæ Lydiæ* (or the *Lydian Gates*) at *Adramyttium*, the city having been founded, it is said, by *Lydians*.

Astyra also, the village near *Adramyttium*, is said to belong to *Mysia*. It was once a small city, in which was the temple of *Artemis Astyrene*, situated in a grove. The *Antandrians*, in whose neighbourhood it is more immediately situated, preside over it with great solemnity. It is distant 20 stadia from the ancient *Chrysa*, which also has a temple in a grove. There too is the Rampart of *Achilles*. At the distance of 50 stadia in the interior is *Thebe*, uninhabited, which the poet says was situated below the woody *Placus*; but there is neither a place called *Placus* nor *Plax* there, nor a wood above it, although it is near *Ida*.

Thebe is distant from *Astyra* 70, and from *Andeira* 60 stadia. All these are names of uninhabited places, or thinly inhabited, or of rivers which are torrents. But they owe their fame to ancient history.

66. *Assus* and *Adramyttium* are considerable cities. *Adramyttium* was unfortunate in the *Mithridatic* war, for *Diodorus* the general, in order to gratify the king, put to death the council of the citizens, although at the same time he pretended to be a philosopher of the *Academy*, pleaded causes, and professed to teach rhetoric. He accompanied the king on his voyage to *Pontus*, but upon his overthrow *Diodorus* was punished for his crimes. Many accusations were simultane-

ously preferred against him: but, unable to endure disgrace, he basely destroyed himself in my native city by abstaining from food.

Adramyttium produced Xenocles, a distinguished orator, who adopted the Asiatic style of eloquence and was remarkable for the vehemence of his manner; he defended Asia before the senate, at the time when that province was accused of favouring the party of Mithridates.

67. Near Astyra is a lake called Sapra, full of deep holes, that empties itself by a ravine among ridges of rocks on the coast. Below Andeira is a temple dedicated to the Andeirenian Mother of the gods, and a cave with a subterraneous passage extending to Palæa. Palæa is a settlement distant 130 stadia from Andeira. A goat, which fell into the opening, discovered the subterraneous passage. It was found at Andeira the next day, accidentally, by the shepherd, who had gone there to a sacrifice.

Atarneus¹ is the royal seat of Hermeas the tyrant. Next is Pitane, an Æolian city, with two harbours, and the river Euenus flowing beside it, which supplies the aqueduct of the Adramyttium with water.

Arcesilaus of the Academy was a native of Pitane, and a fellow-disciple of Zeno of Citium in the school of Polemo.

There is a place in Pitane called "Atarneus under Pitane," opposite to the island called Elæussa.

It is said that at Pitane bricks float upon the water, as was the case with a small island² in Tyrrhenia, for the earth, being lighter than an equal bulk of water, swims upon it. Poseidonius says, that he saw in Spain bricks made of an argillaceous earth (with which silver vessels are cleansed) floating upon water.

After Pitane the Caïcus³ empties itself, at the distance of 30 stadia from it, into the Elaïtic bay. Beyond the Caïcus, at the distance of 12 stadia from the river, is Elæa, an Æolian city; it is a naval arsenal of Pergamum, and distant from it 120 stadia.

¹ Dikelî-koi.

² For *νησις* Meineke reads *γη τις*, "a certain earth." Pliny, b. ii. c. 95 speaks of islands "which are always floating;" something of the kind occurs in volcanic lakes.

³ Ak-su or Bakir.

68. At 100 stadia farther is Cane, the promontory opposite to Lectum, and forming the gulf of Adramyttium, of which the Elaïtic Gulf is a part. Canæ is a small city of the Locrians who came from Cynus; it is situated in the Canæan territory, opposite the most southerly extremities of Lesbos. This territory extends to the Arginnusæ, and the promontory above, which some call Æga, or the goat. The second syllable however must be pronounced long, Aigan, like Actan and Archan, for this was the name of the whole mountain, which at present is called Cane, or Canæ.¹ The sea surrounds the mountain on the south and west; towards the east the plain of Caïcus lies below, and on the north the Elaïtic district. The mountain itself is very much contracted. It inclines indeed towards the Ægæan Sea, from which it has the name (Æga), but afterwards the promontory itself was called Æga, the name which Sappho gives it, and then Cane and Canæ.

¹ It is difficult to clear up this passage ἦν ΑΙΓΑ τινὲς ὀνομάζουσιν ὀμωνύμως τῷ ξώφ· δεῖ δὲ μακρῶς τὴν δευτέραν συλλαβὴν ἐκφέρειν ΑΙΓΑΝ ὡς ΑΚΤΑΝ καὶ ΑΡΧΑΝ. There is no doubt that the first of these words in capitals, to be homonymous with *goat*, should be αἶγα, as is read in the old editions, and in many manuscripts, and not αἰγᾶ, αἰγά, or αἰγάν, as in others. Αἶγα is the accusative of Αἶξ, (Æx,) a *goat*, which name Artemidorus actually gives to this promontory. But as our language has no termination of cases, the passage requires some explanation. If the Greeks desired to express in the nominative case the position of the promontory with respect to the island of Lesbos, they would say, according to Artemidorus, *The cape Æx (Αἶξ) is in front of Lesbos*; according to Strabo, *The cape Æga (Αἰγᾶ) is in front of Lesbos*. The first, Æx, signifies a *goat*, as Artemidorus intended; the second, Æga, in the Doric dialect (for Æge, Αἰγῆ) means a *goat's skin*. If they desired to employ the word in the accusative, they said, according to Artemidorus, *We have doubled Cape Æga (Αἶγα)*; according to Strabo, *We have doubled Cape Ægan (Αἰγᾶν)*. The matter is clear thus far, but what follows, δεῖ δὲ μακρῶς * * * ὡς ἀκτᾶν καὶ ἀρχᾶν, is difficult to explain. The two last words are Doric genitive plurals, the first for ἀκτῶν, *shores*, the second for ἀρχῶν, *beginnings*; and yet one would expect to find examples of accusatives in the singular number, as ἀκτάν and ἀρχάν; the difference of accent is here of no importance, for the last syllables of these accusatives are long, as Strabo wishes to make the last syllable long of Ægan (Αἰγᾶν). If he had required examples agreeing with this last word in quantity, accent, and case, he might have cited sycan, (συκᾶν, a fig-tree,) or some other word of this form. It might be supposed that ἀκτᾶν was here taken in the acceptance [ἀκτέην, ἀκτῆν, and, in the Doric dialect, ἀκτᾶν]; but there still remains ἀρχᾶν, unless we change the word to ἀρχτᾶν, a *bear's skin*.—Corajj.

69. Between Elæa, Pitane, Atarneus, and Pergamum on this side the Caïcus, is Teuthrania, distant from none of these places above 70 stadia. Teuthras is said to have been king of the Cilicians and Mysians. According to Euripides, Auge, with her son Telephus, was enclosed in a chest and thrown into the sea, by command of her father Aleus, who discovered that she had been violated by Hercules. By the care of Minerva the chest crossed the sea, and was cast ashore at the mouth of the Caïcus. Teuthras took up the mother and her son, married the former, and treated the latter as his own child. This is a fable, but another concurrence of circumstances is wanting to explain how the daughter of the Arcadian became the wife of the king of the Mysians, and how her son succeeded to the throne of the Mysians. It is however believed that Teuthras and Telephus governed the country lying about Teuthrania and the Caïcus, but the poet mentions a few particulars only of this history :

“as when he slew the son of Telephus, the hero Eurypylyus, and many of his companions, the Cetæi, were killed around him for the sake of the gifts of women.”¹

Homer here rather proposes an enigma than a clear meaning. For we do not know who the Cetæi were, nor what people we are to understand by this name, nor what is meant by the words, “for the sake of the gifts of women.”² Grammarians adduce and compare with this other trifling stories, but they indulge in invention rather than solve the difficulty.

70. Let us dismiss this doubtful matter, and turn to what is more certain ; for instance, according to Homer, Eurypylyus appears to have been king of the places about the Caïcus, so that perhaps a part of the Cilicians were his subjects, and that there were not only two but three dynasties among that people.

This opinion is supported by the circumstance that in the Elaïtis there is a small river, like a winter torrent, of the name of Ceteium. This falls into another like it, then again

¹ Od. xi. 521.

² Eurypylyus, son of Telephus, being invited by Priam to come to his assistance, answered that he could not do so without the permission of his mother, Astyoche. Priam by rich presents obtained from her this permission. There are other explanations equally uncertain. Bryant asserts that the Cetæi were pirates, and exacted young women as tribute from the people whom they attacked.

into another, but all discharge themselves into the Caïcus. The Caïcus does not flow from Ida, as Bacchylides says, nor does Euripides say correctly that Marsyas

“inhabited the famous Celænæ, at the extremity of Ida,”

for Celænæ is at a great distance from Ida, and so are the sources of the Caïcus, for they are to be seen in the plain.

There is a mountain, Temnum, which separates this and the plain of Asia; it lies in the interior above the plain of Thebe. A river, Mysius, flows from Temnum and enters the Caïcus below its source. Hence some persons suppose that Æschylus refers to it in the beginning of the prologue to the play of the Myrmidons,

“Caïcus, and ye Mysian streams”—

Near its source is a village called Gergitha, to which Attalus transferred the inhabitants of Gergitha in the Troad, after destroying their own stronghold.

CHAPTER II.

1. SINCE Lesbos, a very remarkable island, lies along and opposite to the sea-coast, extending from Lectum to Canæ, and since it is surrounded by small islands, some of which lie beyond it, others in the space between Lesbos and the continent, it is now proper to describe them, because they are Æolian places, and Lesbos is, as it were, the capital of the Æolian cities. We shall begin where we set out to describe the coast opposite to the island.

2. In sailing from Lectum to Assos the Lesbian district begins opposite to Sigrium,¹ its northern promontory. Somewhere there is Methymna,² a city of the Lesbians, 60 stadia from the coast, between Polymedium and Assos. The whole island is 1100 stadia in circumference. The particulars are these.

From Methymna to Malia,³ the most southern promontory to those who have the island on their right hand, and to which Canæ⁴ lies directly opposite, are 340 stadia. Thence

¹ Sigri.

² Molyvo.

³ Cape Sta. Maria.

⁴ Adshane.

to Sigrum, which is the length of the island, 560 stadia, thence to Methymna 210 stadia.¹

Mitylene, the largest city, lies between Methymna and Malia, at the distance from Malia of 70 stadia, and from Canæ of 120, and as many from the Arginussæ islands,² which are three small islands near the continent, and situated near Canæ. In the interval between Mitylene and Methymna, at a village called Ægeirus in the Methymnæan territory, is the narrowest part of the island, having a passage of 20 stadia to the Pyrrhæan Euripus.³ Pyrrha⁴ is situated on the western side of Lesbos, at the distance of 100 stadia from Malia.

Mitylene has two harbours; of which the southern is a close harbour and capable of holding 50 triremes. The northern harbour is large, and deep, and protected by a mole. In front of both lies a small island, which contains a part of the city. Mitylene is well provided with everything.

3. It formerly produced celebrated men, as Pittacus, one of the Seven Wise Men; Alcæus the poet, and his brother Antimenidas, who, according to Alcæus, when fighting on the side of the Babylonians, achieved a great exploit, and extricated them from their danger by killing

“a valiant warrior, the king’s wrestler, who was four cubits in height.”

Contemporary with these persons flourished Sappho, an extraordinary woman; for at no period within memory has any woman been known at all to be compared to her in poetry.

At this period Mitylene was ruled by many tyrants, in consequence of the dissensions among the citizens. These dissensions are the subject of the poems of Alcæus called *Stasiotica* (the Seditions). One of these tyrants was Pittacus: Alcæus inveighed against him as well as against Myrsilus, Melanchrus the Cleanactidæ, and some others; nor was he

¹ This is the number given in Agathermus, and there is no difference in manuscripts in this part of the text. Falconer thinks we ought to read *χιλίων ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα* (1110) for *χιλίων ἑκατὸν* (1100), to make the sum-total given agree with the sum-total of the particular distances. I am more inclined to deduct 10 stadia from the 210, which is the distance given between Sigrum and Methymne.—*Corajj*.

² Arginusi Islands; according to others, Musconisia.

³ The entrance to the Gulf of Caloni.

⁴ Pira.

himself clear from the imputation of favouring these political changes. Pittacus himself employed monarchical power to dissolve the despotism of the many, but, having done this, he restored the independence of the city.

At a late period afterwards appeared Diophanes the rhetorician; in our times Potamo, Lesbocles, Crinagoras, and Theophanes the historian.¹ The latter was versed in political affairs, and became the friend of Pompey the Great, chiefly on account of his accomplishments and assistance he afforded in directing to a successful issue all his enterprises. Hence, partly by means of Pompey, partly by his own exertions, he became an ornament to his country, and rendered himself the most illustrious of all the Grecians. He left a son, Mark (Macer?) Pompey, whom Augustus Cæsar appointed prefect of Asia, and who is now reckoned among the number of the chief friends of Tiberius.

The Athenians were in danger of incurring irremediable disgrace by passing a decree that all the Mitylenæans who had attained the age of puberty should be put to death. They, however, recalled their resolution, and the counter-decree reached their generals only one day before the former order was to be executed.

4. Pyrrha is in ruins. But the suburb is inhabited, and has a port, whence to Mitylene is a passage of 80 stadia. Next after Pyrrha is Eressus.² It is situated upon a hill, and extends to the sea. Thence to Sigrium 28 stadia.

Eressus was the birth-place of Theophrastus, and of Phantias, Peripatetic philosophers, disciples of Aristotle. Theophrastus was called Tyrtamus before his name was changed by Aristotle to Theophrastus, thus getting rid of the cacophony of the former name, and at the same time expressing the

¹ Diophanes was the friend of Tiberius Gracchus, and was the victim of his friendship. Potamo was professor of rhetoric at Rome, and was the author of the Perfect Orator, the Life of Alexander the Great, the Praise of Cæsar, the Praise of Brutus, and the Annals of Samos. Pliny mentions a sculptor of the name of Lesbocles, whose name seems to indicate his origin from Lesbos. Athenæus also names a sculptor from Mitylene called Lesbothemis. Strabo is probably the only person who makes mention of Crinagoras. Theophanes is known as an historian, and especially as the friend of Pompey, whom however he advised to retire to Egypt. The philosopher Lesbomarch, father of Potamo, was a native of Mitylene.

² Eresso.

beauty of his elocution, for Aristotle made all his disciples eloquent, but Theophrastus the most eloquent of them all.

Antissa¹ is next to Sigrium. It is a city with a harbour. Then follows Methymna, of which place Arion was a native, who, as Herodotus relates the story, after having been thrown into the sea by pirates, escaped safe to Tænarum on the back of a dolphin. He played on the cithara and sang to it. Terpander, who practised the same kind of music, was a native of this island. He was the first person that used the lyre with seven instead of four strings, as is mentioned in the verses attributed to him :

“we have relinquished the song adapted to four strings, and shall cause new hymns to resound on a seven-stringed cithara.”

The historian Hellanicus, and Callias, who has commented on Sappho and Alcæus, were Lesbians.

5. Near the strait situated between Asia and Lesbos there are about twenty small islands, or, according to Timosthenes, forty. They are called Hecatonnesoi,² a compound name like Peloponnesus, the letter N being repeated by custom in such words as Myonnesus, Proconnesus, Halonnesus, so that Hecatonnesoi is of the same import as Apollonnesoi, since Apollo is called Hecatus ;³ for along the whole of this coast, as far as Tenedos, Apollo is held in the highest veneration, and worshipped under the names of Smintheus, Cillæus, Gryneus, or other appellations.

Near these islands is Pordoselene, which contains a city of the same name, and in front of this city is another island⁴ larger than this, and a city of the same name, uninhabited, in which there is a temple of Apollo.

6. Some persons, in order to avoid the indecorum couched in these names,⁵ say that we ought to read in that place Pordoselene, and to call Aspordenum, the rocky and barren mountain near Pergamum, Asporenum, and the temple there of the Mother of the gods, the temple of the Asporene Mother of the gods ; what then are we to say to the names Pordalis, Saper-

¹ To the N. E. of Sigri.

² In which are comprehended the Arginusi mentioned above.

³ According to Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Hecatonnesoi means the “hundred islands,” the word being composed not of Hecatus but of Hecaton, ἑκατόν, “a hundred,” and νῆσοι, “islands.”

⁴ The name appears to be wanting.

⁵ Derived from πορδῆ and πέρδω.

des, Perdiccas, and to this word in the verse of Simonides, "with clothes dripping with wet," (*πορδάκωσιν* for *διαβρόχοις*), and in the old comedy somewhere, "the country is *πορδακόν*, for *λιμνάζον*, or 'marshy.'"

Lesbos is at the same distance, rather less than 500 stadia, from Tenedos, Lemnos, and Chios.

CHAPTER III.

I. SINCE there subsisted so great an affinity among the Leleges and Cilicians with the Trojans, the reason is asked, why these people are not included in Homer's Catalogue. Perhaps it is that, on account of the loss of their leaders and the devastation of the cities, the few Cilicians that were left placed themselves under the command of Hector. For Eetion and his sons are said to have been killed before the Catalogue is mentioned ;

"The hero Achilles,"

says Andromache,

"killed my father, and destroyed Thebe, with its lofty gates, the city of the Cilicians."—

"I had seven brothers in the palace ; all of them went in one day to Hades, for they were all slain by the swift-footed divine Achilles."¹

Those also under the command of Mynes had lost their leaders, and their city ;

"He slew Mynes, and Epistrophus,
And destroyed the city of the divine Mynes."²

He describes the Leleges as present at the battles ; when he says,

"on the sea-coast are Carians, and Pæonians with curved bows, Leleges, and Caucones."³

And in another place,

"he killed Satnius with a spear—the son of Enops, whom a beautiful nymph Neis bore to Enops, when he was tending herds near the banks of Satnioeis,"⁴

for they had not been so completely annihilated as to prevent

¹ Il. vi. 414, 421.

² Il. ii. 692 ; xix. 296.

³ Il. x. 428.

⁴ Il. xiv. 443.

their forming a body of people of themselves, since their king still survived,

“Altes, king of the war-loving Leleges,”¹

nor was the city entirely razed, for he adds,

“who commanded the lofty city Pedasus on the Satnioeis.”²

He has passed them over in the Catalogue, not considering the body of people large enough to have a place in it; or he comprised them among the people under the command of Hector, as being allied to one another. For Lycaon, the brother of Hector, says,

“my mother Laothœ, daughter of the old Altes, brought me into the world to live but a short time; of Altes, king of the war-loving Leleges.”³

Such is the reasoning, from probability, which this subject admits.

2. We reason from probability when we endeavour to determine by the words of the poet the exact bounds of the territory of the Cilicians, Pelasgi, and of the people situated between them, namely, the Ceteii, who were under the command of Eurypylus.

We have said of the Cilicians and of the people under the command of Eurypylus what can be said about them, and that they are bounded by the country near the Caïcus.

It is agreeable to probability to place the Pelasgi next to these people, according to the words of Homer and other histories. Homer says,

“Hippothus led the tribes of the Pelasgi, who throw the spear, who inhabited the fertile Larisa; their leaders were Hippothus and Pylæus, a son of Mars, both sons of Lethus the Pelasgian, son of Teutamis.”⁴

He here represents the numbers of Pelasgi as considerable, for he does not speak of them as a tribe, but “tribes,” and specifies the place of their settlement, Larisa. There are many places of the name of Larisa, but we must understand some one of those near the Troad, and perhaps we might not be wrong in supposing it to be that near Cyme; for of three places of the name of Larisa, that near Hamaxitus is quite in sight of Ilium and very near it, at the distance of about 200 stadia, so that Hippothus could not be said consistently with probability to fall, in the contest about Patroclus.

¹ Il. xxi. 86.

² Il. xxi. 87.

³ Il. xxi. 84.

⁴ I. ii. 840

“far from Larisa,”¹

at least from this Larisa, but rather from the Larisa near Cyme, for there are about 1000 stadia between them. The third Larisa is a village in the Ephesian district in the plain of the Cayster; which, it is said, was formerly a city containing a temple of Apollo Larisæus, and situated nearer to Mount Tmolus than to Ephesus. It is distant from Ephesus 180 stadia, so that it might be placed rather under the government of the Mæonians. The Ephesians, having afterwards acquired more power, deprived the Mæonians, whom we now call Lydians, of a large part of their territory; but not even this, but the other rather, would be the Larisa of the Pelasgi. For we have no strong evidence that the Larisa in the plain of Cayster was in existence at that time, nor even of the existence of Ephesus. But all the Æolian history, relating to a period a little subsequent to the Trojan times, proves the existence of the Larisa near Cyme.

3. It is said that the people who set out from Phricium, a Locrian mountain above Thermopylæ, settled on the spot where Cyme is now situated; and finding the Pelasgi, who had been great sufferers in the Trojan war, yet still in possession of Larisa, distant about 70 stadia from Cyme, erected as a defence against them what is at present called Neon-teichos, (or the New Wall,) 30 stadia from Larisa. They took Larisa,² founded Cyme, and transferred to it as settlers the surviving Pelasgi. Cyme is called Cyme Phriconis from the Locrian mountain, and Larisa also (Phriconis): it is now deserted.

That the Pelasgi were a great nation, history, it is said, furnishes other evidence. For Menecrates of Elæa, in his work on the foundation of cities, says, that the whole of the present Ionian coast, beginning from Mycale and the neighbouring islands, were formerly inhabited by Pelasgi. But the Lesbians say, that they were commanded by Pylæus, who is called by the poet the chief of the Pelasgi, and that it was from him that the mountain in their country had the name of Pylæum.

The Chians also say, that the Pelasgi from Thessaly were

¹ Il. xvii. 301.

² Kramer adopts Coray's correction of ἐλόντας for ἐλθόντας, although he at the same time remarks, that we have no other information of Larisa being then taken.

their founders. The Pelasgi, however, were a nation disposed to wander, ready to remove from settlement to settlement, and experienced both a great increase and a sudden diminution of strength and numbers, particularly at the time of the Æolian and Ionian migrations to Asia.

4. Something peculiar took place among the Larisæans in the plain of the Caÿster, in the Phriconis, and in Thessaly. All of them occupied a country, the soil of which has been accumulated by rivers, by the Caÿster,¹ the Hermus,² and the Peneus.³

At Larisa Phriconis Piasus is said to receive great honours. He was chief of the Pelasgi, and enamoured, it is said, of his daughter Larisa, whom he violated, and was punished for the outrage. She discovered him leaning over a cask of wine, seized him by his legs, lifted him up, and dropped him down into the vessel. These are ancient accounts.

5. To the present Æolian cities we must add Ægæ and Temnus, the birth-place of Hermagoras, who wrote a book on the Art of Rhetoric.

These cities are on the mountainous country which is above the district of Cyme, and that of the Phocæans and Smyrnæans, beside which flows the Hermus.

Not far from these cities is Magnesia under Sipylus, made a free city by a decree of the Romans. The late earthquakes have injured this place. To the opposite parts, which incline towards the Caïcus to Cyme from Larisa, in passing to which the river Hermus is crossed, are 70 stadia; thence to Myrina 40 stadia; thence to Grynium 40 stadia, and thence to Elæa. But, according to Artemidorus, next to Cyme is Adæ; then, at the distance of 40 stadia, a promontory, which is called Hydra, and forms the Elaïtic Gulf with the opposite promontory Harmatus. The breadth of the entrance is about 80 stadia, including the winding of the bays. Myrina, situated at 60 stadia, is an Æolian city with a harbour, then the harbour of Achæans, where are altars of the twelve gods; next is Grynium, a small city [of the Myrinæans], a temple of Apollo, an ancient oracle, and a costly fane of white marble. To Myrina are 40 stadia; then 70 stadia to Elæa, which has a harbour and a station for vessels of the Attalic kings, founded

¹ Kara-su, or Kutschuk-Meinder.

² Sarabat.

³ Salambria.

by Menestheus and the Athenians who accompanied him in the expedition against Ilium.

The places about Pitane, and Atarneus, and others in this quarter, which follow Elæa, have been already described.

6. Cyme is the largest and best of the Æolian cities. This and Lesbos may be considered the capitals of the other cities, about 30 in number, of which not a few exist no longer. The inhabitants of Cyme are ridiculed for their stupidity, for, according to some writers, it is said of them that they only began to let the tolls of the harbour three hundred years after the foundation of their city, and that before this time the town had never received any revenue of the kind; hence the report that it was late before they perceived that they inhabited a city lying on the sea.

There is another story, that, having borrowed money in the name of the state, they pledged their porticos as security for the payment of it. Afterwards, the money not having been repaid on the appointed day, they were prohibited from walking in them. The creditors, through shame, gave notice by the crier whenever it rained, that the inhabitants might take shelter under the porticos. As the crier called out, "Go under the porticos," a report prevailed that the Cymæans did not perceive that they were to go under the porticos when it rained unless they had notice from the public crier.¹

Ephorus, a man indisputably of high repute, a disciple of Isocrates the orator, was a native of this city. He was an historian, and wrote the book on Inventions.

Hesiod the poet, who long preceded Ephorus, was a native of this place, for he himself says, that his father Dius left Cyme in Æolis and migrated to the Bœotians;

"he dwelt near Helicon in Ascrea, a village wretched in winter, in summer oppressive, and not pleasant at any season."

¹ In spite of the improbability of these anecdotes, there must have been something real in the dulness of the Cymæans; for Cymæan was employed by the Greeks as a word synonymous with stupid. Cæsar, among the Romans, (Plutarch, Cæsar,) adopted this name in the same sense. This stupidity gave occasion to a proverb, *ὄνος εἰς κυμαίους*, an ass among the Cymæans, which was founded on the following story. The first time an ass appeared among the Cymæans, the inhabitants, who were unacquainted with the beast, deserted the town with such precipitation that it might be said they were escaping from an earthquake.

It is not generally admitted that Homer was from Cyme, for many dispute about him.

The name of the city was derived from an Amazon, as that of Myrina was the name of an Amazon, buried under the Baticia in the plain of Troy;

“men call this Baticia; but the immortals, the tomb of the bounding Myrina.”¹

Ephorus is bantered, because, having no achievements of his countrymen to commemorate among the other exploits in his history, and yet being unwilling to pass them over unnoticed, he exclaims,

“at this time the Cymæans were at peace.”

After having described the Trojan and Æolian coasts, we ought next to notice cursorily the interior of the country as far as Mount Taurus, observing the same order.

CHAPTER IV.

1. PERGAMUM² has a kind of supremacy among these places. It is a city of note, and flourished during a long period under the Attalic kings; and here we shall begin our description, premising a short account of her kings, their origin, and the end of their career.

Pergamum was the treasure-hold of Lysimachus, the son of Agathocles, and one of the successors of Alexander. It is situated on the very summit of the mountain which terminates in a sharp peak like a pine-cone. Philetærus of Tyana was intrusted with the custody of this strong-hold, and of the treasure, which amounted to nine thousand talents. He became an eunuch in childhood by compression, for it happened that a great body of people being assembled to see a funeral, the nurse who was carrying Philetærus, then an infant, in her arms, was entangled in the crowd, and pressed upon to such a degree that the child was mutilated.

He was therefore an eunuch, but having been well educated he was thought worthy of this trust. He continued for

¹ Il. ii. 814.

² Bergamo.

some time well affected to Lysimachus, but upon a disagreement with Arsinoë, the wife of Lysimachus, who had falsely accused him, he caused the place to revolt, and suited his political conduct to the times, perceiving them to be favourable to change. Lysimachus, overwhelmed with domestic troubles, was compelled to put to death Agathocles his son. Seleucus Nicator invaded his country and destroyed his power, but was himself treacherously slain by Ptolemy Ceraunus.

During these disorders the eunuch remained in the fortress, continually employing the policy of promises and other courtesies with those who were the strongest and nearest to himself. He thus continued master of the strong-hold for twenty years.

2. He had two brothers, the elder of whom was Eumenes, the younger Attalus. Eumenes had a son of the same name, who succeeded to the possession of Pergamum, and was then sovereign of the places around, so that he overcame in a battle near Sardes¹ Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, and died after a reign of two-and-twenty years.

Attalus, the son of Attalus and Antiochis, daughter of Achæus, succeeded to the kingdom. He was the first person who was proclaimed king after a victory, which he obtained in a great battle with the Galatians. He became an ally of the Romans, and, in conjunction with the Rhodian fleet, assisted them in the war against Philip. He died in old age, having reigned forty-three years. He left four sons by Apollonis, a woman of Cyzicus,—Eumenes, Attalus, Philetærus, and Athenæus. The younger sons continued in a private station, but Eumenes, the elder, was king. He was an ally of the Romans in the war with Antiochus the Great, and with Perseus; he received from the Romans all the country within the Taurus which had belonged to Antiochus. Before this time there were not under the power of Pergamum many places which reached to the sea at the Elaitic and the Adramyttene Gulfs. Eumenes embellished the city, he ornamented the Nicephorium² with a grove, enriched it with votive offer-

¹ Sart.

² A building raised in commemoration of a victory. It was destroyed by Philip of Macedon, Polyb. xvi. 1. It appears, however, that he restored it to its ancient splendour, as forty-five years afterwards it was

ings and a library, and by his care raised the city of Pergamum to its present magnificence. After he had reigned forty-nine years he left the kingdom to Attalus, his son by Stratonice, daughter of Ariarathus, king of Cappadocia.

He appointed as guardian of his son, who was very young,¹ and as regent of the kingdom, his brother Attalus, who died an old man after a reign of twenty years, having performed many glorious actions. He assisted Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, in the war against Alexander, the son of Antiochus, and was the ally of the Romans in the war against the Pseudo-Philip. In an expedition into Thrace he defeated and took prisoner Diegylis, king of the Cæni.² He destroyed Prusias by exciting his son Nicomedes to rebel against his father. He left the kingdom to Attalus his ward. His cognomen was Philometor. He reigned five years, and died a natural death. He left the Romans his heirs.³ They made the country a province, and called it Asia by the name of the continent.

The Caïcus flows past Pergamum through the plain of Caïcus, as it is called, and traverses a very fertile country, indeed almost the best soil in Mysia.

3. The celebrated men in our times, natives of Pergamum, were Mithridates, the son of Menodotus and the daughter of Adobogion; he was of the family of the Tetrarchs of Galatia. Adobogion, it is said, had been the concubine of Mithridates the king; the relatives therefore gave to the child the name of Mithridates, pretending that he was the king's son.

This prince became so great a friend of Divus Cæsar, that he was promoted to the honour of Tetrarch (of Galatia) out of regard to his mother's family; he was appointed also king of Bosphorus and of other places. He was overthrown by Asander, who put to death Pharnaces the king and obtained

devastated a second time by Prusias, king of Bithynia, which Strabo notices hereafter.

¹ The circumstances are differently narrated by Plutarch "On brotherly love," and by Livy, xlii. c. 15 and 16.

² Diegylis, king of the Cæni, a Thracian people, was the father-in-law of Prusias.

³ Aristonicus, brother of Attalus, and a natural son of Eumenes, for some time contended with the Romans for the possession of this inheritance; but finally he was vanquished and made prisoner by the consul Perperna, carried to Rome, and there died in prison. B. xiv. c. i. § 38

possession of the Bosphorus. He had a great reputation as well as Apollodorus the rhetorician, who composed a work on the Art of Rhetoric, and was the head of the Apollodorian sect of philosophers, whatever that may be; for many opinions have prevailed, the merits of which are beyond our power to decide upon, among which are those of the sects of Apollodorus and Theodorus.

But the friendship of Augustus Cæsar, whom he instructed in oratory, was the principal cause of the elevation of Apollodorus. He had a celebrated scholar Dionysius, surnamed Atticus, his fellow-citizen, who was an able teacher of philosophy, an historian, and composer of orations.

4. Proceeding from the plain and the city towards the east, we meet with Apollonia, a city on an elevated site. To the south is a mountainous ridge, which having crossed on the road to Sardes, we find on the left hand the city Thyateira, a colony of the Macedonians, which some authors say is the last city belonging to the Mysians. On the right hand is Apollonis, 300 stadia from Pergamum, and the same distance from Sardes. It has its name from Apollonis of Cyzicus (wife of Attalus). Next are the plains of Hermus and Sardes. The country to the north of Pergamum is principally occupied by Mysians; it lies on the right hand of the people called Abaitæ, on whose borders is the Epictetus, extending to Bithynia.

5. Sardes is a large city, of later date than the Trojan times, yet ancient, with a strong citadel. It was the royal seat of the Lydians, whom the poet calls Meones, and later writers Mæones, some asserting that they are the same; others that they are a different people, but the former is the preferable opinion.

Above Sardes is the Tmolus, a fertile mountain having on its summit a seat¹ of white marble, a work of the Persians. There is a view from it of the plains around; particularly of that of the Cayster. There dwell about it Lydians, Mysians, and Macedonians.²

¹ ἐξέδρα. The exhedra was that part of the building added to the portico, and, according to Vitruvius, when spacious it consisted of three parts, and was provided with seats. It probably here means a place for sitting and resting, protected by a covering supported by columns, so as to afford a view all round.

² Pliny also places Macedonians, surnamed Cadueni, near Tmolus. B. y. c. 29.

The Pactolus flows from the Tmolus.¹ It anciently brought down a large quantity of gold-dust, whence, it is said, the proverbial wealth of Cræsus and his ancestors obtained renown. No gold-dust is found at present. The Pactolus descends into the Hermus, into which also the Hyllus, now called Phrygius, discharges itself. These three and other less considerable rivers unite in one stream, and, according to Herodotus, empty themselves into the sea at Phocæa.

The Hermus takes its rise in Mysia, descending from the sacred mountain of Dindymene; after traversing the Catacecaumene, it enters the Sardian territory, and passes through the contiguous plains to the sea, mentioned above. Below the city lie the plains of Sardes, of the Cyrus, of the Hermus, and of the Caÿster, which are contiguous to one another and the most fertile anywhere to be found.

At the distance of 40 stadia from the city is the lake Gygæa, as it is called by the poet.² Its name was afterwards altered to Coloë. Here was a temple of Artemis Coloëne, held in the highest veneration. It is said that at the feasts celebrated here the baskets dance.³ I know not whether this is circulated as a strange story, or as truth.

6. The verses in Homer are to this effect,

“Mesthles and Antiphus, sons of Talæmenes, born of the lake Gygæa, were the leaders of the Meones, who live below Tmolus.”⁴

Some persons add a fourth verse to these,

“below snowy Tmolus, in the rich district of Hyde.”

But no Hyde⁵ is to be found among the Lydians. Others make this the birth-place of Tychius, mentioned by the poet,

“he was the best leather-cutter in Hyde.”⁶

They add that the place is woody, and frequently struck with lightning, and that here also were the dwellings of the Arimi; for to this verse,

“Among the Arimi, where they say is the bed of Typhoëus,”⁷

¹ Bouz-dagh.

² Il. ii. 865.

³ Some pretended miracle relating probably to the baskets carried by the virgins on their heads at festivals.

⁴ Il. ii. 864.

⁵ B. ix.

⁶ Il. vii. 221.

⁷ Il. ii. 783.

they add the following,

“in a woody country, in the rich district of Hyde.”

Some lay the scene of the last fable in Cilicia, others in Syria, others among the Pithecussæ (islands),¹ who say that the Pitheci (or monkeys) are called by the Tyrrhenians Arimi. Some call Sardes Hyde; others give this name to its Acropolis.

The Scepsian (Demetrius) says that the opinion of those authors is most to be depended upon who place the Arimi in the Catacecaumene in Mysia. But Pindar associates the Pithecussæ which lie in front of the Cymæan territory and Sicily with Cilicia, for the poet says that Typhon lay beneath Ætna;

“Once he dwelt in far-famed Cilician caverns, but now Sicily, and the sea-girt isle, o’ershadowing Cyme, press upon his shaggy breast.”²

And again,

“O’er him lies Ætna, and in her vast prison holds him.”

And again,

“’Twas the great Jove alone of gods that o’erpowered, with resistless force, the fifty-headed monster Typhon, of yore among the Arimi.”

Others understand Syrians by the Arimi, who are now called Aramæi, and maintain that the Cilicians in the Troad migrated and settled in Syria, and deprived the Syrians of the country which is now called Cilicia.

¹ Pliny does not approve of the word Pithecussæ being derived from *πίθηκος*, a monkey; but from *πίθος*, a cask. This latter derivation is not natural, whilst the former is at least conformable to analogy. Hesychius confirms the Tyrrhenian meaning of the word Arimi, calling *Ἄριμος, πίθηκος*. The expression in Homer, *εἰν Ἄριμοις*, “among the Arimi,” (which in Roman letters would be *ein Arimis*, and which is translated into Latin by *in Arimis*,) signifies “in the Pithecussæ Islands,” according to the opinion of those who placed Typhoëus in Italy. But it is remarkable that from the two words *ein Arimis* of Homer the name *Inarimis* has been invented; and quoted as Homer’s by Pliny (iii. 6): *Ænasia ipsa, a statione navium Æneæ, Homero Inarime dicta, Græcis Pithecussa, non a simiarum multitudine, ut aliqui existimavere sed a figlinis doliorum*. It is not Homer, however, that he ought to have quoted, but Virgil, who was the first to coin one word out of the two Greek words.

Inarine Jovis imperiis imposta Typhoëo. Æn. ix. 716.
The modern name is Ischia.

² Pyth. i. 31.

Callisthenes says, that the Arimi from whom the mountains in the neighbourhood have the name of Arima, are situated near the Calycadnus,¹ and the promontory Sarpedon close to the Corycian cave.

7. The monuments of the kings lie around the lake Coloë. At Sardes is the great mound of Alyattes upon a lofty base, the work, according to Herodotus,² of the people of the city, the greatest part of it being executed by young women. He says that they all prostituted themselves; according to some writers the sepulchre is the monument of a courtesan.

Some historians say, that Coloë is an artificial lake, designed to receive the superabundant waters of the rivers when they are full and overflow.

Hypæpa³ is a city situated on the descent from Tmolus to the plain of the Caÿster.

8. Callisthenes says that Sardes was taken first by Cimmerians, then by Treres and Lycians, which Callinus also, the elegiac poet, testifies, and that it was last captured in the time of Cyrus and Cræsus. When Callinus says that the incursion of the Cimmerians when they took Sardes was directed against the Esioneis, the Scepsian (Demetrius) supposes the Asioneis to be called by him Esioneis, according to the Ionian dialect; for perhaps Meonia, he says, was called Asia, as Homer describes the country,

“in the Asian meadows about the streams of Caÿster.”⁴

The city, on account of the fertility of the country, was afterwards restored, so as to be a considerable place, and was inferior to none of its neighbours; lately it has lost a great part of its buildings by earthquakes. But Sardes, and many other cities which participated in this calamity about the same time, have been repaired by the provident care and beneficence of Tiberius the present emperor.

9. The distinguished natives of Sardes were two orators of the same name and family, the Diodori; the elder of whom was called Zonas, who had pleaded the cause of Asia in many suits. At the time of the invasion of Mithridates the king, he was accused of occasioning the revolt of the cities from him, but in his defence he cleared himself of the charge.

The younger Diodorus was my friend; there exist of his

¹ Ke'ikdni.

² Herod. i. 93.

³ Tapoi.

⁴ Il. ii. 461.

historical writings, odes, and poems of other kinds, which very much resemble the style of the ancients.

Xanthus, the ancient historian, is said to be a Lydian, but whether of Sardes I do not know.

10. After the Lydians are the Mysians, and a city Philadelphia, subject to constant earthquakes. The walls of the houses are incessantly opening, and sometimes one, sometimes another, part of the city is experiencing some damage. The majority of people (for few persons live in the city) pass their lives in the country, employing themselves in agriculture, and cultivate a good soil. Yet it is surprising that there should be even a few persons so much attached to a place where their dwellings are insecure; but one may marvel more at those who founded the city.

11. Next is the tract of country called the Catacecaumene, extending 500 stadia in length, and in breadth 400. It is uncertain whether it should be called Mysia or Meonia, for it has both names. The whole country is devoid of trees, excepting vines, from which is obtained the Catacecaumenite wine; it is not inferior in quality to any of the kinds in repute. The surface of the plains is covered with ashes, but the hilly and rocky part is black, as if it were the effect of combustion. This, as some persons imagine, was the effect of thunder-bolts and of fiery tempests, nor do they hesitate to make it the scene of the fable of Typhon. Xanthus even says that a certain Arimus was king of these parts. But it is unreasonable to suppose that so large a tract of country was all at once consumed; it is more natural to suppose that the effect was produced by fire generated in the soil, the sources of which are now exhausted. Here are to be seen three pits, which are called Physæ, or breathing holes, situated at the distance of 40 stadia from each other. Above are rugged hills, which probably consist of masses of matter thrown up by blasts of air (from the pits).

That ground of this kind should be well adapted to vines, may be conceived from the nature of the country Catana,¹ which was a mass of cinders, but which now produces excellent wine, and in large quantity.

Some persons, in allusion to such countries as these, wittily observe that Bacchus is properly called Pyrigenes, or fire-born.

¹ Catania.

12. The places situated next to these towards the south, and extending to Mount Taurus, are so intermixed, that parts of Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Mysia running into one another are difficult to be distinguished. The Romans have contributed not a little to produce this confusion, by not dividing the people according to tribes, but following another principle have arranged them according to jurisdictions, in which they have appointed days for holding courts and administering justice.

The Tmolus is a well compacted mass of mountain,¹ of moderate circumference, and its boundaries are within Lydia itself. The Mesogis begins, according to Theopompus, from Celænæ,² and extends on the opposite side as far as Mycale,³ so that Phrygians occupy one part, towards Celænæ and Apameia; Mysians and Lydians another; Carians and Ionians a third part.

So also the rivers, and particularly the Mæander, are the actual boundaries of some nations, but take their course through the middle of others, rendering accurate distinction between them difficult.

The same may be said of plains, which are found on each side of a mountainous range and on each side of a river. Our attention however is not required to obtain the same degree of accuracy as a surveyor, but only to give such descriptions as have been transmitted to us by our predecessors.

13. Contiguous on the east to the plain of Caÿster, which lies between the Mesogis and Tmolus, is the plain Cilbianum. It is extensive, well inhabited, and fertile. Then follows the Hyrcanian plain, a name given by the Persians, who brought colonists from Hyrcania (the plain of Cyrus, in like manner had its name from the Persians). Next is the Peltine plain, belonging to the Phrygians, and the Cillanian and the Tabernian plains, the latter of which contains small towns, inhabited by a mixed population of Phrygians, with a portion of Pisidians. The plains have their names from the towns.

14. After crossing the Mesogis, situated between the Cari-

¹ The range of mountains on the south of the Caÿster, bearing various names.

² Celænæ was the citadel of Apameia Cibotus, Afium-Kara hissar.

³ Cape Sta. Maria

ans¹ and the district of Nysa,² which is a tract of country beyond the Mæander, extending as far as the Cibyratis and Cabalis, we meet with cities. Near the Mesogis, opposite Laodicea,³ is Hierapolis,⁴ where are hot springs, and the Plutonium, both of which have some singular properties. The water of the springs is so easily consolidated and becomes stone, that if it is conducted through water-courses dams are formed consisting of a single piece of stone.

The Plutonium, situated below a small brow of the overhanging mountain, is an opening of sufficient size to admit a man, but there is a descent to a great depth. In front is a quadrilateral railing, about half a plethrum in circumference. This space is filled with a cloudy and dark vapour, so dense that the bottom can scarcely be discerned. To those who approach round the railing the air is innoxious, for in calm weather it is free from the cloud which then continues within the enclosure. But animals which enter within the railing die instantly. Even bulls, when brought within it, fall down and are taken out dead. We have ourselves thrown in sparrows, which immediately fell down lifeless. The Galli,⁵ who are eunuchs, enter the enclosure with impunity, approach even the opening or mouth, bend down over it, and descend into it to a certain depth, restraining their breath as much as possible, for we perceived by their countenance signs of some suffocating feeling. This exemption may be common to all eunuchs; or it may be confined to the eunuchs employed about the temple; or it may be the effect of divine care, as is probable in the case of persons inspired by the deity; or it may perhaps be procured by those who are in possession of certain antidotes.

The conversion of water into stone is said to be the property of certain rivers in Laodiceia, although the water is fit for the purpose of drinking. The water at Hierapolis is peculiarly adapted for the dyeing of wool. Substances dyed with "the roots,"⁶ rival in colour those dyed with the coccus, or

¹ Coraÿ proposes to read for Καρῶν, Καρούρων, and translates, "between Carura and Nysa."

² Sultan-hissar.

³ Eski-hissar.

⁴ Pambuk-kalessi.

⁵ They were the priests of Cybele, and so called from a river of Phrygia

⁶ Madder-root.

the marine purple. There is such an abundance of water, that there are natural baths in every part of the city.

15. After Hierapolis are the parts beyond the Mæander. Those about Laodiceia and Aphrodisias,¹ and those extending to Carura, have been already described. The places which succeed are Antioch² on the Mæander, now belonging to Caria, on the west; on the south are Cibyra the Great,³ Sinda,⁴ and Cabalis, as far as Mount Taurus and Lycia.

Antioch is a city of moderate size situated on the banks of the Mæander, at the side towards Phrygia. There is a bridge over the river. A large tract of country, all of which is fertile, on each side of the river, belongs to the city. It produces in the greatest abundance the fig of Antioch, as it is called, which is dried. It is also called Triphyllus. This place also is subject to shocks of earthquakes.

A native of this city was Diotrophes, a celebrated sophist; his disciple was Hybreas, the greatest orator of our times.

16. The Cabaleis, it is said, were Solymi. The hill situated above the Termessian fortress is called Solymus, and the Termessians themselves Solymi. Near these places is the rampart of Bellerophon and the sepulchre of Peisander his son, who fell in the battle against the Solymi. This account agrees with the words of the poet. Of Bellerophon he speaks thus,

“he fought a second time with the brave Solymi;”⁵

and of his son,

“Mars, unsated with war, killed Peisander his son fighting with the Solymi.”⁶

Termessus is a Pisidian city situated very near and immediately above Cibyra.

17. The Cibyratæ are said to be descendants of the Lydians who occupied the territory Cabalis. The city was afterwards in the possession of the Pisidians, a bordering nation, who occupied it, and transferred it to another place, very strongly fortified, the circuit of which was about 100 stadia. It flourished in consequence of the excellence of its laws. The villages belonging to it extended from Pisidia, and the bordering territory Milyas, as far as Lycia and the country opposite to Rhodes. Upon the

Geira.

² Jenedscheh.

³ Chorsum.

⁴ Dekoi.

⁵ Il. vi. 184.

⁶ Il. vi. 203.

union of the three bordering cities, Bubon,¹ Balbura,² and Oenoanda,³ the confederation was called Tetrapolis; each city had one vote, except Cibyra, which had two, for it could equip 30,000 foot soldiers and 2000 horse. It was always governed by tyrants, but they ruled with moderation. The tyrannical government terminated in the time of Moagetes. It was overthrown by Murena, who annexed Balbura and Bubon to the Lycians. Nevertheless the Cibyratic district is reckoned among the largest jurisdictions in Asia.

The Cibyratæ used four languages, the Pisidic, that of the Solymi, the Greek, and the Lydian, but of the latter no traces are now to be found in Lydia.

At Cibyra there is practised the peculiar art of carving with ease ornamental work in iron.

Milya is the mountain-range extending from the defiles near Termessus, and the passage through them to the parts within the Taurus towards Isinda, as far as Sagalassus and the country of Apameia.

¹ Ebedschek-Dirmil.

² Giaur-Kalessi.

³ Urludscha.

END OF VOL. II.

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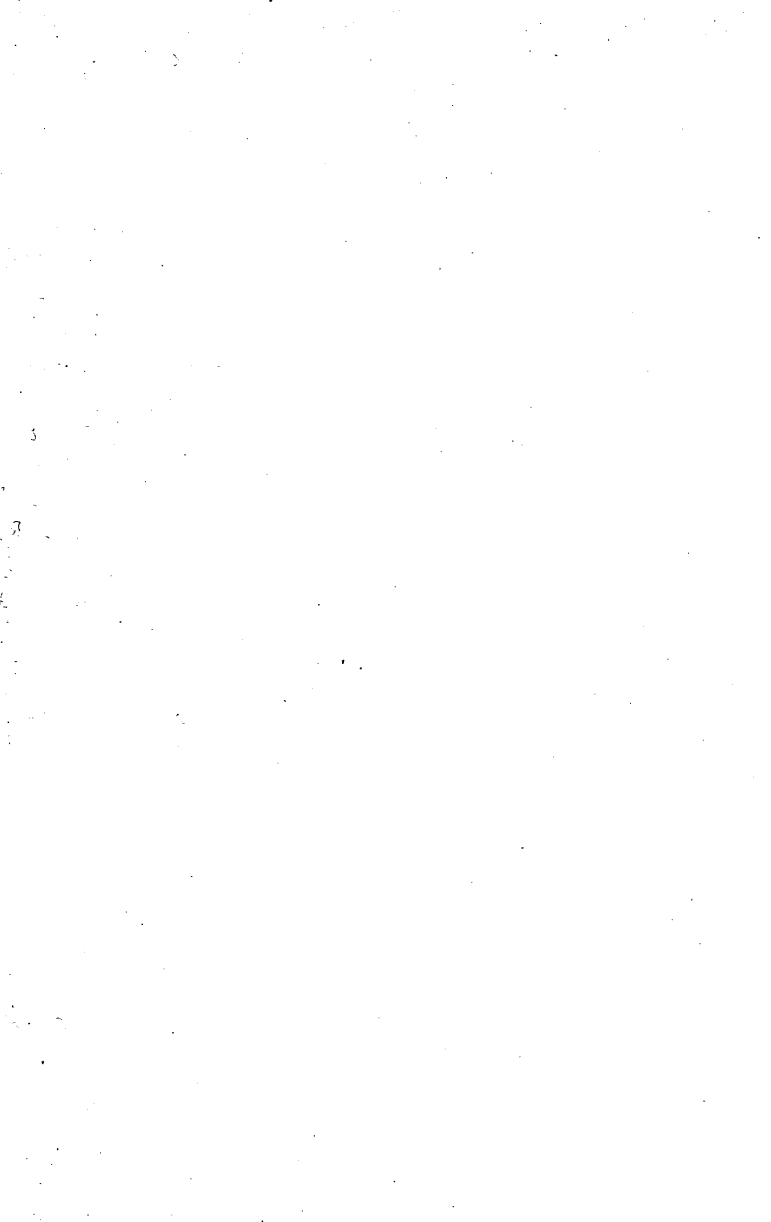
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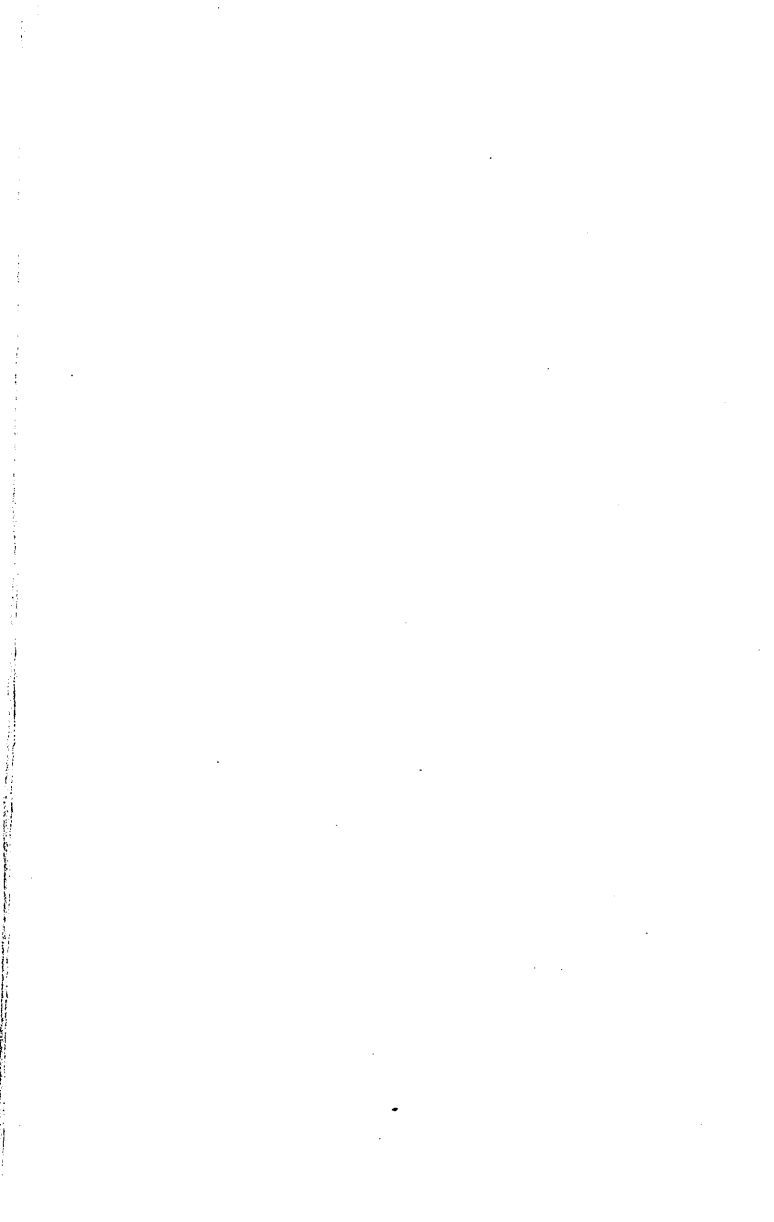
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PREFACE.

STRABO, the author of this work, was born at Amasia, or Amasijas, a town situated in the gorge of the mountains through which passes the river Iris, now the Ieschil Irmak, in Pontus, which he has described in the 12th book.¹ He lived during the reign of Augustus, and the earlier part of the reign of Tiberius; for in the 13th book² he relates how Sardes and other cities, which had suffered severely from earthquakes, had been repaired by the provident care of Tiberius the present Emperor; but the exact date of his birth, as also of his death, are subjects of conjecture only. Coraÿ and Groskurd conclude, though by a somewhat different argument, that he was born in the year B. C. 66, and the latter that he died A. D. 24. The date of his birth as argued by Groskurd, proceeds on the assumption that Strabo was in his thirty-eighth year when he went from Gyaros to Corinth, at which latter place Octavianus Cæsar was then staying on his return to Rome after the battle of Actium, B. C. 31. We may, perhaps, be satisfied with following Clinton, and place it not later than B. C. 54.

In the 17th book our author speaks of the death of Juba as a recent occurrence. This event took place A. D. 21, or A. D. 18 or 19, according to other chronologists; he, therefore, outlived that king, but for how long a period we have no means of ascertaining.

The only information which we can obtain of the personal history of Strabo is to be collected from the scanty references made to himself in the course of this work;³ for although a writer of the Augustan age, his name and his works appear

¹ Book xii. c. iii. 39. Vol. ii. page 311, 312.

² Book xiii. c. iv. § 8. Vol. ii. page 405.

³ Book x. c. iv. § 10, and book xii. c. iii. § 33. Vol. ii. pp. 197, 307, of this Translation.

to have been generally unknown to his contemporaries, and to have been passed over in silence by subsequent authors who occupied themselves with the same branch of study. The work being written in Greek, and the subject itself not of a popular kind, would be hindrances to its becoming generally known; and its voluminous character would prevent many copies being made; moreover, the author himself, although for some time a resident at Rome, appears to have made Amasia his usual place of residence, and there to have composed his work. But wherever it was, he had the means of becoming acquainted with the chief public events that took place in the Roman Empire.

It is remarkable that of his father and his father's family he is totally silent, but of his mother and her connexions he has left us some notices. She was of a distinguished family who had settled at Cnossus in Crete, and her ancestors had been intimately connected with Mithridates Euergetes and Mithridates Eupator, kings of Pontus; their fortunes consequently depended on those princes.

Dorylaüs, her great grandfather, was a distinguished officer, and friend of Euergetes; but the latter being assassinated at Sinope, whilst Dorylaüs was engaged in levying troops in Crete, he determined to remain there. In that island he obtained the highest honours, having successfully, as general of the Cnossians, terminated a war between that people and the Gortynians. He married a Macedonian lady, of the name of Sterope; the issue of which marriage was Lagetas, Stratarchas, and a daughter. He died in Crete. Lagetas had a daughter, who, says Strabo, was "the mother of my mother."

Mithridates Eupator, who succeeded to the kingdom of Pontus on the death of his father, had formed from infancy a close friendship with another Dorylaüs, son of Philetærus (brother of the first-mentioned Dorylaüs), and besides conferring on him distinguished honours, appointed him high priest of Comana Pontica. The king extended also his protection to his cousins, Lagetas and Stratarchas, who were recalled from Crete. The prosperity of the family suddenly terminated by the discovery of an intrigue carried on by Dorylaüs with the Romans, for the overthrow of his benefactor. The motives assigned by Strabo for his disaffection and treachery were the declining

prospects of the king, and the execution of his son Theophilus and a nephew Tibius.

Dorylaüs made overtures to Lucullus for the revolt of the kingdom of Pontus to the Romans, and in return received great promises of reward, which were never fulfilled. Lucullus ceased to command in the war, and was succeeded by Pompey, who, through enmity and jealousy, prevailed on the senate not to confirm the conditions entered into by his predecessor. As before observed, there is no mention of Strabo's father in the works which have come down to us. Malte-Brun, in his *Life of Strabo in the Biographie Universelle*, collects several passages tending to show that he was a Roman. The name of Strabo, or "squinting," originally Greek, was used by the Romans, and applied to the father of Pompey the Great, among others. How the geographer acquired this name is not related.

When a very young man, he received instruction in grammar and rhetoric from Aristodemus, at Nysa in Caria.¹ He afterwards studied philosophy under Xenarchus of Seleucia, the Peripatetic philosopher.² Strabo does not say whether he heard him at Seleucia in Cilicia, or at Rome, where he afterwards taught.

Strabo also attended the lessons of Tyrannio of Amisus,³ the grammarian. This must have been at Rome; for Tyrannio was made prisoner by Lucullus, B. C. 71, and carried to Rome, probably not later than B. C. 66.

In book xvi.,⁴ Strabo states that he studied the philosophy of Aristotle with Boethus of Sidon, who afterwards became a Stoic philosopher. Notwithstanding all these advantages, Strabo was not possessed of all the knowledge of his times, particularly in astronomy and mathematics, but he was well acquainted with history and the mythological traditions of his nation. He was a devout admirer of Homer, and acquainted with the other great poets.

The philosophical sect to which he belonged was the Stoic, as plainly appears from many passages in his *Geography*.

He wrote a *History*, which he describes (vol. i. p. 21) as composed in a lucid style; it is cited by Plutarch, and also by

¹ Book xiv. c. i. § 48. Vol. iii. p. 26.

² Book xiv. c. v. § 4. Vol. iii. p. 53.

³ Book xii. c. iii. § 16. Vol. ii. p. 296, 380.

⁴ c. ii. § 24. Vol. iii. p. 173.

Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities*, xiv. 7. It consisted of forty-three books, which began where the history of Polybius ended, and was probably continued to the battle of Actium. This valuable History is lost.

Strabo was a great traveller, and apparently had no professional or other occupation. We may therefore conclude that his father left him a good property. Much of his geographical information is the result of personal observation. In a passage of his 2nd book¹ he thus speaks: "Our descriptions shall consist of what we ourselves have observed in our travels by land and sea, and of what we conceive to be credible in the statements and writings of others; for in a westerly direction we have travelled from Armenia to that part of *Tyrrhenia* which is over against *Sardinia*; and southward, from the *Euxine* to the frontiers of *Ethiopia*. Of all the writers on geography, not one can be mentioned who has travelled over a wider extent of the countries described than we have. Some may have gone farther to the west, but then they have never been so far east as we have; again, others may have been farther east, but not so far west; and the same with respect to north and south. However, in the main, both we and they have availed ourselves of the reports of others, from which to describe the form, size, and other peculiarities of the country." He mentions having been in *Egypt*, the island *Gyarus*, *Populonium* near *Elba*, *Comana* in *Cappadocia*, *Ephesus*, *Mylasa*, *Nysa*, and *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*. He visited *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Athens*, and *Megara*; but, on the whole, he does not appear to have seen more of *Greece* than in passing through it on his way to *Brundisium*, while proceeding to *Rome*. *Populonium* and *Luna* in *Italy* were the limit of his travels northwards. It is probable he obtained his information as to *Spain*, *France*, *Britain*, and *Germany*, while staying at *Rome*.

The first systematic writer on geography was *Eratosthenes*, who died at the age of 80, about B. C. 196. His work consisted of three books.

There is no ground for considering the *Geography* of *Strabo* an improved edition of that of *Eratosthenes*. *Strabo's* work was intended for the information of persons in the higher departments of administration, and contains such geographical and historical information as those engaged in political em-

¹ Book ii. c. v. § 10. Vol. i. p. 176, of this Translation.

ployments cannot dispense with. Consistently with this object he avoids giving minute descriptions, except where the place is of real interest, but supplies some account of the important political events that had occurred in various countries, and sketches of the great men who had flourished or laboured in them. It is a lively, well-written book, intended to be read, and forms a striking contrast to the Geography of Ptolemy. His language is simple, appropriate to the matter, without affectation, and mostly clear and intelligible, except in those passages where the text has been corrupted. Like many other Greeks, Strabo looked upon Homer as the depository of all knowledge, but he frequently labours to interpret the poet's meaning in a manner highly uncritical. What Homer only partially knew or conjectured, Strabo has made the basis of his description, when he might have given an independent description, founded on the actual knowledge of his time: these observations apply especially to his books on Greece. He does not duly appreciate Herodotus; nor does he discriminate between the stories which Herodotus tells simply as stories he had heard, and the accounts he relates as derived from personal observation. He likewise rejects the evidence of Pytheas of Marseilles as to the northern regions of Europe, and on more than one occasion calls him a liar, although it is very certain that Pytheas coasted along the whole distance from Gadeira, now Cadiz, in Spain, to the river he calls Tanais, but which was probably the Elbe; however, from the extracts which have been preserved it seems that he did not give simply the results of his own observations, but added reports which he collected respecting distant countries, without always drawing a distinction between what he saw himself and what was derived from the report of others.

Strabo's authorities are for the most part Greek, and he seems to have neglected the Latin memoirs and historical narratives of the campaigns of the Romans, which might have furnished him with many valuable geographical facts for the countries as well of Asia as of Europe. He made some use of Cæsar's description of France, the Alps, and Britain; he alludes to the voyage of Publius Crassus in speaking of the Cassiterides, and also the writings of Asinius Pollio, Fabius Pictor, and an anonymous writer whom he calls the Chorographer; but he might have obtained much additional inform-

ation if he had taken pains to avail himself of the materials he could have procured during his stay at Rome.

Strabo considered that mathematical and astronomical knowledge was indispensable to the science of geography; he says in book i.,¹ that without some such assistance it would be impossible to be accurately acquainted with the configuration of the earth; and that every one who undertakes to give an accurate description of a place, should describe its astronomical and geometrical relations, and explain its extent, distance, latitude, and climate.² As the size of the earth, he says, has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall take for granted what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, and that bodies have a tendency towards its centre. He likewise says, the convexity of the sea is a further proof that the earth is spheroidal to those who have sailed; for they cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but if raised on high, they at once become perceptible.³ He also observes, "our gnomons are, among other things, evidence of the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and common sense at once shows us that if the depth of the earth were infinite, such a revolution could not take place."⁴ But Strabo did not consider the exact division of the earth into climates or zones, in the sense in which Hipparchus used the term, and the statement of the latitudes and longitudes of places, which in many instances were pretty well determined in his time, as essential to his geographical description.

With regard to the lost continent of Atlantis, Strabo is very cautious in criticising⁵ Poseidonius; he observes, "he did well, too, in citing the opinion of Plato, that the tradition concerning the island of Atlantis might be received as something more than a mere fiction, it having been related by Solon, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, that this island, almost as large as a continent, was formerly in existence, although now it had disappeared," and remarks that Poseidonius thought it better to quote this than to say, He who brought it into existence can also cause it to disappear, as the poet did the wall of the Achivi.

The measure adopted by Strabo was the stadium. In book

¹ Chap. i. § 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*

² Chap. i. § 13.

⁵ Book ii. c. 3, § 6. Vol. i. p. 154.

³ Chap. i. § 20.

vii. chap. vii. § 4, he says, "From Apollonia to Macedonia is the Egnatian Way; its direction is towards the east, and the distance is measured by pillars at every mile, as far as Cypselia and the river Hebrus. The whole distance is 535 miles. But reckoning, as the generality of persons do, a mile at eight stadia, there may be 4280 stadia. And, according to Polybius, who adds two plethra, which are a third of a stadium, to every eight stadia we must add 178 stadia more,—a third part of the number of miles." In book xi. chap. xi. § 5, he compares the parasang with the stadium, and states that some writers reckoned it at 60, others at 40, and others at 30 stadia.

Dr. Smith, in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities, says, "We think that Ukert has satisfactorily shown an accurate description of a place should be particular to add its astronomical and geometrical relations, explaining carefully its extent, distance, degrees of latitude, and temperature of atmosphere. He says likewise, as the size of the earth has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall take for granted that the Greeks had not different standards of length, but always used the Olympic stadium and the foot corresponding to it. He states that the stadium was equal to 600 Greek, or 625 Roman feet, or to 125 Roman paces, and the Roman mile contained 8 stadia. Hence the stadium contained 606 feet 9 inches, English. This standard prevailed throughout Greece under the name of the Olympic stadium, because it was the exact length of the stadium or foot-race course at Olympia, measured between the pillars at the two extremities of the course." Still Dr. Smith further observes, "But although the stadium and the foot connected with it were single definite measures throughout Greece, yet we find in the eastern countries, Babylon, Syria, and Egypt, and in some neighbouring Greek states, feet longer than the Olympic, the origin of which is to be explained by the coëxistence, in the Babylonian system, of a *royal* or *sacred* and a *common* foot and cubit, which were so related to one another, that the royal cubit was three finger-breadths longer than the common."

We may conclude that Strabo's stadium varied considerably, as he sometimes received his distance from personal observation or credible report, and often quoted other writers, and reduced other standards, as the mile, the parasang, and the

schœnus, to the stadium. In addition to this, the most ancient mode of reckoning distances was by the number of days required to perform the journey, and this was transferred into stadia by reckoning a certain number of stadia to a day's journey.¹

Siebenkees and Heeren (*De Fontibus Geographicorum Strabonis*) have examined the authorities to which Strabo had, or might have had, access, and Groskurd has availed himself of their researches.

The following is a short summary of the seventeen books from these sources, but for a more detailed account of their contents the translation itself must be referred to.

The first two books may be considered as an independent treatise, and by themselves form a remarkable contrast with the rest of the work, in the manner of treating the subjects, and in the difficulties which they present both of language and matter.

In the 1st book, the author enters into a long discussion on the merits of Homer, whom he considers to have been the earliest geographer, and defends him against the errors and misconceptions of Eratosthenes. He corrects some faults of Eratosthenes, and, in his inquiry concerning the natural changes of the earth's surface defends Eratosthenes against Hipparchus. In conclusion, he again corrects Eratosthenes as regards the magnitude and divisions of the inhabited world. The most remarkable passage in this book is that in which he conjectures the existence of the great Western Continents.²

The 2nd book is chiefly occupied with some accounts of mathematical geography, and the Author defends against Hipparchus the division of the inhabited world adopted by Eratosthenes into sections. Then follows a criticism of the division of the earth into six zones, as taught by Poseidonius and Polybius. The pretended circumnavigation of Africa by Eudoxus is referred to, as well as some geographical errors of Polybius. He makes observations of his own on the form and size of the earth in general, as well as of the inhabited portion of it, describing the method of representing it on a spherical or plane surface. A short outline is given of seas, countries,

¹ Herodotus iv. 85, 86.

² Book i. c. iv. § 6. Vol. i. p. 102, of the Translation.

and nations; and he concludes with remarks on the system of climates,¹ and on the shadows projected by the sun.

The 3rd book commences with Iberia, and the subject of Europe is continued to the end of the 10th book. His references are the Periplus of Artemidorus, Polybius, and Poseidonius; all three of whom wrote as eye-witnesses. For descriptions and measurement of distances, Artemidorus is chiefly depended upon. The information possessed by Eratosthenes of these countries was meagre and uncertain. For the nations of southern Iberia, he adopts the account of Asclepiades of Myrlea, who had lived and been educated there. Some statements also are borrowed from Roman authors.

The 4th book contains Gallia, according to the four divisions then existing, viz. Gallia Narbonensis, Aquitanensis, Lugdunensis, and the Belgæ; also Britain, with Ierne, and Thule; and lastly, the Alps.

Here Eratosthenes and Ephorus are of little service. His chief guide is Julius Cæsar, whom he frequently quotes *verbatim*. Polybius is his guide for the Alps. Pytheas is the source of some scanty information respecting Ierne and Thule. Throughout his description he adds accounts obtained at Rome from travellers.

The 5th book commences with a general sketch of Italy, and refers principally to northern Italy. Dividing its history into ancient and modern, his chief reference for the former is Polybius, and for the latter we are indebted to the observations of the author himself, or to accounts received from others. Still the description of Upper Italy is poor and unsatisfactory, from the author not sufficiently availing himself of Roman resources. Then follows some account of Etruria with its neighbouring islands, Umbria, Samnium, Latium, and Rome; chiefly the result of the author's own researches and observations. The book concludes with some remarks on the inhabitants of the mountainous districts of Samnium and Campania.

The 6th book is a continuation of the same subject. Magna Græcia, Sicily, and the adjacent islands, are noticed, and the author concludes with a short discussion on the extent of the Roman Empire. Descriptions of some places are from his own observations; but the sources whence he takes his

¹ Book ii. c. i. § 20. Vol. i. p. 119, of the Translation.

other account of Italy and the islands are the works of Polybius, Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, Ephorus, Fabius Pictor, Cæcilius (of Cale Acte in Sicily), and some others, besides an anonymous chorographer, supposed to be a Roman, from the circumstance of his distances being given, not in stadia, but in Roman miles.

The 7th book relates, first, to the people north of the Danube,—the Germans, Cimbri, Getæ, Dacians (particularly the European Scythians), and the Crimea; secondly, to the people south of the Danube, viz. those inhabiting Illyricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, the eastern coast of Thrace to the Euxine, Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace, and the Hellespont. The latter part of this book is not preserved entire in any manuscript, but Kramer has, in his own opinion, succeeded in restoring from the epitomes left to us the greater part of what was wanting. Of Germany, Strabo had tolerable information, but he nowhere states whence it is derived; he may have been partly indebted to Asinius Pollio, whose work he had already examined for the Rhine. For the remaining northern countries, he had Poseidonius and the historians of the Mithridatic war. For the southern countries, he had a lost work of Aristotle on forms of government, Polybius, Poseidonius, and his chief disciples, Theopompus and Ephorus. Incidentally also he quotes Homer and his interpreters, and Philochorus.

The three following books are dedicated to the description of Greece, with the adjacent islands. The 8th comprises the Peloponnesus and its well-known seven provinces, Elis, Messenia, Laconia, Argolis, Corinthia with Sicyonia, Achaia, and Arcadia: the 9th, Attica, with Megaris, Bœotia, Phocis, both Locri and Thessaly: the 10th, Eubœa, Ætolia, and Acarnania, with the islands. After a long digression on the subject of the Curetes, the description of Europe closes with some account of Crete and the islands of the Ægean Sea. The design and construction of these three books differ considerably from the preceding. Homer is adopted as the foundation of his geographical descriptions; some things Strabo must have learnt as an eye-witness, but more from *vivâ voce* communications at Athens or at Corinth. All is interwoven together without any clear line of separation, and the result is some confusion. Athens, Corinth, Argos, and their neighbourhood, were the only parts of Greece our author saw. Heeren, in-

deed, maintains that he had seen the whole of it, and the Archipelago, but satisfactory proof of this is altogether wanting.

The 11th book commences with the description of the countries separated from Europe by the Tanaïs or Don. Asia is divided by our author (who here follows Eratosthenes) into two parts by the Taurus, which runs in a direction east and west. The northern part of Asia (or this side Taurus) is divided into four parts. The first part comprises the countries lying between the Don, the Sea of Azoff, the Euxine, and the Caspian; the second, the countries east of the Caspian; and the third, the countries south of Caucasus. These three parts of the first or northern division of Asia are contained in the 10th book; the remaining fourth part occupies the 12th, 13th, and 14th books.

The chief authorities for the first part are, besides information obtained from travellers and merchants at Amasia, Herodotus for the Don; Artemidorus and Eratosthenes for distances; Poseidonius and Theophanes of Mitylene, historians, of the Mithridatic war; Metrodorus of Skepsis; Hypsicrates of Amisus; and Cleitarchus for the digression on the Amazons.

For the second part, are principally Patrocles and Aristobulus, historians of the Asiatic campaigns of Alexander. For the third part, or Media and Armenia, are, Dellius, who wrote a history of the war against the Parthians, in which he had served under Antony; Apollonides of Nicæa, who wrote a Periplus of Europe; and other writers before mentioned.

The 12th book commences with a detailed account of Anatolia, and contains the northern part. It was to have been expected that Strabo would have described most of these countries as an eye-witness, lying, as they do, so near his native country, Cappadocia. But this expectation vanishes, when we discover the meagreness of his account. With the exception of Pontus and Cappadocia, he had seen little of the rest, and depends upon historians and oral information. For earlier times, his authorities are Herodotus, Hellanicus, Theopompus, Ephorus, Artemidorus, Apollodorus, and Demetrius of Skepsis; for later times, historians of the wars of Mithridates and Pompey. For the ancient history of the Mysians and Phrygians, he is indebted to the celebrated Lydian historian Xanthus, and Menecrates.

The 13th book continues the description of Anatolia. The greater part of the book is occupied with a dissertation on the Troad. Strabo had travelled over the country himself, but his great authority is Homer and Demetrius of Skepsis, the author of a work in twenty-six books, containing an historical and geographical commentary on that part of the second book of the Iliad, in which the forces of the Trojans are enumerated. A learned digression on the Leleges, Cilices, and Pelasgi, who preceded the Æolians and Ionians in the occupation of the country, is principally taken from Menecrates and Demetrius of Skepsis. The description then turns to the interior, and the account of the Æolian cities is probably due to Poseidonius. Throughout this book are evidences of great care and desire for accuracy.

The 14th book continues with the remainder of Anatolia, and an account of the islands Samos, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus. The authorities followed are, on the whole, the same as in the previous book—Herodotus, Thucydides, Ephorus, Artemidorus, Eratosthenes, and Poseidonius; besides Pherecydes of Syros, who wrote on the Ionian migration, and Anaximenes of Lampascus, the author of a history in Greek of the Milesian colonies. For Caria, he had the historians of Alexander and an author named Philip, who wrote on the Leleges and Carians. For Cyprus he had Damastes and Eratosthenes.

The 15th and 16th books contain a description of the second portion of Asia, namely, the southern or the other side of Taurus. In the 15th book, Strabo describes India and Persia, the latter in two chief divisions, viz. Ariana or East Persia, and Persis or West Persia. These countries Strabo never saw; his description, therefore, is founded on the authority of travellers and historians. The topography of India is meagre, and limited to a few towns and rivers; but his account of the people of the country is more copious, he being supplied with materials from the historians of Alexander and of the campaigns of Seleucus in India. He looks on Megasthenes, Onesicritus, Deïmachus, and Cleitarchus as fabulous writers: but his confidence rests chiefly on Patrocles, Aristobulus (one of the companions and historians of Alexander), and Nearchus, the chief commander of Alexander's fleet. Artemidorus and Nicolaus of Damascus are occasionally consulted. For Ariana or East Persia, he had for his principal authority Era-

tostrhenes; and for Persia Proper, he had, besides the above authors, Herodotus, Xenophon, and Polycletus of Larissa, an historian of Alexander.

In the 16th book, he describes the westerly half of south Asia, viz. Assyria with Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, the coast of Ethiopia, and lastly, Arabia. For the three first countries (the old Assyrian kingdom), his chief authorities are, besides some of Alexander's historians, Eratosthenes, Poseidonius, and Herodotus; for the remainder he had, in addition to the same writers, Artemidorus, and probably also Nicolaus of Damascus. The account of Moses and the Jews, Heeren surmises, comes from Poseidonius, but it probably proceeds from oral communication had in Egypt; of these countries our author could describe nothing as an eye-witness, except the north-west of Syria. The accounts of Arabia, the Indian and the Red Seas, are from Agatharchides; and much that he describes of Arabia was obtained from his friends, Ælius Gallus and the Stoic, Athenodorus.

The 17th book concludes the work with the description of Egypt, Ethiopia, and the north coast of Africa. Strabo had travelled through the whole of Egypt, as far as Syene and Philæ, and writes with the decided tone of an eye-witness. Much verbal information, also, he collected at Alexandria. His most important written authorities are, for the Nile, Eratosthenes (who borrowed from Aristotle), Eudoxus, and Aristo. For the most remarkable events of Egyptian history, he had Polybius, and for later times probably Poseidonius, besides *vivâ voce* accounts.

For the oracle at Ammon, he had the historians of Alexander; for Ethiopia, the accounts of Petronius, who had carried on war there, Agatharchides, and Herodotus. Of Libya or Africa Proper he had nothing new or authentic to say. Besides Eratosthenes, Artemidorus, and Poseidonius, his chief authorities, he had Iphicrates, who wrote on the plants and animals of Libya. The whole concludes with a short notice of the Roman Empire.

The dates at which particular books were written, as attempted to be given by Groskurd and Coraÿ, must be received with caution.

In book iv. c. vi. § 9, Strabo says that the Carni and Tau-

risci had quietly paid tribute for thirty-three years; and both these tribes were reduced to subjection by Tiberius and Drusus, B. C. 14. This book was therefore written in A. D. 19.

In book vi. c. iv. § 2, Cæsar Germanicus is spoken of as still living. He died in Syria, A. D. 20 (19). This book was therefore written before that year.

In book xii. c. viii. § 11, Strabo says that Cyzicus was still a free state. It lost its liberty A. D. 25. This book was therefore written before A. D. 25. Whether Strabo was alive or dead at this date, we have no means of determining.

The codices or manuscripts which exist of Strabo's work appear to be copies of a single manuscript existing in the middle ages, but now lost. From the striking agreement of errors and omissions in all now extant (with such differences only as can be accounted for, arising from the want of ability or carelessness of the copyist), it appears most probable that to this single manuscript we are indebted for the preservation of the work. Strabo himself describes the carelessness of bad scribes both at Rome and Alexandria,¹ in the following expressive language: "Some vendors of books, also, employed bad scribes and neglected to compare the copies with the originals. This happens in the case of other books, which are copied for sale both here and at Alexandria." After what Kramer has done for the text, we can hope for little improvement, unless, what is beyond all expectation, some other manuscript should be discovered which is either derived from another source, or is a more correct copy.

The following is some account of those in existence:—

Codices in the Imperial Library, Paris:

1. No. 1397 of the catalogue. This is the principal codex existing in the Imperial Library, and was written in the 12th century. It was formerly in the Strozzi Palace at Rome, and was brought to Paris by Maria de Medici. Not only are parts of the leaves, but even whole leaves of the 9th book, damaged or destroyed by damp, mice, bad binding, and careless attempts at correction. This codex contains the first nine books; the second part, containing the last eight, is lost. Colated by Kramer, and partly for Falconer, by Villebrune.

2. No. 1393 of the catalogue. On this codex Brequigny chiefly depended for his edition. Montfaucon says that it is

¹ Book xiii. c. i. § 54, vol. ii. p. 380.

of the 12th or 13th century ; Kramer, however, judging from the character of the handwriting and contractions, maintains that it belongs to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century. It contains the whole seventeen books of the Geography, and was written in the East (not, however, by the same hand throughout), and brought from Constantinople to Paris by the Abbé Servin in 1732, to whom it had been presented by a Greek named Maurocordato. Collated by Villebrune for Falconer, and partly by Kramer.

3. No. 1408 contains the seventeen books, and appears to have been written towards the end of the 15th century. In general, the geography of Strabo is divided by transcribers into two parts, the first containing nine books, the second, the last eight ; but in this codex there is a blank leaf inserted between the 10th and 11th books, from which it would appear that there was also another division of the work, separating the subjects, Europe and Asia. Partly collated by Villebrune for Falconer.

4. No. 1394. This contains the seventeen books, and is very beautifully written, and illuminated with arabesque designs. It was made by the order of Lorenzo the Magnificent ; and its date, therefore, is after the middle of the 15th century. Collated, as before, by Villebrune.

5. No. 1396 contains the whole seventeen books, and was probably written about the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century. The division of the work is into ten books and seven books. In the beginning, it is stated to be "the gift of Antony the Eparch to Francis the great and illustrious king of France." Partly collated by Kramer.

6. No. 1395 contains the whole seventeen books, and served for the Aldine edition of Strabo. The handwriting of this codex is excellent, but the order of the words is arbitrarily changed, and there are frequent omissions, sometimes even of whole lines : it is corrupt beyond description, and among the worst we possess. Collated in some parts by Kramer.

No. 1398, written about the end of the 15th century. It contains the epitome of the first ten books, by Gemistus Pletho, and the last seven books entire. It is a copy of No. 397, in the Library of St. Mark, Venice. Collated by Villebrune.

Codices in the Vatican :

No. 1329 of the catalogue. This codex dates from the begin-

ning, probably, of the 14th century, and is remarkable for being the work of thirteen different transcribers. It is much to be lamented, that the greater part of it is lost; it begins from the end of the 12th book only, and a part of the last leaf of the 17th book is also destroyed; what remains to us surpasses all others in correctness of the text. The whole has been collated for the first time by Kramer.

No. 174 is of the 15th century, and contains the seventeen books: the first nine books are written by one transcriber, the last eight by another hand. The first nine books have been collated by Kramer.

No. 173 contains the first ten books, and is of the middle of the 15th century. It is badly and incorrectly written. The last seven books, which would complete the codex, are, as Kramer conjectures from the paper and handwriting, in the Library of the Grand Duchy of Parma. From a note in Greek at the end of the 10th book, it appears to have been brought to Rome A. D. 1466. Books 1, 2, 4, and 5, collated by Kramer.

No. 81 is tolerably well and correctly written. It contains the last eight books, and is of the end of the 15th century. It appears to be a copy of, or served as a copy to, the codex in the Laurentian Library, No. 19. Partially collated by Kramer.

Medicean Codices, in the Laurentian Library, Florence:

Codex 5 is elegantly and correctly written; it is of the beginning, probably, of the 15th century, and contains the first ten books. The 8th and 9th books are not entire; passages are curtailed, and much is omitted, to which the attention is not drawn, the lines being run on without spaces left to mark omissions. Errors of the first transcriber are corrected by a later hand, and noticed in the margin or between the lines. Collated by Bandini for Falconer, and almost the whole by Kramer.

Codex 40 contains the first ten books; a copy, probably, of the former. It was written after the middle of the 15th century.

Codex 15 is of the middle of the 15th century, and contains the last seven books. It is not in any way remarkable.

Codex 19, written at the end of the 15th century. It contains the last eight books, and resembles No. 81 of the Vatican. Collated by Bandini for Falconer.

Venetian Codices :

No. 377 of the catalogue contains the first twelve books, and is written in the 15th century. Formerly the property of Cardinal Bessarion.

No. 378 contains the seventeen books, of which the first twelve are apparently copies of the above, No. 377; the remaining five are transcribed from some other codex. This was, also, formerly the property of Cardinal Bessarion.

No. 640 contains the last eight books. It was written, as appears from a note A. D. 1321, by different hands. A great part of the 14th book is wanting; eight blank pages are left for the completion of it; but this was not done by the transcriber to whom this portion was assigned. It is placed by Kramer in the first class of manuscripts, and was wholly collated by him.

No. 379 is of the 15th century. It contains the Epitome of Gemistus Pletho of the first ten books, and the whole of the last seven books. It is the codex which served for the copy, No. 1398, in the Imperial Library at Paris. Formerly the property of Cardinal Bessarion.

No. 606 contains the last eight books, and was written towards the end of the 15th century. It contains nothing which is not to be found in other manuscripts.

Codices in the Ambrosian Library, Milan :

Codex M. 53 contains all but book ii., and is of the 15th century. The books are not written on paper of the same size, nor in consecutive order, although by the same hand. Book ii. is to be found in Codex N. 289, together with portions of other authors, written by a different transcriber, no doubt with the intention of completing this codex. According to Kramer, the first ten books are copied from Codex 5 of the Medici MS. The 13th, 14th, 12th books (the order in which they stand) from the Medici MS. 19, and the 11th, 15th, 16th, 17th, from the Medici MS. 15. Partly collated by Kramer.

Codex G. 53 contains the seventeen books, and is of the end of the 15th century. Five leaves at the beginning, and two at the end, are destroyed by damp, traces of which are to be seen throughout. Partly collated by Kramer.

In the Library of Eton College is a codex containing the first ten books; it was written at Constantinople. Kramer,

who, however, did not see it, conjectures that the Medici MS., Codex 15, containing the last eight books, was formerly united to it, and completed the whole work. Collated for Falconer.

In the Library of the Escorial is a codex completed, as we are informed by a note at the end, A. D. 1423. Collated by Bayer for Falconer.

The Madrid Library possesses a codex written in the latter part of the 15th century, containing the seventeen books.

In the Library at Moscow is a codex containing the seventeen books; it was written at the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. The first nine books resemble the Paris Codex, No. 1397; the last eight, the Venetian Codex, No. 640. It came from one of the monasteries of Mount Athos, and was not destroyed, as Groskurd suspects, in the great fire of 1812, but is still to be found in the Library of the Holy Synod, under No. 204 (Matt. ccv.), as I am informed by the Archimandrite Sabba, who dates from the Kremlin, April 4th, 1857.

A codex also is yet to be found in one of the monasteries of Mount Athos. From the accounts of learned travellers (Zacharias, *Reise in den Orient*, and Fallmerayer, in the *Allgem. Zeitg.* 5 Jun. 1843), it contains nothing which can supply the deficiencies of those MSS. with which we are acquainted.

Besides the above codices, there exist four epitomes of the Geography of Strabo, of which,

1. The Epitome Palatina, in the Heidelberg Library, is the oldest of all MSS. of this work. It is probably of the beginning of the 10th century, although Dodwell places it between 976 and 996. The codex from which it was copied appears to have been perfect, and contained the whole of the 7th book, which is imperfect in all other codices. It is, however, to be regretted that the author did not confine himself to following the text of Strabo; he has not only indulged in curtailing, transposing, and changing the words and sentences of the original, but has sometimes also added expressions of his own.

2. The Vatican Epitome is of more value than the preceding; the extracts are more copious; the author seldom wanders from the text of Strabo, and in no instance inserts language of his own. The codex which served as the basis for the Epitome contained the 7th book entire, and from this

and the Palatine Epitome Kramer collected the fragments of the last part of the 7th book, which appear for the first time in his edition (see vol. i. of the Translation, p. 504). This codex was written in the middle of the 14th century, and has suffered much by time and carelessness; several leaves are lost, and lines of the text at the top and bottom of the pages have been cut off in the binding.

3. The Parisian Epitome, on which no great value is placed by Kramer.

4. The Epitome of Gemistus Pletho, referred to above, is of great value, and held in the highest estimation by all editors.

The first appearance of Strabo's work in print was a Latin translation by Guarini, of Verona, and Gregorio of Tiferno. Of this, thirteen editions were printed, the first in 1469 or 1471, the twelfth in 1559, and the last in 1652. It is not known from what manuscripts the translation was taken, nor whether they now exist; but, though the translation itself is barbarous, and in many passages erroneous, its fidelity to the original is so apparent, that all editors to the present time have consulted it as a manuscript.

The first edition of the Greek text was printed at Venice by Aldus in 1516, and was taken from so corrupt a manuscript that Coray compares it to the Augean stable. The second edition was a repetition of the Aldine, accompanied by the Latin translation of Guarini, and was published by Hopper and Heresbach, at Basle, in 1549. The third edition, by Xylander, in 1570, was also a repetition of the text of Aldus; but a new Latin translation accompanied it. The fourth and fifth editions, which do not essentially differ, were published in 1587 and 1620, by Isaac Casaubon. He collated for his edition four manuscripts, which he obtained from his father-in-law, H. Stephens, and was the first to add a commentary; but it is not known what manuscripts were made use of. The edition of Almeloveen, 1707, being a reprint of Casaubon, with notes, and an edition commenced by Brequigny, Paris, 1763, but not continued beyond the first three books, can scarcely be placed among the number of new editions. Brequigny left a French translation in manuscript and notes in Latin, which were consulted by the French translators.

The seventh edition was that of Thomas Falconer of Ches-

ter, and of Brasenose College, published in 2 vols. folio, at Oxford, 1807. For the first time since Casaubon's last edition, nearly 200 years before, manuscripts were collated for this edition, namely, those of Eton, Moscow, the Escorial, and the Laurentian library; the conjectural emendations of Tyrwhitt, and notes of the editor and others, are added. "It has everything that is valuable in Casaubon's edition, besides having corrected numberless typographical errors. In the account given of it, the public are as much wronged as we are abused; for no view whatever is laid before them of its nature or its merits."¹ Thos. Falconer, having prepared the greater part of the work for the press, died in 1792. A little more than the two first books were edited by John Parsons, Bishop of Peterborough, and formerly Master of Balliol College, Oxford; but the whole work was, ultimately, in 1802 given up to Thomas Falconer (nephew of the former), of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who completed it and wrote the preface. A complete revisal of the text, however, was not attempted.

The eighth edition was that of Professor J. P. Siebenkees, of which great expectations were formed. The deficiencies of his performance are strongly commented on by Kramer. Siebenkees lived to complete only the first six books; the remainder of the work was undertaken by Tzchucke, and conducted with greater skill and ability than by his predecessor. It was published in 1811, 6 vols. 8vo.

The ninth edition is that by Coraÿ, Paris, 1815—1818, 4 vols. 8vo. Kramer passes an unfavourable opinion on it. The editor, according to him, did not possess an aptitude for discriminating the value of the different manuscripts he collated, and considered more what he thought ought to have been written than what were really the author's words. Hence, although he was successful in restoring the true readings of many passages, he corrupted not a few, and left untouched many errors. Yet he was a very able scholar, and has the merit of attempting the first critical edition of Strabo.

The tenth edition is that by Professor Gustavus Kramer, in 3 vols. 8vo, the first of which appeared in 1844, the last in 1852. The editor has brought to his task great ability and

¹ "A Reply to the Calumnies of the Edinburgh Review against Oxford," page 98, by Dr. Copleston, late Bishop of Landaff. Oxford, 1810.

unwearied labour; of the many years spent in the preparation of it, three were passed in Italy for the purpose of collating manuscripts. This edition surpasses all others in completeness, and little is left for correction by subsequent editors.

A. Meineke published at Leipsic, in 3 vols., 1852, a reprint of Kramer's text, with some emendations of his own contained in his work, "Vindiciarum Straboniarum Liber." Berlin, 1852.

C. Müller and F. Dübner have also published the first vol., Paris, 1852, of a reprint of Kramer's text, with Meineke's corrections. It is accompanied by a new Latin translation, of which the first six books are by Dübner, and the remainder by Müller.

In modern languages, we have a translation by Alfonso Buonacciuoli, of Ferrara, in Italian, 2 vols. 8vo, Venice, 1552. It is a very literal translation from a manuscript, and is frequently quoted by the French translators. Also a translation in German by Abr. Penzel, in 4 vols., Lemgow, 1775. It is not literal, and abounds with wilful additions and alterations of the author's meaning.

A translation in French was published at Paris in five vols. 4to, from the year 1805 to 1819. The first three books are translated by De la Porte du Theil and Coraÿ together. The 4th, 7th, 8th, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th books are by Coraÿ; the 5th, 6th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, by De la Porte du Theil; on the death of the latter, Letronne undertook the translation of the 16th and 17th books. The whole is accompanied by very copious notes by the translators, and others on geographical and mathematical subjects, by Gossellin. As might be expected from the united labour of such distinguished men, this translation, which was undertaken at the command of Napoleon I., has been held in high estimation. De la Porte du Theil, for the purpose of conveying to the reader a more accurate idea of the state of the text of the ninth book than could be given by description or notes, has prefaced his translation by a copy, page for page and line for line, of the original manuscript. The number of mutilated passages amounts to two thousand. For the purpose of restoring the text, recourse has been had to other manuscripts, to conjectures, to extracts from the Epitomes, and to quotations of Strabo's work contained in the Geographical Lexicon of Stephanus of Byzantium, composed before the seventh century,

and in the Commentaries of Eustathius on Homer, which were written towards the end of the twelfth century. It is an example of Kramer's just remark, that no work of any ancient author, which has descended to our time, has suffered more from various causes.

A translation by F. Ambrosoli, forming part of the "Collana degli Antichi Storici Greci," was published in 1832, 4 vols. 8vo, Milan, and is founded on the French translation. A translation of the third book (Spain) by Lopez, was published at Madrid, 1788, and is well spoken of. The best translation of the whole work—and too much cannot be said in praise of it—is in German, by Groskurd, 4 vols. 8vo, Berlin, 1831—1834. The last volume contains a very copious index.

In conclusion, I have to acknowledge considerable obligations to the notes and prefaces of Groskurd, Kramer, the French translators, and others.

The part of the translation for which I am responsible commences at chap. iv. book vii., vol. i. p. 473, to the end of the work, and is partly based on an incomplete translation in MS. by my late father, the Rev. Dr. T. Falconer. The previous portion is the work of Hans C. Hamilton, Esq., F. S. A., to whom I am indebted for his continued interest in the translation throughout, for his care in correcting the press, and for valuable suggestions.

A complete index, which concludes the third volume, has been compiled with the greatest regard to accuracy, by a gentleman of tried skill and ability. It contains every geographical name mentioned by Strabo; and the modern names, printed in italics, are also added, as far as can be ascertained: they are not given with perfect confidence in all cases; discussion on doubtful points would have exceeded the limits of this work; and reference may be advantageously made, where more minute detail is required, to the able articles in Dr. W. Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

W. FALCONER.

*Rectory, Bushey, Herts.
September 2, 1857.*

STRABO'S GEOGRAPHY.

BOOK XIV.

SUMMARY.

The Fourteenth Book contains an account of the Cyclades islands and the region opposite to them, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycia, Pisidia, Cilicia as far as Seleucia of Syria, and that part of Asia properly called Ionia.

CHAPTER I.

1. THERE remain to be described Ionia, Caria, and the sea-coast beyond the Taurus, which is occupied by Lycians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians.¹ We shall thus finish the description of the whole circuit of the peninsula, the isthmus of which, we have said, consists of the tract between the Euxine and the Sea of Issus.

2. The navigation around Ionia along the coast is about 3430 stadia. It is a considerable distance, on account of the gulfs, and of the peninsular form for the most part of the country, but the length in a straight line is not great. The distance, for example, from Ephesus to Smyrna is a journey in a straight line of 320 stadia; to Metropolis² is 120 stadia, and the remainder to Smyrna; but this distance by sea is little less than 2200 stadia. The extent of the Ionian coast is reckoned from Poseidium,³ belonging to the Milesians,

That is, the maritime parts of Asia Minor, from Cape Coloni opposite Mitilini to Bajas, the ancient Issus. The coast of Ionia comprehended between Cape Coloni and the Mæander (Bojuk Mender Tschai) forms part of the modern pachalics, Saruchan and Soghla; Caria and Lycia are contained in the pachalic, Mentescche; Pamphylia and Lycia in those of Teke and Itsch-ili. Mount Taurus had its beginning at the promontory Trogilium, now Cape Samsoun, or Santa Maria opposite Samos.

¹ Jenikoi.

³ Cape Arbora.

and the boundaries of Caria, as far as Phocæa,¹ and the river Hermus.²

3. According to Pherecydes, Miletus, Myus,³ Mycale, and Ephesus, on this coast, were formerly occupied by Carians; the part of the coast next in order, as far as Phocæa, and Chios, and Samos, of which Ancæus was king, were occupied by Leleges, but both nations were expelled by the Ionians, and took refuge in the remaining parts of Caria.

Pherecydes says that the leader of the Ionian, which was posterior to the Æolian migration, was Androclus, a legitimate son of Codrus king of the Athenians, and that he was the founder of Ephesus, hence it was that it became the seat of the royal palace of the Ionian princes. Even at present the descendants of that race are called kings, and receive certain honours, as the chief seat at the public games, a purple robe as a symbol of royal descent, a staff instead of a sceptre, and the superintendence of the sacrifices in honour of the Eleusinian Ceres.

Neleus, of a Pylian family, founded Miletus. The Messenians and Pylians pretend that there is some affinity between them; in reference to which later poets say that even Nestor was a Messenian, and that many Pylians accompanied Melanthus, the father of Codrus, to Athens, and that all this people sent out the colony in common with the Ionians. There is also to be seen on the promontory Poseidium an altar erected by Neleus.

Myus was founded by Cydrelus, a spurious son of Codrus; Lebedos⁴ by Andropompus, who took possession of a place called Artis; Colophon by Andræmon, a Pylian, as Mimnermus mentions in his poem of Nanno;⁵ Priene by Æpytus, son of Neleus; and afterwards by Philotas, who brought a colony from Thebes; Teos by Athamas, its first founder, whence Anacreon calls the city Athamantis, but at the time of the Ionian migration of the colony it received settlers from Naclus, a spurious son of Codrus, and after this from Apœcus and Damasus, who were Athenians, and from Geres, a Bœotian; Erythræ was founded by Cnopus, who also was a spu-

¹ Karadscha-Fokia.

² Gedis-Tschai.

³ Derekoi.

⁴ Lebedigli, Lebeditzhissar.

⁵ A portion of this poem by Mimnermus is quoted in Athenæus, b. xi. 39, p. 748 of the translation, Bohn's Class. Library.

rious son of Codrus ; Phocæa by Athenians, who accompanied Philogenes ; Clazomenæ by Paralus ; Chios by Egertius, who brought with him a mixed body of colonists ; Samos by Tembrion, and afterwards by Procles.

4. These are the twelve Ionian cities. At a subsequent period Smyrna also was added to the Ionian association at the instance of the Ephesians, for anciently they inhabited the same city, at which time Ephesus was called Smyrna. Callinus somewhere gives it this name, and calls the Ephesians Smyrnæans in the address to Jupiter :

“ And pity the Smyrnæans ; ”

and in another passage,

“ remember now, if ever, the beautiful thighs of the oxen [which the Smyrnæans burnt in sacrifice]. ”

Smyrna was an Amazon, who got possession of Ephesus ; from her the inhabitants and the city had their name, in the same manner as some Ephesians were called Sisyrbatæ from Sisyriba ; and a certain spot in Ephesus was called Smyrna, as Hipponax testifies :

“ He lived in Smyrna, at the back of the city between Tracheia and Lepre Acta. ”

The mountain Prion was called Lepre Acta ; it overhangs the present city, and has on it a portion of the wall. Even now the farms at the back of the Prion retain the name in the term Opistholepria. The country along the foot of the mountain about Coressus was called Tracheia. The city was anciently built about the Athenæum, which is now beyond the city, at the (fountain) Hypelæus. Smyrna therefore was situated near the present gymnasium, at the back of the present city, but between Tracheia and Lepre Acta. The Smyrnæans, upon quitting the Ephesians, marched to the place where Smyrna now stood, and which was in the possession of Leleges. They expelled these people and founded the ancient Smyrna, which is distant from the present city about 20 stadia. They were themselves afterwards expelled by Æolians, and took refuge at Colophon ; they then returned with a body of men from the latter place, and recovered their own city, Smyrna. Mimnermus relates this in his poem of Nanno, and says of Smyrna, that it was always a subject of contention ;

“after leaving Pylus, the lofty city of Neleus, we came in our voyage to the long wished-for Asia, and settled at Colophon, and hastening thence from the river Astæeis, by the will of the gods we took Æolian Smyrna.”

So much then on this subject.

We must, however, again describe each place in particular, beginning with the principal cities, from which the first settlements originated, I mean Miletus and Ephesus, for these are superior to all others, and the most celebrated.

5. Next after the Poseidium of the Milesians, at the distance of 18¹ stadia from the sea-coast, is the oracle of Apollo Didymeus among the Branchidæ. This, as well as the other temples, except that at Ephesus, was burnt by the order of Xerxes.² The Branchidæ delivered up the treasures of the god to the Persian king, and accompanied him in his flight, in order to avoid the punishment of sacrilege and treachery.

The Milesians afterwards built a temple, which exceeded in size all others, but it remained without a roof on account of its magnitude. The circuit of the sacred enclosure contained within it a village with a magnificent grove, which also extended beyond it; other sacred enclosures contain the oracle, and what belongs to the worship of the god.

Here is laid the scene of the fable of Branchus, and Apollo's love for him. The temple is adorned with the most costly offerings, the productions of ancient art.

Thence to the city the journey is not long either by land or sea.³

6. Ephorus relates that Miletus was first founded and fortified by the Cretans on the spot above the sea-coast where at present the ancient Miletus is situated, and that Sarpedon conducted thither settlers from the Miletus in Crete,⁴ and gave it the same name; that Leleges were the former occupiers of the country, and that afterwards Neleus built the present city.

¹ Pliny, v. 29, says the distance is 20 stadia.

² The Branchidæ were descendants of Branchus, who himself was descended from Macæreus, who killed Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. According to Herodotus, the temple was burnt by order of Darius, Herod. v. 36; vi. 19.

³ Pliny, v. 29, says that the distance is 180 stadia.

⁴ According to Pausanias, vii. 2, a friend of Sarpedon, named Miletus, conducted the colony from Crete, founded Miletus, and gave his name to it. Before his arrival the place bore the name of Anactoria, and more anciently Lelegis.

The present city has four harbours, one of which will admit a fleet of ships.¹ The citizens have achieved many great deeds, but the most important is the number of colonies which they established. The whole Euxine, for instance, and the Propontis, and many other places, are peopled with their settlers.

Anaximenes of Lampsacus says, that the Milesians colonized both the island Icarus and Lerus, and Limnæ on the Hellespont, in the Chersonesus; in Asia, Abydus, Arisba, and Pæsus; on the island of the Cyziceni, Artace and Cyzicus; in the interior of the Troad, Scepsis. We have mentioned, in our particular description of places, other cities which this writer has omitted.

Both the Milesians and Delians invoke Apollo Ulius, as dispensing health and curing diseases; for *οὔλειν*² is to be in health, whence *οὐλή*,³ a wound healed, and the phrase in Homer,⁴ *Οὔλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε*, "health and good welcome;" for Apollo is a healer, and Artemis has her name from making persons *ἀρτεμέας*, or sound. The sun, also, and moon are associated with these deities, since they are the causes of the good qualities of the air; pestilential diseases, also, and sudden death are attributed to these deities.

7. Illustrious persons, natives of Miletus, were Thales, one of the seven wise men, the first person who introduced among the Greeks physiology and mathematics; his disciple Anaximander, and Anaximenes the disciple of Anaximander. Besides these, Hecatæus the historian;⁵ and of our time, Æschines the orator, who was banished for having spoken with two great freedom before Pompey the Great, and died in exile.

Miletus shut her gates against Alexander, and experienced the misfortune of being taken by storm, which was also the fate of Halicarnassus; long before this time it was captured by the Persians. Callisthenes relates, that Phrynichus the tragic writer was fined a thousand drachmæ by the Athenians for composing a play entitled "The taking of Miletus by Darius."

¹ More than 80, according to Pliny, v. 29.

² To be well.

³ Hence the English weal, the mark of a stripe.

⁴ Od. xxiv. 402.

⁵ Coraÿ, who is followed by Groskurd, supposes the words "and Cadmus" to be here omitted. Kramer considers this correction to be very doubtful; see b. i. c. ii. § 6.

The island Lade lies close in front of Miletus, and small islands about Tragææ,¹ which afford a shelter for pirates.

8. Next follows the Gulf of Latmus, on which is situated "Heracleia under Latmus,"² as it is called, a small town with a shelter for vessels. It formerly had the same name as the mountain above, which Hecatæus thinks was the same as that called by the poet³ the mountain of the Phtheiri, for he says that the mountain of the Phtheiri was situated below Latmus; but some say that it was Grium, as being parallel to Latmus, and extending from the Milesian territory towards the east, through Caria, as far as Euromus and Chalcetores. However, the mountain rises up in sight of⁴ the city.

At a little distance further, after crossing a small river near Latmus, there is seen in a cave the sepulchre of Endymion. Then from Heracleia to Pyrrha, a small city, is about 100 stadia by sea, but a little more from Miletus to Heracleia, if we include the winding of the bays.

9. From Miletus to Pyrrha, in a straight line by sea, is 30 stadia; so much longer is the journey by sailing near the land.

10. When we are speaking of celebrated places, the reader must endure with patience the dryness of such geographical descriptions.

From Pyrrha to the mouth of the Mæander are 50 stadia. The ground about it is marshy and a swamp. In sailing up the river in vessels rowed by oars to the distance of 30 stadia, we come to Myus,⁵ one of the twelve Ionian cities, which, on account of its diminished population, is now incorporated with Miletus. Xerxes is said to have given this city to Themistocles to supply him with fish, Magnesia with bread, and Lampsacus with wine.⁶

11. At four stadia from Myus is Thymbria, a Carian village, near which is Aornum; this is a sacred cave called Charo-

¹ Chandler says that the Tragææ were sand-banks or shallows.

² Bafi. ³ Il. ii. 868.

⁴ ἐν ὕψει, according to Groskurd's emendation, in place of ἐν ὀψει.

⁵ Derekoi.

⁶ Two other towns, Percote and Palæsepsis, were also given to Themistocles, the first to supply him with dress, the second with bed-room furniture.—*Plutarch, Life of Themistocles.*

nium, which emits destructive vapours. Above it is Magnesia¹ on the Mæander, a colony of the Magnesians of Thesaly and Crete. We shall speak of it very soon.

12. After the mouths of the Mæander follows the shore of Priene. Above it is Priene,² and the mountain Mycale,³ which abounds with animals of the chase, and is covered with forests. It is situated above the Samian territory, and forms towards it, beyond the promontory Trogilium,⁴ a strait of above 7 stadia in width. Priene is called by some writers Cadme, because Philotus, its second founder, was a Bœotian. Bias, one of the seven wise men, was a native of Priene, of whom Hipponax uses this expression ;

“More just in pleadings than Bias of Priene.”

13. In front of Trogilium lies an island of the same name. Thence, which is the nearest way, is a passage across to Sunium of 1600 stadia. At the commencement of the voyage, on the right hand are Samos, Icaria, and the Corsiæ islands ;⁵ on the left, the Melantian rocks.⁶ The remainder of the voyage lies through the middle of the Cyclades islands. The promontory Trogilium itself may be considered as a foot of the mountain Mycale. Close to Mycale is another mountain, the Pactyas, belonging to the Ephesian territory, where the Mesogis terminates.

14. From Trogilium to Samos are 40 stadia. Both this and the harbour, which has a station for vessels, have a southern aspect. A great part of it is situated on a flat, and is overflowed by the sea, but a part also rises towards the mountain which overhangs it. On the right hand, in sailing towards the city, is the Poseidium, a promontory, which forms towards Mycale the strait of 7 stadia. It has upon it a temple of Neptune. In front is a small island, Narthecis ; on the left, near the Heræum, is the suburb, and the river Imbrusus, and the Heræum, an ancient temple, and a large nave, which at present is a repository for paintings. Besides the great number of paintings in the Heræum, there are other repositories and some small chapels, filled with works of ancient art. The Hypæthrum also is full of the best statues. Of these, three of colossal size, the work of Myron, stand

¹ Aineh-Basar.

² Samsun.

³ Samsun Dagh.

⁴ Cape Santa Maria.

⁵ The Furni islands.

⁶ Stapodia.

upon the same base. Antony took them all away, but Augustus Cæsar replaced two, the Minerva and the Hercules, upon the same base. He transported the Jupiter to the Capitol, having built a chapel for its reception.

15. The voyage round the island Samos is 600 stadia.¹ Formerly, when the Carians inhabited it, it was called Parthenia, then Anthemus, then Melamphylus,² then Samos, either from the name of some native hero, or from some one who conducted a colony thither from Ithaca and Cephallenia. In it is a promontory looking towards Drepanum in Icaria, which has the name of Ampelos, (the Vine,) but the whole mountain, which spreads over the island, has the same name. The island is not remarkable for good wine,³ although the islands around, as Chios, Lesbos, Cos, and almost all the adjacent continent, produce wines of the best kind. The Ephesian and the Metropolitæ are good wines, but the Mesogis, the Tmolus, the Catacecaumene, Cnidos, Smyrna, and other more obscure places, are distinguished for the excellence of their wines, whether for gratification or dietetic purposes.

Samos is not very fortunate as regards the production of wine, but in general it is fertile, as appears from its possession being a subject of warlike contention, and from the language of its panegyrist, who do not hesitate to apply to it the proverb,

“It produces even birds’ milk,”

as Menander somewhere says. This was the cause also of the tyrannies established there, and of the enmity of the Athenians.

16. The tyrannies were at their height in the time of Polycrates and his brother Syloson. The former was distinguished for his good fortune, and the possession of such a degree of power as made him master of the sea. It is related as an instance of his good fortune, that having purposely thrown into the sea his ring, which was of great value both on account of

¹ According to Pliny, it is 716 stadia.

² In b. x. ch. ii. § 17, Strabo informs us that Samos was first called Melamphylus, then Anthemis, and afterwards Parthenia. These names appear in this passage in a reversed but, as appears from Pliny, b. v. 31, in their true chronological order.

³ Either an error of our author, or he speaks of its wine in comparison with that of other islands.

the stone and the engraving, a short time afterwards a fisherman caught the fish which had swallowed it, and on cutting the fish open, the ring was discovered. When the king of Egypt was informed of this, he declared, it is said, with a prophetic spirit, that Polycrates, who had been elevated to such a height of prosperity, would soon end his life unfortunately; and this was actually the case, for he was taken by the Persian satrap by stratagem, and crucified. Anacreon, the lyric poet, was his contemporary, and all his poetry abounds with the praises of Polycrates.

It is said that in his time Pythagoras, observing the growing tyranny, left the city, and travelled to Egypt and Babylon, with a view to acquire knowledge. On his return from his travels, perceiving that the tyranny still prevailed, he set sail for Italy, and there passed the remainder of his life.

So much respecting Polycrates.

17. Syloson was left by his brother in a private station. But he made a present to Darius, son of Hystaspes, of a robe which the latter saw him wearing, and very much desired to possess. Darius was not king at this time, but when he became king, Polycrates received as a compensation the tyranny of Samos. He governed with so much severity, that the city was depopulated, which gave occasion to the proverb,

“By the pleasure of Syloson there is room enough.”

18. The Athenians formerly sent Pericles their general, and with him Sophocles the poet, who harassed with the evils of a siege the refractory Samians. Afterwards¹ they sent thither a colony of two thousand citizens, among whom was Neocles the father of Epicurus, and, according to report, a schoolmaster. It is said, that Epicurus was educated here and at Teos, and was admitted among the ephebi at Athens, having as his comrade in that class Menander the comic poet. Creophylus was a native of Samos,² who, it is said, once entertained Homer as his guest, and received, in return, his poem entitled “The taking of Œchalia.” Callimachus, on the contrary, intimates in an epigram that it was the composition of

¹ After the death of Pericles.

² Among distinguished natives of Samos, Strabo has omitted to mention Melissus the philosopher, who commanded the fleet of the island, and was contemporary with Pericles.—*Plutarch, Life of Pericles.*

Creophylus, but ascribed to Homer on account of the story of his hospitable entertainment by Creophylus :

“ I am the work of the Samian, who once entertained in his house, as a guest, the divine Homer. I grieve for the sufferings of Eurytus, and mourn for the yellow-haired Ioleia. I am called Homer’s writing. O Jupiter, how glorious this for Creophylus.”

Some say that he was Homer’s master ; according to others, it was not Creophylus, but Aristeas of Proconnesus.

19. The island of Icaria, from which the Icarian Sea has its name, is near Samos. The island has its name from Icarus, the son of Dædalus, who, it is said, having accompanied his father in his flight, when both of them, furnished with wings, set out from Crete, fell on that island, unable to sustain his flight. He had mounted too near the sun, and the wings dropped off on the melting of the wax [with which they were fastened].

The whole island is 300 stadia in circumference ; it has no harbours, but only anchorages, the best of which is called Histi. A promontory stretches towards the west. There is also on the island a temple of Diana, called Tauropolium, and a small town Cenoë ; and another, Dracanum,¹ of the same name as the promontory on which it stands, with an anchorage for vessels. The promontory is distant from the promontory of the Samians, called Cantharius, 80 stadia, which is the shortest passage from one to the other. The Samians occupy it at present in its depopulated state, chiefly for the sake of pasture which it affords for cattle.

20. Next to the Samian strait at Mycale, on the right hand on the voyage to Ephesus, is the sea-coast of the Ephesians, a part of which even the Samians possess. First on the sea-coast is the Panionium,² distant from the sea three stadia, where the Panionia, a common festival of the Ionians, is celebrated, and a sacrifice is performed in honour of the Heliconian Neptune. The priests are Prienians. We have spoken of them in the description of Peloponnesus.

Then follows Neapolis, which formerly belonged to the Ephesians, but now belongs to the Samians, having exchanged Marathesium³ for it, the more distant for the nearer place. Next is Pygela, a small town, containing a temple of Diana Munychia. It was founded by Agamemnon, and colonized

¹ Before called Drepanum.

² Ischanli.

³ Scala Nova.

by some of his soldiers, who had a disease in the buttocks, and were called Pygalgeis; as they laboured under this complaint, they settled there, and the town had the appropriate name of Pygela.¹

Next is a harbour called Panormus, with a temple of the Ephesian Diana; then the city.

On the same coast, at a little distance from the sea, is Ortygia, a fine wood with trees of all kinds, but the cypress in the greatest abundance. Through this wood flows the river Cenchrius, in which Latona is said to have bathed after the birth of her child. For here is laid the scene of the birth of the child, the cares of the nurse Ortygia, the cave in which the birth took place, the neighbouring olive tree under which the goddess first reposed when the pains of child-birth had ceased.

Above the wood is the mountain Solmissus, where, it is said, the Curetes stationed themselves, and with the noise of their arms perplexed and terrified Juno, who was enviously watching in secret the delivery of Latona, who was thus assisted in concealing the birth of the child.

There are many temples in the place, some of which are ancient, others of later times; in the former are ancient statues; in the latter are works of Scopas, Latona holding a sceptre, and Ortygia standing by her with a child in each arm.

A convention and festival are celebrated there every year. It is the custom for young men to vie with each other, particularly in the splendour of their convivial entertainments. The body of Curetes celebrate their Symposia at the same time, and perform certain mystic sacrifices.

21. The city of Ephesus was inhabited both by Carians and Leleges. After Androclus had expelled the greatest part of the inhabitants, he settled his companions about the Athenæum, and the Hypelæum, and in the mountainous tract at the foot of the Coressus. It was thus inhabited till the time of Cræsus. Afterwards, the inhabitants descended from the mountainous district, and settled about the present temple, and continued there to the time of Alexander. Then Lysimachus built a wall round the present temple, and, perceiving the in-

¹ Pliny and Mela give a different origin and name to this town: by them it is called Phygela from Φυγή, flight or desertion of the sailors, who, wearied with the voyage, abandoned Agamemnon.

habitants unwilling to remove thither; took advantage of a heavy storm of rain which he saw approaching, and obstructed the drains so as to inundate the city, and the inhabitants were glad to leave it for another place.

He called the city Arsinoë, after the name of his wife, but the old name prevailed. A body of elders was enrolled, with whom were associated persons called Epicleti, who administered all the affairs of the city.

22. Chersiphron¹ was the first architect of the temple of Diana; another afterwards enlarged it, but when Herostratus set fire to it,² the citizens constructed one more magnificent. They collected for this purpose the ornaments of the women, contributions from private property, and the money arising from the sale of pillars of the former temple. Evidence of these things is to be found in the decrees of that time. Artemidorus says, that Timæus of Tauromenium, in consequence of his ignorance of these decrees, and being otherwise a calumniator and detractor, (whence he had the name of Epitimæus, or Reviler,) avers that the Ephesians restored the temple by means of the treasure deposited there by the Persians. But at that time no treasure was deposited, and if any had been deposited there, it must have been consumed together with the temple: after the conflagration, when the roof was destroyed, who would wish to have a deposit lying there, with the sacred enclosure exposed to the air?

Besides, Artemidorus says, that Alexander promised to defray the expense of its restoration, both what had been and what would be incurred, on condition that the work should be attributed to him in the inscription, but the Ephesians refused to accede to this; much less, then, would they be disposed to acquire fame by sacrilege and spoliation. He praises also the reply of an Ephesian to the king, "that it was not fit that a god should provide temples in honour of gods."

23. After the completion of the temple, which, he says, was the work of Cheiocrates (the same person who built Alexandria, and also promised Alexander that he would form

¹ Chersiphron was of Gnosus in Crete. The ground being marshy on which the temple was to be built, he prepared a foundation for it of pounded charcoal, at the suggestion of Theodorus, a celebrated statuary of Samos.

² The temple is said to have been burnt the night Alexander the Great was born.—*Cicero, de Nat. Deo.* ii. 27.

Mount Athos into a statue of him, which should represent him as pouring a libation into a dish out of an ewer; that he would build two cities, one on the right hand of the mountain, and another on the left, and a river should flow out of the dish from one to the other,)¹ — after the completion of the temple, he says that the multitude of other sacred offerings were purchased by the Ephesians, at the value set on them by artificers, and that the altar was almost entirely full of the works of Praxiteles. They showed us also some of the performances of Thraso, namely, the Hecatesium, a Penelope,² and the old woman Eurycleia.

The priests were eunuchs, who were called Megabyzi. It was the practice to send to various places for persons worthy of this office, and they were held in high honour. They were obliged to appoint virgins as their colleagues in their priesthood. At present some of their rites and customs are observed, and some are neglected.

The temple was formerly, and is at present, a place of refuge, but the limits of the sanctity of this asylum have been frequently altered; Alexander extended them to the distance of a stadium. Mithridates discharged an arrow from the angle of the roof, and supposed that it fell a little beyond the distance of a stadium. Antonius doubled this distance, and included within the range of the sanctuary a certain portion of the city. This was attended with much evil, as it placed the city in the power of criminals and malefactors. On this account Augustus Cæsar abolished the privilege.

24. The city has an arsenal and a harbour. The entrance of the harbour was made narrow, by order of the king Attalus Philadelphus, who, together with the persons that constructed it, was disappointed at the result. The harbour was formerly shallow, on account of the embankment of earth accumulated by the Cayster; but the king, supposing that there would be

¹ Plutarch says that the artist offered Alexander to make a statue of Mount Athos, which should hold in the left hand a city, capable of containing 10,000 inhabitants, and pouring from the right hand a river falling into the sea.

² For the word *κρήνη*, a fountain, which occurs in the text before Penelope, and is here unintelligible, Kramer proposes to read *κηρίνη*. The translation of the passage, thus corrected, would be, "a figure in wax of Penelope." Kramer does not adopt the reading, on the ground that no figures in wax are mentioned by ancient authors.

deep water for the entrance of large vessels of burden, if a mole were thrown up before the mouth of the river, which was very wide, gave orders for the construction of a mole ; but the contrary effect took place, for the mud, being confined within the harbour, made the whole of it shallow to the mouth. Before the construction of the mole, the flow and ebb of the sea cleared the mud away entirely, by forcing it outwards.

Such then is the nature of the harbour.

The city, by the advantages which it affords, daily improves, and is the largest mart in Asia within the Taurus.

25. Among illustrious persons in ancient times natives of Ephesus were Heracleitus, surnamed Scoteinus, or the Obscure, and Hermodorus, of whom Heracleitus himself says :

“ The Ephesians, youths and all, deserve hanging, for expelling Hermodorus, an honest citizen,¹ a citizen distinguished for his virtues, and saying, let there be no such amongst us ; if there be, let it be in another place and among other people.”

Hermodorus seems to have compiled laws for the Romans. Hipponax the poet was an Ephesian, and the painters Parrhasius and Apelles.

In more recent times was Alexander the orator, surnamed Lychnus, or the Lamp ;² he was an administrator of state affairs, a writer of history, and left behind him poems which contain a description of the heavenly phenomena and a geographical account of the continents, each of which forms the subject of a distinct poem.

26. Next to the mouth of the Cayster is a lake called Selinusia, formed by the overflowing of the sea. It is succeeded by another, which communicates with this. They afford a large revenue, of which the kings, although it was sacred, deprived the goddess, but the Romans restored it ; then the

¹ *ὀνήμοτος*

² Coray is of opinion that the name of Artemidorus of Ephesus has been omitted by the copyist in this passage, before the name of Alexander. Kramer thinks that if the name had existed in the original manuscript, it would have been accompanied, according to the practice of Strabo, with some notice of the writings of Artemidorus. The omission of the name is remarkable, as Artemidorus is one of the geographers most frequently quoted by Strabo. He flourished about 100 B. C. His geography in eleven books is lost. An abridgement of this work was made by Marcianus, of which some portions still exist, relating to the Black Sea and its southern shore.

tax-gatherers seized upon the tribute by force, and converted it to their own use. Artemidorus, who was sent on an embassy to Rome, as he says, recovered possession of the lakes for the goddess, and also of the territory of Heracleotis, which was on the point of separating from Ephesus, by proceeding in a suit at Rome. In return for these services, the city erected in the temple to his honour a statue of gold.

In the most retired part of the lake is a temple of a king, built, it is said, by Agamemnon.

27. Next follows the mountain Gallesius, and Colophon, an Ionian city, in front of which is the grove of Apollo Clarius, where was once an ancient oracle.¹ It is said that the prophet Calchas came hither on foot, on his return from Troy with Amphilochnus, the son of Amphiaraus, and that meeting at Clarus with a prophet superior to himself, Mopsus, the son of Mantus, the daughter of Teiresias, he died of vexation.

Hesiod relates the fable somewhat in this manner: Calchas propounds to Mopsus something of this kind:

“I am surprised to see how large a quantity of figs there is on this small tree; can you tell the number?”

Mopsus answered:

“There are ten thousand; they will measure a medimnus, and there is one over, which you cannot comprehend.”

Thus he spoke; the number and measure were exact. Then Calchas closed his eyes in the sleep of death.

But Pherecydes says, that Calchas proposed a question respecting a pregnant sow, and asked how many young she had; the other answered, “three, one of which is a sow.” Upon his giving the true answer, Calchas died of vexation. According to others, Calchas propounded the question of the sow, and Mopsus that of the fig-tree; that Mopsus returned the true answer, and that Calchas was mistaken, who died of vexation, according to some oracular prophecy.

Sophocles, in his “Helen Claimed,” says that he was destined by fate to die when he should meet with a prophet superior to himself. But this writer transfers the scene of the rivalry, and of the death of Calchas, to Cilicia.

These are ancient traditions.

¹ It must have been in existence in the time of Strabo.—*Tacit. Ann.* ii. 54.

28. The Colophonians once possessed a considerable armament, consisting both of ships and of cavalry. In the latter they were so much superior to other nations, that in any obstinate engagement, on whichever side the Colophonian horse were auxiliaries, they decided it; whence came the proverb, "he put the Colophon to it," when a person brought any affair to a decisive issue.¹

Among some of the remarkable persons born at Colophon were Mimnermus, a flute-player and an elegiac poet; Xenophanes, the natural philosopher, who composed Silli in verse. Pindar mentions one Polymnastus also, a Colophonian, as distinguished for his skill in music:

"Thou knowest the celebrated strains of Polymnastus, the Colophonian:"

and some writers affirm that Homer was of that city. The voyage from Ephesus in a straight line is 70 stadia, and including the winding of the bays, 120.

29. Next to Colophon is the mountain Coracium, and a small island sacred to Artemis, to which it is believed that the hinds swim across to bring forth their young.

Then follows Lebedos,² distant from Colophon 120 stadia. This is the place of meeting and residence³ of the Dionysiac artists (who travel about) Ionia as far as the Hellespont. In Ionia a general assembly is held, and games are celebrated every year in honour of Bacchus. These artists formerly inhabited Teos,⁴ a city of the Ionians, next in order after Colophon, but on the breaking out of a sedition they took refuge at Ephesus; and when Attalus settled them at Myonnesus,⁵ between Teos and Lebedos, the Teians sent a deputation to request the Romans not to permit Myonnesus to be fortified, as it would endanger their safety. They migrated to Lebedos, and the Lebedians were glad to receive them, on account of their own scanty population.

Teos is distant from Lebedos 120 stadia. Between these two places is the island Aspis,⁶ which some writers call Arcon-

¹ Another explanation is given to the proverb, from the circumstance of Colophon having a casting vote in the deliberations of the twelve cities forming the Panionium.

² Lebedigli Lebeditz hissar.

³ During the season when these actors, dancers, and singers were not on circuit at festivals.

⁴ Budrun.

Ouvriokasli.

⁷ Ypsilo Nisi.

nesus. Myonnesus is situated upon high ground resembling a peninsula.

30. Teos is situated upon a peninsula, and has a port. Anacreon, the lyric poet, was a native of this place; in his time, the Teians, unable to endure the insults and injuries of the Persians, abandoned Teos, and removed to Abdera, whence originated the verse—

“Abdera, the beautiful colony of the Teians.”

Some of them returned in after-times to their own country. We have said that Apellicon was of Teos, and Hecatæus also, the historian.

There is another port to the north, at the distance of 30 stadia from the city, Gerrhæidæ.¹

31. Next follows Chalcideis, and the isthmus of the peninsula² of the Teians and Erythræans; the latter inhabit the interior of the isthmus. The Teians and Clazomenians are situated on the isthmus itself. The Teians occupy the southern side of the isthmus, namely, Chalcideis;³ the Clazomenians, the northern side, whence they are contiguous to the Erythræan district. At the commencement of the isthmus is Hypocremnus, having on this side the Erythræan, and on the other, the Clazomenian territory. Above Chalcideis is a grove, dedicated to Alexander, the son of Philip, and a festival called *Alexandreia* is proclaimed and celebrated there by the common body of the Ionians.

The passage across the isthmus from the Alexandrine grove and Chalcideis, as far as the Hypocremnus, is 50 stadia (150?). The circuit round by sea is more than 1000 stadia. Somewhere about the middle of the voyage is Erythræ,⁴ an Ionian city, with a port, having in front four small islands, called *Hippoi* (the Horses).

32. But before we come to Erythræ, the first place we meet with is Eræ,⁵ a small city belonging to the Teians.

Next is Corycus, a lofty mountain; and below it, Casystes, a port;⁶ then another, called the port of Erythræ, and afterwards many others.

¹ Called by Livy, xxvii. 27, *Portus Geræsticus*.

² Which forms the Gulf of Smyrna.

³ The district called Chalcitis by Pausanias, xii. 5, 12.

⁴ Ritri.

⁵ Sighadschik.

⁶ Koraka, or Kurke.

It is said that the whole sea-coast along the Corycus was the haunt of pirates, who were called Corycæans, and who had contrived a new mode of attacking vessels. They dispersed themselves among the ports, and went among the merchants who had just arrived, and listened to their conversation respecting the freight of their ships, and the places whither they were bound. The pirates then collected together, attacked the merchants at sea, and plundered the vessels. Hence all inquisitive persons and those who listen to private and secret conversation we call Corycæans, and say proverbially,

“The Corycæan must have overheard it,”

when any one thinks that he has done or said anything not to be divulged, but is betrayed by spies or persons anxious to be informed of what does not concern them.

33. Next to Corycus is Halonnesus, a small island, then the Argennum,¹ a promontory of the Erythræan territory, situated close to Poseidium, belonging to the Chians, and forming a strait of about 60 stadia in width. Between Erythræ and Hypocretnus is Mimas,² a lofty mountain, abounding with beasts of chase, and well wooded. Then follows Cybelia, a village, and a promontory called Melæna,³ (or Black,) which has a quarry whence millstones are obtained.

34. Erythræ was the native place of the Sibyl, an ancient inspired prophetess. In the time of Alexander there was another Sibyl, who was also a prophetess, whose name was Athenais, a native of the same city; and in our age there was Heracleides the Herophilian physician, a native of Erythræ, a fellow-student of Apollonius surnamed Mus.

35. The coasting circumnavigation of Chios is 900 stadia. It has a city⁴ with a good port, and a station for eighty vessels. In the voyage round the island, a person sailing from the city, with the island on his right hand, first meets with Poseidium,⁵ then Phanæ,⁶ a deep harbour, and a temple of Apollo, and a grove of palm trees; then Notium, a part of the coast affording a shelter for vessels; next Laius,⁷ which is also a place of

¹ Called in Thucyd. viii. 34, Arginum.

² Karaburun-Dagh.

³ Karaburun, which has the same meaning.

⁴ Groskurd is of opinion that “of the same name” is omitted after “city.”

⁵ Cape Mastico.

⁶ Porto Mastico.

⁷ This name is doubtful. Coray suggests Elæus; Groskurd, Lainus,

shelter for vessels; hence to the city is an isthmus of 60 stadia. The circumnavigation is 360 stadia, as I have before described it. Next, the promontory Melæna,¹ opposite to which is Psyra,² an island distant from the promontory 50 stadia, lofty, with a city of the same name. The island is 40 stadia in circumference. Next is the rugged tract, Ariusia, without harbours, about 30 stadia in extent. It produces the best of the Grecian wines. Then follows Pelinæum,³ the highest mountain in the island. In the island is a marble quarry.

Among illustrious natives of Chios were Ion⁴ the tragic writer, Theopompus the historian, and Theocritus the sophist. The two latter persons were opposed to each other in the political parties in the state. The Chians claim Homer as a native of their country, alleging as a proof the Homeridæ, as they are called, descendants from his family, whom Pindar mentions :

“Whence also the Homeridæ, the chanters of the rhapsodies, most frequently begin their song.”⁵

The Chians once possessed a naval force, and aspired to the sovereignty of the sea, and to liberty.⁶

From Chios to Lesbos is a voyage of about 400 stadia, with a south wind.

which Kramer does not approve of, although this part of the coast is now called Lithi. It seems to be near a place called Port Aluntha.

¹ Cape Nicolo.

² Psyra.

³ Ilias.

⁴ Ion was a contemporary of Sophocles. Theopompus was the disciple of Socrates, and the author of an epitome of the history of Herodotus, of a history of Greece, of a history of Philip, father of Alexander the Great, and of other works. He was of the aristocratic or Macedonian party. Theocritus, his contemporary, was a poet, orator, and historian; he was of the democratic party. To these, among illustrious natives of Chios, may be added Œnopides the astronomer and mathematician, who was the discoverer of the obliquity of the ecliptic and the cycle of 59 years, for bringing the lunar and solar years into accordancy; Nessus the philosopher; his disciple Metrodorus (about B. C. 330) the sceptic, and master of Hippocrates; Scymnus the geographer, and author of a description of the earth.

⁵ The Homeridæ may have been at first descendants of Homer; but in later times those persons went by the name Homeridæ, or Homeristæ, who travelled from town to town for the purpose of reciting the poems of Homer. They did not confine themselves to that poet alone, but recited the poetry of Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, and others; and finally passages from prose writers.—*Athenæus*, b. xiv. c. 13.

⁶ Of the 283 vessels sent by the eight cities of Ionia in the war with Darius, one hundred came from Chios.

36. After the Hyocremnus is Chytrium, a place where Clazomenæ¹ formerly stood; then the present city, having in front eight small islands, the land of which is cultivated by husbandmen.

Anaxagoras, the natural philosopher, was a distinguished Clazomenian; he was a disciple of Anaximenes the Milesian, and master of Archelaus the natural philosopher, and of Euripides the poet.

Next is a temple of Apollo, and hot springs, the bay of Smyrna, and the city Smyrna.

37. Next is another bay, on which is situated the ancient Smyrna, at the distance of 20 stadia from the present city. After Smyrna had been razed by the Lydians, the inhabitants continued for about four hundred years to live in villages. It was then restored by Antigonus, and afterwards by Lysimachus, and at present it is the most beautiful city in Ionia.

One portion of Smyrna is built up on a hill, but the greater part is in the plain near the harbour, the Metroum, and the Gymnasium. The division of the streets is excellent, and as nearly as possible in straight lines. There are paved roads, large quadrangular porticos, both on a level with the ground and with an upper story.

There is also a library, and the Homereium, a quadrangular portico, which has a temple of Homer and a statue. For the Smyrnæans, above all others, urge the claims of their city to be the birth-place of Homer, and they have a sort of brass money, called Homereium.²

The river Meles flows near the walls. Besides other conveniences with which the city is furnished, there is a close harbour.

There is one, and not a trifling, defect in the work of the architects, that when they paved the roads, they did not make drains beneath them; the filth consequently lies on the surface, and, during rains particularly, the receptacles of the filth spread it over the streets.

It was here that Dolabella besieged and slew Trebonius, one of the murderers of divus Cæsar; he also destroyed many parts of the city.

38. Next to Smyrna is Leucæ,³ a small city, which Aris-

¹ Kelisman.

² Still to be found in collections of coins.

³ Leokaes?

tonicus caused to revolt, after the death of Attalus, the son of Philometor,¹ under pretence of being descended from the royal family, but with the intention of usurping the kingdom. He was, however, defeated in a naval engagement by the Ephesians, near the Cumæan district, and expelled. But he went into the interior of the country, and quickly collected together a multitude of needy people and slaves, who were induced to follow him by the hope of obtaining their freedom, whom he called Heliopolitæ. He first surprised Thyateira,² he then got possession of Apollonis, and had an intention of making himself master of other fortresses, but he did not maintain his ground long. The cities sent immediately a large body of troops against him, and were supported by Nicomedes the Bithynian and the kings of Cappadocia. Afterwards five deputies of the Romans came, then an army, and the consul Publius Crassus. These were followed by M. Perperna, who took Aristonicus prisoner, sent him to Rome, and thus put an end to the war. Aristonicus died in prison; Perperna died of some disease, and Crassus fell near Leucæ, in a skirmish with some people who had attacked him from an ambuscade. Manius Aquillius the consul came afterwards, with ten lieutenants; he regulated the affairs of the province, and established that form of government which continues at present.

After Leucæ follows Phocæa,³ situated on a bay. I have mentioned this place in the description of Massalia.⁴ Then follow the confines of the Ionians and the Æolians. I have already spoken of these.⁵

In the interior of the Ionian maritime territory there remain to be described the places about the road leading from Ephesus, as far as Antioch⁶ and the Mæander.

This tract is occupied by a mixed population of Lydians, Carians, and Greeks.

39. The first place after Ephesus is Magnesia, an Æolian city, and called Magnesia on the Mæander, for it is situated near it; but it is still nearer the Lethæus, which discharges itself into the Mæander. It has its source in Pactyes, a mountain in the Ephesian district. There is another Lethæus in

¹ B. xiii. c. iv. § 2.

² Ak-Hissar.

³ Karadscha-Fok'ia.

⁴ Marseilles, b. iv. ch. i. § 4.

⁵ B. xiii. ch. i. § 2.

⁶ Jenidscheh.

Gortyne, a third near Tricca, where Asclepius is said to have been born, and the fourth among the Hesperitæ Libyans.¹

Magnesia lies in a plain, near a mountain called Thorax,² on which it is said Daphitas the grammarian was crucified, for reviling the kings in a distich—

“O slaves, with backs purpled with stripes, filings of the gold of Lysimachus, you are the kings of Lydia and Phrygia.”

An oracle is said to have warned Daphitas to beware of the Thorax.³

40. The Magnesians appear to be the descendants of Delphians who inhabited the Didymæan mountains in Thessaly, and of whom Hesiod says,

“or, as the chaste virgin, who inhabits the sacred Didymæan hills in the plain of Dotium, opposite Amyrus, abounding with vines, and bathes her feet in the lake Bœbias—”

At Magnesia also was the temple of Dindymene, the mother of the gods. Her priestess, according to some writers, was the daughter, according to others, the wife, of Themistocles. At present there is no temple, because the city has been transferred to another place. In the present city is the temple of Artemis Leucophryene, which in the size of the nave and in the number of sacred offerings is inferior to the temple at Ephesus; but, in the fine proportion and the skill exhibited in the structure of the enclosure, it greatly surpasses the Ephesian temple; in size it is superior to all the temples in Asia, except that at Ephesus and that at Didymi.

Anciently the Magnetes were utterly extirpated by Treres, a Cimmerian tribe, who for a long period made successful inroads. Subsequently Ephesians got possession of the place.⁴ Callinus speaks of the Magnetes as still in a flourishing state, and successful in the war against the Ephesians. But Ar-

¹ Western Africa.

² Gumusch-dagh.

³ According to Suidas, Daphnidias ridiculed oracles, and inquired of the oracle of Apollo, “Shall I find my horse?” when he had none. The oracle answered that he would find it. He was afterwards, by the command of Attalus, king of Pergamum, taken and thrown from a precipice called the Horse.

⁴ The incursions of the Treres, with Cimmerians, into Asia and Europe followed after the Trojan war. The text is here corrupt. The translation follows the amendments proposed partly by Coraÿ, and partly by Kramer, τὸ δ' ἐξῆς Ἐφεσίων.

chilochus seems to have been acquainted with the calamities which had befallen them :

“bewail the misfortunes of the Thasians, not of the Magnetes ;” whence we may conjecture that Archilochus was posterior to Callinus. Yet Callinus mentions some other earlier inroad of the Cimmerians, when he says—

“and now the army of the daring Cimmerians is advancing,” where he is speaking of the capture of Sardis.

41. Among the illustrious natives of Magnesia were Hege-sias the orator, who first introduced the Asiatic fervour, as it was called, and corrupted the established Attic style of eloquence ; Simon (Simus?) the lyric poet, who also corrupted the system and plan of former lyric poets, by introducing the Simodia ; it was still more corrupted by the Lysiodi and Magodi ;¹ Cleomachus the pugilist, who was enamoured of a certain cinædus, and a female servant, who was maintained by the cinædus, imitated the sort of dialect and the manners of the cinædi. Sotades was the first person that employed the language of the cinædi, and he was followed by Alexander the Ætolian ; but these were only prose writers. Lysis added verse, but this had been done before his time by Simus.

The theatres had raised the reputation of Anaxenor, the player on the cithara, but Antony elevated him as high as possible, by appointing him receiver of the tribute from four cities, and by giving him a guard of soldiers for the protection of his person. His native country also augmented his dignity, by investing him with the sacred purple of Jupiter Sosipolis, as is represented in the painted figure in the forum. There is also in the theatre a figure in brass, with this inscription :

¹ These innovations or corruptions were not confined to the composition of pieces intended for the theatre, but extended also to the manner of their representation, to music, dancing, and the costume of the actors. It was an absolute plague, which corrupted taste, and finally destroyed the Greek theatre. We are not informed of the detail of these innovations, but from what we are able to judge by comparing Strabo with what is found in Athenæus, (b. xiv. § 14, p. 990, of Bohn's Classical Library,) Simodia was designated by the name of Hilarodia, (joyous song,) and obtained the name Simodia from one Simus, or Simon, who excelled in the art. The Lysiodi and Magodi, or Lysodia and Magodia, were the same thing, according to some writers. Under these systems decency appears to have been laid aside.

“It is truly delightful to listen to a minstrel such as he is, whose voice is like that of the gods.”¹

The artist who engraved the words was inattentive to the space which they would occupy, and omitted the last letter of the second verse, ΑΥΔΗΙ, (voice,) the breadth of the base not being large enough to allow its insertion; this afforded an occasion of accusing the citizens of ignorance, on account of the ambiguity of the inscription; for it is not clear whether the nominative ΑΥΔΗ, or the dative ΑΥΔΗΙ, is to be understood, for many persons write the dative cases without the I, and reject the usage, as not founded on any natural reason.

42. After Magnesia is the road to Tralles;² travellers have on the left hand Mesogis,³ and on the right hand, and from the road itself, the plain of the Mæander, which is occupied in common by Lydians, Carians, Ionians, Milesians, Mysians, and the Æolians of Magnesia.

The character of the sites of places is the same even as far as Nysa⁴ and Antioch.

The city of Tralles is built upon ground in the shape somewhat of a trapezium. It has a citadel strongly fortified, and the places around are well defended. It is as well peopled as any of the cities in Asia, and its inhabitants are wealthy; some of them constantly occupy chief stations in the province, and are called Asiarchs. Among the latter was Pythodorus, originally a native of Nysa; but, induced by the celebrity of the place, he migrated hither. He was one of the few friends of Pompey who were fortunate. His wealth was kingly, and consisted of more than two thousand talents, which he redeemed when it was confiscated by divus Cæsar, on account of his attachment to Pompey, and left it undiminished to his children. Pythodorus, who is at present queen in Pontus, and whom we have mentioned before, is his daughter. Pythodorus flourished in our times, and also Menodorus, an eloquent man, and a person of dignified and grave demeanour; he was priest of Jupiter Larisæus. He was circumvented by the adherents of Domitius Ænobarbus, who, on the credit of

¹ Od. ix. 3.

² Aidin-Gusel-Hissar.

³ The chain of mountains between the Caÿster and the Mæander, the different eminences of which bear the names of Samsun-dagh, Gumusch-dagh, Dsehuma-dagh, &c.

⁴ Sultan-Hissar.

informers, put him to death, for attempting, as was supposed, the revolt of his fleet.

Tralles produced also celebrated orators, Dionysocles, and after him Damasus, surnamed Scombrus.

It is said to have been founded by Argives and a body of Tralli Thracians,¹ from whom it had its name. It was governed for a short time by tyrants, sons of Cratippus, about the period of the Mithridatic war.

43. Nysa is situated near the Mesogis, resting for the most part against the mountain. It is as it were a double town, for a kind of torrent watercourse divides it into two parts, and forms a valley, one part of which has a bridge over it, connecting the two towns; the other is adorned with an amphitheatre; underneath it is a passage through which the waters of the torrents flow out of sight.

Near the theatre are situated² two heights; below one lies the gymnasium for the young men; below the other is the forum, and a place of exercise for older persons. To the south below the city lies the plain, as at Tralles.

44. On the road between Tralles and Nysa is a village of the Nysæans, not far from the city Acharaca, in which is the Plutonium, to which is attached a large grove, a temple of Pluto and Proserpine, and the Charonium, a cave which overhangs the grove, and possesses some singular physical properties. The sick, it is said, who have confidence in the cures performed by these deities, resort thither, and live in the village near the cave, among experienced priests, who sleep at night in the open air, on behalf of the sick, and direct the modes of cure by their dreams. The priests invoke the gods to cure the sick, and frequently take them into the cave, where, as in a den, they are placed to remain in quiet without food for several days. Sometimes the sick themselves observe their own dreams, but apply to these persons, in their character of priests and guardians of the mysteries, to interpret them, and to counsel what is to be done. To others the place is interdicted and fatal.

An annual festival, to which there is a general resort, is celebrated at Acharaca, and at that time particularly are to be

¹ The Tralli Thracians appear to have acted as mercenary soldiers, according to Hesychius.

² Groskurd supplies the word *πρόσκεινται*.

seen and heard those who frequent it, conversing about cures performed there.¹ During this feast the young men of the gymnasium and the ephebi, naked and anointed with oil,² carry off a bull by stealth at midnight, and hurry it away into the cave. It is then let loose, and after proceeding a short distance falls down and expires.

45. Thirty stadia from Nysa, as you cross the Mesogis towards the southern parts of Mount Tmolus,³ is a place called Leimon, or the Meadow, to which the Nysæans and all the people around repair when they celebrate a festival. Not far from this plain is an aperture in the ground, sacred to the same deities, which aperture is said to extend as far as Acharaca. They say that the poet mentions this meadow, in the words,

“ On the Asian mead,”⁴

and they show a temple dedicated to two heroes, Caÿstrius and Asius, and the Caÿster flowing near it.

46. Historians relate that three brothers, Athymbrus, Athymbradus, and Hydrelus, coming hither from Lacedæmon, founded (three?) cities, to which they gave their own names; that the population of these towns afterwards declined, but that out of these jointly Nysa was peopled. The Nysæans at present regard Athymbrus as their founder.

47. Beyond the Mæander and in the neighbourhood are considerable settlements, Coscinia⁵ and Orthosia, and on this side the river, Briula, Mastaura,⁶ Acharaca, and above the city on the mountain, Aroma; the letter *o* is shortened in the pronunciation. From this latter place is obtained the Aromeus, the best Mesogitian wine.

48. Among illustrious natives of Nysa were Apollonius the Stoic philosopher, the most eminent of the disciples of Panætius, and of Menecrates, the disciple of Aristarchus; Aristodemus, the son of Menecrates, whom, when I was a very young man, I heard lecturing on philosophy, in extreme old

¹ Groskurd reads *τοιούτων*, for *τοσούτων* in the text. Coraj̄ proposes *νοσούντων*.

² Meineke's conjecture is followed, *λίπα ἀλημιμένοι*, for *ἀπαλημιμένοι*.

³ Groskurd's emendation of this corrupt passage is adopted, *ὑπερβᾶσι τὴν Μεσσηγίδα ἐπὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν νότον μέρη Τμώλου τοῦ ὄρους*.

⁴ Il. ii. 461.

⁵ Arpas-Kalessi.

⁶ Mastauero.

age, at Nysa; Sostratus, the brother of Aristodemus, and another Aristodemus, his cousin, the master of Pompey the Great, were distinguished grammarians. My master taught rhetoric also at Rhodes, and in his own country he had two schools; in the morning he taught rhetoric, in the evening grammar. When he superintended the education of the children of Pompey at Rome, he was satisfied with teaching a school of grammar.

CHAPTER II.

1. THE places beyond the Mæander, which remain to be described, belong to the Carians. The Carians here are not intermixed with Lydians, but occupy the whole country by themselves, if we except a small portion of the sea-coast, of which the Milesians and Mysians have taken possession.

Caria¹ begins on the sea-coast opposite to Rhodes, and ends at Poseidium,² belonging to the Milesians. In the interior are the extremities of Taurus, which extend as far as the Mæander. For the mountains situated above the Chelidonian islands,³ as they are called, which lie in front of the confines of Pamphylia and Lycia, are, it is said, the beginning of the Taurus; for the Taurus has there some elevation, and indeed a mountainous ridge of Taurus separates the whole of Lycia towards the exterior and the southern part from Cibyra and its district, as far as the country opposite to Rhodes. Even there a mountainous tract is continued; it is, however, much lower in height, and is not considered as any longer belonging to Taurus, nor is there the distinction of parts lying within and parts lying without the Taurus, on account of the eminences and depressions being scattered about through the whole country both in breadth and length, and not presenting anything like a separation-wall.

The whole voyage along the coast, including the winding

¹ Adopting Kramer's correction of *Καρίας* for *παραλίας*.

² Cape Arbora.

³ Schelidan Adassi islands, opposite Cape Chelidonia.

of the bays, is 4900 stadia, and that along the country opposite to Rhodus 1500 stadia.

2. The beginning of this tract is Dædala,¹ a stronghold; and ends at the mountain Phœnix,² as it is called, both of which belong to the Rhodian territory. In front, at the distance of 120 stadia from Rhodes, lies Eleussa.³ In sailing from Dædala towards the west in a straight line along Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, in the midway is a bay called Glaucus, with good harbours; then is the promontory Artemisium, and a temple; next, the grove sacred to Latona; above this, and at the distance of 60 stadia, is Calynda, a city; then Caunus,⁴ and a deep river near it, the Calbis,⁵ which may be entered by vessels; between these is Pisilis.

3. The city Caunus has a naval arsenal and a close harbour. Above the city upon a height is Imbrus, a stronghold. Although the country is fertile, yet the city is allowed by all to be unhealthy in summer, on account of the heat, and in autumn, from the abundance of fruits.

Stories of the following kind are related respecting the city. Stratonicus, the player on the cithara, seeing the Caunians somewhat dark and yellow,⁶ said that this was what the poet meant in the line,

“As are the leaves, so is the race of men.”⁷

When he was accused of ridiculing the unhealthiness of the city, he answered, “Can I be so bold as to call that city unhealthy, where even the dead walk about?”

The Caunians once revolted from the Rhodians, but, by a decision of the Romans, they were received again by the Rhodians into favour. There is in existence an oration of Molo against the Caunians.

It is said that they speak the same language as the Carians, that they came from Crete, and retained their own laws and customs.⁸

¹ Near Gudscek, at the bottom of the Gulf of Glaucus, now Makri.

² The Phœnix (Phinti?) rises above the Gulf of Saradeh.

³ Alessa, or, according to others, Barbanicolo.

⁴ Dalian.

⁵ Doloman-Ischai.

⁶ Kramer suggests the words *ὑπομέλανας καὶ*, for the corrupt reading, *ἐπιμελῶς*.

⁷ Il. vi. 146.

⁸ The Caunians were aborigines of Caria, although they affected to come from Crete.—*Herod.* i. 72.

4. Next is Physcus,¹ a small town; it has a port and a grove sacred to Latona: then Loryma, a rugged line of sea-coast, and a mountain, the highest of any in that quarter, on the summit of which is Phoenix, a stronghold, of the same name as the mountain. In front is the island Eleussa, at the distance of 4 stadia. Its circumference is about 8 stadia.

5. The city of the Rhodians is on the eastern promontory. With regard to harbours, roads, walls, and other buildings, it so much surpasses other cities, that we know of none equal, much less superior to it.

Their political constitution and laws were excellent, and the care admirable with which they administered affairs of state generally, and particularly those relative to their marine. Hence being for a long period masters of the sea, they put an end to piracy, and became allies of the Romans, and of those kings who were well affected to the Romans and the Greeks; hence also the city was suffered to preserve her independence, and was embellished with many votive offerings. These are distributed in various places, but the greatest part of them are deposited in the Dionysium and in the gymnasium. The most remarkable is the Colossus of the Sun, which, the author of the iambics says, was

“seventy cubits in height, the work of Chares of Lindus.”

It now lies on the ground, having been thrown down by an earthquake, and is broken off at the knees. An oracle prohibited its being raised again. This is the most remarkable of the votive offerings, and it is allowed to be one of the seven wonders of the world.² There were also the pictures by Protogenes,³ the Ialysus, and the Satyr, who was represented

¹ Castro Marmora. The gulf on which it stands is still called Porto Fisko.

² Chares flourished at the beginning of the third century B. C. The accounts of the height of the Colossus of Rhodes differ slightly, but all agree in making it 105 English feet. It was twelve years in erecting, (B. C. 292—280,) and it cost 300 talents. There is no authority for the statement that its legs extended over the mouth of the harbour. It was overthrown 56 years after its erection. The fragments of the Colossus remained on the ground 923 years, until they were sold by Moawiyeh, the general of the Caliph Othman IV., to a Jew of Emessa, who carried them away on 900 camels, A. D. 672. Hence Scaliger calculated the weight of the bronze at 700,000 pounds.—*Smith's Dict. of Biog. and Mythology.*

³ Protogenes occupied seven years in painting the Ialysus, which was

standing by a pillar. On the top of the pillar was a partridge. The bird strongly attracted, as was natural, the gaping admiration of the people, when the picture was first hung up in public, and they were so much delighted, that the Satyr, although executed with great skill, was not noticed. The partridge-breeders were still more struck with the picture of the bird. They brought tame partridges, which, when placed opposite to the picture, made their call, and drew together crowds of people. When Protogenes observed that the principal had become the subordinate part of his work, he obtained permission of the curators of the temple to efface the bird, which he did.

The Rhodians, although their form of government is not democratic, are attentive to the welfare of the people, and endeavour to maintain the multitude of poor. The people receive allowances of corn, and the rich support the needy, according to an ancient usage. There are also public offices in the state, the object of which is to procure and distribute provisions,¹ so that the poor may obtain subsistence, and the city not suffer for want of persons to serve her, especially in manning her fleets.

Some of the dockyards are kept private, and the multitude are prohibited from seeing them. If any person should be found inspecting, or to have entered them, he would be punished with death. As at Massalia and Cyzicus,² so here particularly, everything relating to architects, the manufacture of engines, stores of arms, and of other materials, is administered with peculiar care, much more so than in other places.

6. Like the people of Halicarnasus,³ Cnidus, and Cos, the Rhodians are of Doric origin. Some of the Dorians, who founded Megara after the death of Codrus, remained there; others associated themselves with the colony which went to Crete under the conduct of Althæmenes the Argive; the rest were distributed at Rhodus, and among the cities just mentioned.

But these migrations are more recent than the events re-

afterwards transferred to the Temple of Peace at Rome. The Satyr was represented playing on a flute, and was entitled, The Satyr Reposing.—*Plutarch, Demetr.*; *Pliny, xxxv.* 10.

¹ ὀψωνιασμοῦ, Kramer's proposed correction, is adopted for ὀψωνιαζόμενοι.

² Marseilles and Artaki.

³ Bodrun.

lated by Homer. For Cnidus and Halicarnasus were not then in existence. Rhodes and Cos existed, but were inhabited by Heracleidæ. Tlepolemus, when he attained manhood,

“slew the maternal uncle of his father, the aged Licymnius. He immediately built ships, and, collecting a large body of people, fled away with them :”¹

and adds afterwards—

“after many sufferings on the voyage, he came to Rhodes; they settled there according to their tribes, in three bodies :”

and mentions by name the cities then existing²—

“Lindus, Ialysus, and the white Cameirus,”

the city of the Rhodians not being yet founded.

Homer does not here mention Dorians by name, but means Æolians and Bœotians, since Hercules and Licymnius lived in Bœotia. If however, as others relate, Tlepolemus set out from Argos and Tiryns, even so the colony would not be Dorian, for it was settled before the return of the Heracleidæ.

And of the Coans also Homer says—

“their leaders were Pheidippus and Antiphus, two sons of Thessalus the King, an Heracleid ;”³

and these names designate rather an Æolian than a Dorian origin.

7. Rhodes was formerly called Ophiussa and Stadia, then Telchinis, from the Telchines, who inhabited the island.⁴

These Telchines are called by some writers charmers and enchanters, who besprinkle animals and plants, with a view to destroy them, with the water of the Styx, mingled with sulphur. Others on the contrary say, that they were persons who excelled in certain mechanical arts, and that they were calumniated by jealous rivals, and thus acquired a bad reputation ; that they came from Crete, and first landed at Cyprus, and then removed to Rhodes. They were the first workers in iron and brass, and were the makers of Saturn’s scythe.

I have spoken of them before, but the variety of fables

¹ Il. ii. 662.

² Il. ii. 656.

³ Il. ii. 678.

⁴ Formerly, says Pliny, it was called Ophiussa, Asteria, Æthraea, Trinacria, Corymbia, Pœeessa, Atabyria, from a king of that name; then Macaria and Oloëssa. B. v. 31. To these names may be added Lindus and Pelagia. Meineke, however, suspects the name Stadia in this passage to be a corruption for Asteria.

which are related of them induces me to resume their history, and to supply what may have been omitted.

8. After the Telchines, the Heliadæ¹ were said, according to fabulous accounts, to have occupied the island. One of these Heliadæ, Cercaphus, and his wife Cydippe had children, who founded the cities called after their names—

“Lindus, Ialysus, and the white Cameirus.”²

Others say, that Tlepolemus founded them, and gave to them the names of some of the daughters of Danaüs.

9. The present city was built during the Peloponnesian war, by the same architect,³ it is said, who built the Piræus. The Piræus, however, does not continue to exist, having formerly sustained injuries from the Lacedæmonians, who threw down the walls, and then from Sylla, the Roman general.

10. It is related of the Rhodians that their maritime affairs were in a flourishing state, not only from the time of the foundation of the present city, but that many years before the institution of the Olympic festival, they sailed to a great distance from their own country for the protection of sailors. They sailed as far as Spain, and there founded Rhodus, which the people of Marseilles afterwards occupied; they founded Parthenope⁴ among the Opici, and Elpiæ in Daunia, with the assistance of Coans. Some authors relate, that after their return from Troy they colonized the Gymnasian islands. According to Timæus, the greater of these islands is the largest known,⁵ next the seven following, Sardinia, Sicily, Cyprus, Crete, Eubœa,⁶ Corsica, and Lesbos; but this is a mistake, for these others are much larger. It is said, that gymnetes (or light-armed soldiers⁷) are called by the Phœnicians balearides, and that from hence the Gymnasian islands were called Balearides.

Some of the Rhodians settled in the neighbourhood of

¹ That is, Children of the Sun. They were seven in number, Cercaphus, Actis, Macareus, Tenages, Triopes, Phaethon, and Ochimus, born of the Sun and of a nymph, or, according to others, of a heroine named Rhodus.

² Il. ii. 656.

³ Hippodamus of Miletus.

⁴ Naples.

⁵ Majorca.

⁶ Negropont.

⁷ Called light-armed probably from the use of the sling, common among the Rhodians, as it was also among the Cretans. The use of the sling tends to prove the Rhodian origin of the inhabitants of the Balearic islands. The Athenian expedition to Sicily (Thucyd. vi. 43) was accompanied by 700 slingers from Rhodes.

Sybaris, in the Chonian territory.¹ Homer seems to bear evidence of the former prosperity of the Rhodians, from the very foundation of the three cities ;

“they settled according to their tribes, in three companies, and were the favourites of Jupiter, who showered upon them great wealth.”²

Other writers have applied these verses to a fable, according to which, at the birth of Minerva, it rained gold on the island from the head of Jupiter, as Pindar has said.³

The island is 920 stadia in circumference.

11. In sailing from the city, and leaving the island on the right hand, the first place we meet with is Lindus,⁴ a city situated on a mountain extending far towards the south, and particularly towards Alexandria (in Egypt).⁵ There is here a celebrated temple of the Lindian Diana, built by the Danaides. Formerly, the Lindians, like the inhabitants of Cameirus,⁶ and Ialysus, formed an independent state, but afterwards they all settled at Rhodes.

Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men, was a native of Lindus.

12. Next to Lindus is Ixia,⁷ a stronghold, and Mnasyrium ; then the Atabyris,⁸ the highest mountain in the island, sacred to Jupiter Atabyrius ; then Cameirus ; then Ialysus a village, and above it is an acropolis called Ochyroma (the Fortification) ; then, at the distance of about 80 stadia, the city of the Rhodians. Between these is the Thoantium, a sort of beach, immediately in front of which are situated the Sporades islands lying about Chalcis, which we have mentioned before.⁹

13. There have been many remarkable persons, natives of Rhodes, both generals and athletæ, among whom were the ancestors of Panætius the philosopher. Among statesmen, orators, and philosophers, were Panætius, Stratocles, Andronicus the Peripatetic, Leonides the Stoic, and long before the time of these persons, Praxiphanes, Hieronymus, and Eudæmus. Poseidonius was concerned in the administration of the affairs of state, and taught philosophy at Rhodes, (but he was a native of Apameia in Syria,) as did Apollonius Malacus, and

¹ Strabo here omits to mention the Rhodian origin of Agrigentum and Gela in Sicily.

² Il. ii. 668.

³ Ol. vii. 61.

⁴ Lindo.

⁵ According to Strabo, Alexandria and Rhodes were upon the same meridian.

⁶ Camiro.

⁷ Lanathi ?

⁸ Abatro.

⁹ B. x. c. v. § 14.

Molon, who were natives of Alabanda, and disciples of Me- necles the rhetorician. Apollonius had resided at Rhodes long before, but Molon came late; whence the former said to him "late comer," Οψὲ μολῶν, instead of ἐλθῶν.¹ Peisander, a Rhodian poet, author of the *Heracleia*; Simmias the gram- marian, and Aristocles, of our time. Dionysius the Thracian, and Apollonius, author of the *Argonautics*, although natives of *Alexandreia*, were called Rhodians.

This is sufficient on the subject of the island of Rhodes.

14. There is a bend of the Carian coast opposite to Rhodes, immediately after Eleus² and Loryma, towards the north, and then the ship's course is in a straight line to the Propontis,³ and forms as it were a meridian line of about 500 stadia in length, or somewhat less. Along this line are situated the re- mainder of Caria, Ionians, Æolians, Troy, and the parts about Cyzicus and Byzantium. Next to Loryma is the Cynos- sema, or dogs' monument,⁴ and the island Syme.⁵

15. Then follows Cnidus,⁶ which has two harbours, one of which is a close harbour, fit for receiving triremes, and a naval station for 20 vessels. In front of Cnidus is an island, in cir- cumference about 7 stadia; it rises high, in the form of a theatre, and is united by a mole to the continent, and almost makes Cnidus a double city, for a great part of the inhabit- ants occupy the island, which shelters both harbours. Oppo- site to it, far out at sea, is Nisyrus.⁷

Illustrious natives of Cnidus were, first, Eudoxus the mathe- matician, a disciple of Plato's; Agatharchides, the Peripatetic philosopher and historian; Theopompus, one of the most power- ful of the friends of divus Cæsar, and his son Artemidorus. Ctesias also, the physician of Artaxerxes, was a native of this place. He wrote a history of Assyria and Persia.

Next after Cnidus are Ceramus⁸ and Bargasa, small towns overlooking the sea.

16. Then follows Halicarnasus, formerly called Zephyra, the royal seat of the dynasts of Caria. Here is the sepulchre of Mausolus, one of the seven wonders of the world;⁹

¹ The original, which is a play upon words, cannot be rendered in Eng- lish. ² Called before, Eleussa, c. ii. § 2.

³ The Sea of Marmora.

⁴ Capo Volpe, or Alepo Kavo, meaning the same thing.

⁵ Isle of Symi.

⁶ Crio.

⁷ Indschirli, or Nisari.

⁸ Keramo.

⁹ The word ἔργον, "a work," suggests that there is some omission in

Artemisia erected it, in honour of her husband. Here also is the fountain Salmacis, which has a bad repute, for what reason I know not, for making those who drink of it effeminate. Mankind, enervated by luxury, impute the blame of its effects to different kinds of air and water, but these are not the causes of luxury, but riches and intemperance.

There is an acropolis at Halicarnasus. In front of it lies Arconnesus.¹ It had, among others, as its founders, Anthes and a body of Trœzenians.²

Among the natives of Halicarnasus were Herodotus the historian, who was afterwards called Thurius, because he was concerned in sending out the colony to Thurii; Heracleitus the poet, the friend of Callimachus; and in our time, Dionysius the historian.

17. Halicarnasus suffered, when it was taken by storm by Alexander. Hecatomnus, who was then king of the Carians, had three sons, Mausolus, Hidrieus, and Pixodarus, and two daughters. Mausolus, the eldest son, married Artemisia, the eldest daughter; Hidrieus, the second son, married Ada, the other sister. Mausolus came to the throne, and, dying without children, left the kingdom to his wife, by whom the above-mentioned sepulchre was erected. She pined away for grief at the loss of her husband. Hidrieus succeeded her; he died a natural death, and was succeeded by his wife Ada. She was ejected by Pixodarus, the surviving son of Hecatomnus. Having espoused the party of the Persians, Pixodarus sent for a satrap to share the kingdom with him. After the death of Pixodarus, the satrap became master of Halicarnasus. But upon the arrival of Alexander, he sustained a siege. His wife was Ada, daughter of Pixodarus, and Aphneis, a woman of Cappadocia. But Ada, the daughter of Hecatomnus, whom Pixodarus ejected, entreated Alexander, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to reinstate her in the kingdom of which she had been deprived; she promised (in return) her assistance in reducing to obedience the parts of the country which had revolted; for the persons who were in possession of them

the text. Coraj supposes that the name of the architect or architects is wanting. Groskurd would supply the words *Σκόπα καὶ ἄλλων τεχνιτῶν*, "the work of Scopas and other artificers." See Pliny, N. H. xxxvi., and Vitruvius Præf. b. vii.

¹ Coronata.

² Mela says, of Argives. B. i. c. xvi. § 19.

were her relations and subjects. She also delivered up Alinda, where she herself resided. Alexander granted her request, and proclaimed her queen, after the city was taken, but not the acropolis, which was doubly fortified. He assigned to Ada the siege of the acropolis, which was taken in a short time afterwards, the besiegers having attacked it with fury and exasperation at the resistance of the besieged.

18. Next is Termerium,¹ a promontory of the Myndians, opposite to which lies Scandaria, a promontory of Cos, distant 40 stadia from the continent. There is also above the promontory a fortress, Termerum.

19. The city of the Coans was formerly called Astypalæa, and was built in another place, but is at present on the sea-coast. Afterwards, on account of a sedition, they migrated to the present city, near Scandarium, and changed the name to that of the island, Cos. The city is not large, but beautifully built, and a most pleasing sight to mariners who are sailing by the coast. The island is about 550 stadia in circumference. The whole of it is fertile, and produces, like Chios and Lesbos, excellent wine. It has, towards the south, the promontory Laceter,² from which to Nicyrus is 60 stadia, and near Laceter is Halisarna, a stronghold; on the west is Drecanum, and a village called Stomalimne. Drecanum is distant about 200 stadia from the city. The promontory Laceter adds to the length of the navigation 35 stadia. In the suburb is the celebrated temple Asclepieium, full of votive offerings, among which is the Antigonus of Apelles. It formerly contained the Venus Anadyomene, (Venus emerging from the sea,) but that is now at Rome, dedicated to divus Cæsar by Augustus, who consecrated to his father the picture of her who was the author of his family. It is said that the Coans obtained, as a compensation for the loss of this painting, an abatement, amounting to a hundred talents, of their usual tribute.

It is said, that Hippocrates learned and practised the dietetic part of medicine from the narrative of cures suspended in the temple. He is one of the illustrious natives of Cos. Simus, also, the physician, Philetas the poet and critic, Nicias of our time, who was tyrant of Cos; Ariston, the disciple and heir of Ariston the Peripatetic philosopher; and Theomnestus, a minstrel of name, who was of the opposite political party to Nicias.

¹ Petera, or Petra Termera.

² Ca e Kephala.

20. On the coast of the continent opposite to the Myndian territory is Astypalæa a promontory, and Zephyrium. The city Myndus follows immediately after, which has a harbour; then the city Bargylia. In the intervening distance is Caryanda¹ a harbour, and an island of the same name, occupied by Caryandians. Scylax the ancient historian was a native of this island. Near Bargylia is the temple of Artemis Cindyas, round which the rain falls, it is believed, without touching it. There was once a strong place called Cindya.

Among the distinguished natives of Bargylia was Protarchus the Epicurean; Demetrius surnamed Lacon was his disciple.

21. Next follows Iasus, situated upon an island,² on the side towards the continent. It has a port, and the inhabitants derive the greatest part of their subsistence from the sea, which abounds with fish, but the soil is very barren. Stories of the following kind are related of Iasus.

As a player on the cithara was displaying his art in public, every one listened to him attentively till the market bell rung for the sale of fish, when he was deserted by all except one man, who was quite deaf. The minstrel coming up to him said, "Friend, I am much obliged to you for the honour you have done me, and I admire your love of music, for all the others have left me at the sound of the bell."—"What say you, has the bell rung?"—"Yes, he replied?"—"Good bye to you," said the man, and away he also went.

Diodorus the Dialectician was a native of this place. He was surnamed Cronus (or Old Time); the title was not properly his from the first; it was his master Apollonius who (in the first instance) had received the surname of Cronus, but it was transferred to Diodorus on account of the want of celebrity in the true Cronus.

22. Next to Iasus is Cape Poseidium³ of the Milesians. In the interior are three considerable cities, Mylasa,⁴ Stratoniceia,⁵ and Alabanda.⁶ The others are guard forts to these or to the maritime towns, as Amyzon, Heracleia, Euromus, Chalcedor. But we make little account of these.

23. Mylasa is situated in a very fertile plain; a mountain, containing a very beautiful marble quarry, overhangs the city; and it is no small advantage to have stone for building

¹ Pascha-Liman.² Assem-Kalessi.³ Cape Arbore.⁴ Mylassa, or Marmora.⁵ Eski-hissar.⁶ Arab-hissar

in abundance and near at hand, particularly for the construction of temples and other public edifices; consequently, no city is embellished more beautifully than this with porticos and temples. It is a subject of surprise, however, that persons should be guilty of the absurdity of building the city at the foot of a perpendicular and lofty precipice. One of the governors of the province is reported to have said, when he expressed his astonishment at this circumstance, "If the founder of the city had no fear, he had no shame."

The Mylasians have two temples, one of Jupiter called Osogo, and another of Jupiter Labrandenus. The former is in the city. Labranda is a village on the mountain, near the passage across it from Alabanda to Mylasa, at a distance from the city. At Labranda is an ancient temple of Jupiter, and a statue of Jupiter Stratius, who is worshipped by the neighbouring people and by the inhabitants of Mylasa. There is a paved road for a distance of about 60 stadia from the temple to the city; it is called the Sacred Way, along which the sacred things are carried in procession. The most distinguished citizens are always the priests, and hold office during life. These temples belong peculiarly to the city. There is a third temple of the Carian Jupiter, common to all the Carians, in the use of which the Lydians, also, and Mysians participate, as being brethren.

Mylasa is said to have been anciently a village, but the native place and royal residence of Hecatomnus and the Carians. The city approaches nearest to the sea at Physcus, which is their naval arsenal.

24. Mylasa has produced in our time illustrious men, who were at once orators and demagogues, Euthydemus and Hybreas. Euthydemus inherited from his ancestors great wealth and reputation. He possessed commanding eloquence, and was regarded as a person of eminence, not only in his own country, but was thought worthy of the highest honours even in Asia. The father of Hybreas, as he used to relate the circumstance in his school, and as it was confirmed by his fellow-citizens, left him a mule which carried wood, and a mule driver. He was maintained for a short time by their labour, and was enabled to attend the lectures of Diotrophes of Antioch. On his return he held the office of superintendent of the market. But here being harassed, and gaining but

little profit, he applied himself to the affairs of the state, and to attend to the business of the forum. He quickly advanced himself, and became an object of admiration, even during the lifetime of Euthydemus, and still more after his death, as the leading person in the city. Euthydemus possessed great power, and used it for the benefit of the city, so that if some of his acts were rather tyrannical, this character was lost in their public utility.

The saying of Hybreas, at the conclusion of an harangue to the people, is applauded: "Euthydemus, you are an evil necessary to the city; for we can live neither with thee nor without thee."¹

Hybreas, although he had acquired great power, and had the reputation of being both a good citizen and an excellent orator, was defeated in his political opposition to Labienus. For the citizens, unarmed, and disposed to peace, surrendered to Labienus, who attacked them with a body of troops and with Parthian auxiliaries, the Parthians being at that time masters of Asia. But Zeno of Laodiceia and Hybreas, both of them orators, did not surrender, but caused their own cities to revolt. Hybreas provoked Labienus, an irritable and vain young man, by saying, when the youth announced himself emperor of the Parthians, "Then I shall call myself emperor of the Carians." Upon this Labienus marched against the city, having with him cohorts drafted from the Roman soldiery stationed in Asia. He did not however take Hybreas prisoner, who had retreated to Rhodes, but plundered and destroyed his house, which contained costly furniture, and treated the whole city in the same manner. After Labienus had left Asia, Hybreas returned, and restored his own affairs and those of the city to their former state.

This then on the subject of Mylasa.

25. Stratoniceia is a colony of Macedonians. It was embellished by the kings with costly edifices. In the district of the Stratoniceians are two temples. The most celebrated, that of Hecate, is at Lagina, where every year great multitudes assemble at a great festival. Near the city is the temple of Jupiter Chrysaoreus,² which is common to all the Carians, and whither they repair to offer sacrifice, and to deliberate on their common interests. They call this meeting the Chrysa-

¹ This is a parody on a passage in Aristophanes. *Lysis*. v. 1038.

² Of the golden rays (around the head).

oreōn, which is composed of villages. Those who represent the greatest number of villages have the precedence in voting, like the Ceramiētæ. The Stratoniceians, although they are not of Carian race, have a place in this assembly, because they possess villages included in the Chrysaoric body.

In the time of our ancestors there flourished at Stratoniceia a distinguished person, Menippus the orator, surnamed Cato-cas, whom Cicero¹ commends in one of his writings above all the Asiatic orators whom he had heard, comparing him to Xenocles, and to those who flourished at that time.

There is another Stratoniceia, called Stratoniceia at the Taurus, a small town adjacent to the mountain.

26. Alabanda lies at the foot of two eminences, in such a manner as to present the appearance of an ass with panniers. On this account Apollonius Malacus ridicules the city, and also because it abounds with scorpions; he says, it was an ass, with panniers full of scorpions.

This city and Mylasa, and the whole mountainous tract between them, swarm with these reptiles.

The inhabitants of Alabanda are addicted to luxury and debauchery. It contains a great number of singing girls.

Natives of Alabanda, distinguished persons, were two orators, brothers, Meneclæ, whom we mentioned a little above, and Hierocles, Apollonius, and Molo; the two latter afterwards went to Rhodes.

27. Among the various accounts which are circulated respecting the Carians, the most generally received is that the Carians, then called Leleges, were governed by Minos, and occupied the islands. Then removing to the continent, they obtained possession of a large tract of sea-coast and of the interior, by driving out the former occupiers, who were, for the most part, Leleges and Pelasgi. The Greeks again, Ionians and Dorians, deprived the Carians of a portion of the country.

As proofs of their eager pursuit of war, the handles of shields, badges, and crests, all of which are called Carian, are alleged. Anacreon says,

“Come, grasp the well-made Caric handles;”

and Alcæus—

“Shaking a Carian crest.”

¹ Cicero. *Brut.*, c. 91.

28. But when Homer uses these expressions, "Masthes commanded the Carians, who speak a barbarous language,"¹ it does not appear why, when he was acquainted with so many barbarous nations, he mentions the Carians alone as using a barbarous language, but does not call any people Barbarians. Nor is Thucydides right, who says that none were called Barbarians, because as yet the Greeks were not distinguished by any one name as opposed to some other. But Homer himself refutes this position that the Greeks were not distinguished by this name :

"A man whose fame has spread through Greece and Argos ;"²
and in another place—

"But if you wish to go through Hellas and the middle of Argos."³

But if there was no such term as Barbarian, how could he properly speak of people as Barbarophonoi (i. e. speaking a barbarous language) ?

Neither is Thucydides nor Apollonius the grammarian right, because the Greeks, and particularly the Ionians, applied to the Carians a common term in a peculiar and vituperative sense, in consequence of their hatred of them for their animosity and continual hostile incursions. Under these circumstances he might call them Barbarians. But we ask, why does he call them Barbarophonoi, but not once Barbarians ? Because, replies Apollonius, the plural number does not fall in with the metre ; this is the reason why Homer does not call them Barbarians. Admitting then that the genitive case (*βαρβαρων*) does not fall in with the measure of the verse, the nominative case (*βαρβαροι*) does not differ from that of Dardani (*Δάρδανοι*) ;

"Trojans, Lycians, and Dardani ;"

and of the same kind is the word Troï⁴ in this verse,

"Like the Troï horses" (*Τρώιοι ἵπποι*).

Nor is the reason to be found in the alleged excessive harshness of the Carian language, for it is not extremely harsh ; and besides, according to Philippus, the author of a history of Caria, their language contains a very large mixture of Greek words.

¹ Il. ii. 867, in which the reading is *Νάστης*, but *Μέσθης* in Il. ii. 864.

² Od. i. 344.

³ Il. xv. 80.

⁴ Il. v. 222.

I suppose that the word "barbarian" was at first invented to designate a mode of pronunciation which was embarrassed, harsh, and rough; as we use the words *battarizein*, *traulizein*, *psellizein*,¹ to express the same thing. For we are naturally very much disposed to denote certain sounds by names expressive of those sounds, and characteristic of their nature; and hence invented terms abound, expressive of the sounds which they designate, as *kelaryzein*, *clange*, *psophos*, *boe*, *krotos*,² most of which words are at present used in an appropriate sense.

As those who pronounce their words with a thick enunciation are called Barbarians, so foreigners, I mean those who were not Greeks, were observed to pronounce their words in this manner. The term Barbarians was therefore applied peculiarly to these people, at first by way of reproach, as having a thick and harsh enunciation; afterwards the term was used improperly, and applied as a common gentile term in contradistinction to the Greeks. For after a long intimacy and intercourse had subsisted with the Barbarians, it no longer appeared that this peculiarity arose from any thickness of enunciation, or a natural defect in the organs of the voice, but from the peculiarities of their languages.

But there was in our language a bad and what might be called a barbarous utterance, as when any person speaking Greek should not pronounce it correctly, but should pronounce the words like the Barbarians, who, when beginning to learn the Greek language, are not able to pronounce it perfectly, as neither are we able to pronounce perfectly their languages.

This was peculiarly the case with the Carians. For other nations had not much intercourse with the Greeks, nor were disposed to adopt the Grecian manner of life, nor to learn our language, with the exception of persons who by accident and singly had associated with a few Greeks; but the Carians were dispersed over the whole of Greece, as mercenary soldiers. Then the barbarous pronunciation was frequently met with among them, from their military expeditions into Greece; and afterwards it spread much more, from the time that they occupied the islands together with the Greeks: not even when

¹ *βατταριζειν, τραυλιζειν, ψελλιζειν.*

² *κελαρύζειν, κλαγγή, ψόφος, βοή, κρότος.*

driven thence into Asia, could they live apart from Greeks, when the Ionians and Dorians arrived there.

Hence arose the expression, "to barbarize," for we are accustomed to apply this term to those whose pronunciation of the Greek language is vicious, and not to those who pronounce it like the Carians.

We are then to understand the expressions, "barbarous speaking" and "barbarous speakers," of persons whose pronunciation of the Greek language is faulty. The word "to barbarize" was formed after the word "to Carize," and transferred into the books which teach the Greek language; thus also the word "to solœcize" was formed, derived either from Soli or some other source.

29. Artemidorus says that the journey from Physcus, on the coast opposite to Rhodes, towards Ephesus, as far as Lagina is 850 stadia; thence to Alabanda 250 stadia; to Tralles 160. About halfway on the road to Tralles the Mæander is crossed, and here are the boundaries of Caria. The whole number of stadia from Physcus to the Mæander, along the road to Ephesus, is 1180 stadia. Again, along the same road, from the Mæander of Ionia to Tralles 80 stadia, to Magnesia 140 stadia, to Ephesus 120, to Smyrna 320, to Phocæa and the boundaries of Ionia, less than 200 stadia; so that the length of Ionia in a straight line would be, according to Artemidorus, a little more than 800 stadia.

But as there is a public frequented road by which all travellers pass on their way from Ephesus to the east, Artemidorus thus describes it. [From Ephesus] to Carura, the boundary of Caria towards Phrygia, through Magnesia and Tralles, Nysa, Antioch, is a journey of 740 stadia. From Carura, the first town in Phrygia, through Laodiceia, Apameia, Metropolis, and Chelidoniæ,¹ to Holmi, the beginning of the Paroreius, a country lying at the foot of the mountains, about 920 stadia; to Tyriæum,² the termination towards Lycaonia of the Paroreius,³ through Philomelium⁴ is little more than 500 stadia. Next is Lycaonia as far as Coropassus,⁵ through Laodiceia in the Catacecaumene, 840 stadia; from Coropassus

¹ Chelidoniæ, in this passage, is probably an error. Groskurd adopts the name Philomelium.

² Ilgun.

³ At the base of Sultan-dagh.

⁴ Ak-Schehr.

⁵ Sultan Chan.

in Lycaonia to Garsaura,¹ a small city of Cappadocia, situated on its borders, 120 stadia; thence to Mazaca,² the metropolis of the Cappadocians, through Soandus and Sadacora, 680 stadia; thence to the Euphrates, as far as Tomisa, a stronghold in Sophene, through Herphæ,³ a small town, 1440 stadia.

The places in a straight line with these, as far as India, are described in the same manner by Artemidorus and Eratosthenes. Polybius says, that with respect to those places we ought chiefly to depend upon Artemidorus. He begins from Samosata in Commagene, which is situated at the passage, and the Zeugma of the Euphrates, to Samosata across the Taurus, from the mountains of Cappadocia about Tomisa, he says is a distance of 450 stadia.

CHAPTER III.

1. AFTER the part of the coast opposite⁴ to Rhodes, the boundary of which is Dædala, in sailing thence towards the east, we come to Lycia, which extends to Pamphylia; next is Pamphylia, extending as far as Cilicia Tracheia, which reaches as far as the Cilicians, situated about the Bay of Issus. These are parts of the peninsula, the isthmus of which we said was the road from Issus as far as Amisus,⁵ or, according to some authors, to Sinope.

¹ Ak-Sera.

² Kaiserieh.

³ Called Herpa, b. xii. ch. ii. § 6, pages 281, 283.

⁴ Μετὰ τὴν Ῥοδίων Περæαν, or, "After the Peræa of Rhodes." Peræa was the name of the coast of Caria opposite to Rhodes, which for several centuries formed a dependency of that opulent republic. In the time of Scylax, the Rhodians possessed only the peninsula immediately in face of their island. As a reward for their assistance in the Antiochian war, the Romans gave them a part of Lycia, and all Caria as far as the Mæander. By having adopted a less prudent policy in the second Macedonic war, they lost it all, including Caunus, the chief town of Peræa. It was not long, however, before it was restored to them, together with the small islands near Rhodes; and from this time Peræa retained the limits which Strabo has described, namely, Dædala on the east and Mount Loryma on the west, both included. Vespasian finally reduced Rhodes itself into the provincial form, and joined it to Caria.—*Leake*.

⁵ Samsun.

The country beyond the Taurus consists of the narrow line of sea-coast extending from Lycia to the places about Soli, the present Pompeiopolis. Then the sea-coast near the Bay of Issus, beginning from Soli and Tarsus, spreads out into plains.

The description of this coast will complete the account of the whole peninsula. We shall then pass to the rest of Asia without the Taurus, and lastly we shall describe Africa.

2. After Dædala of the Rhodians there is a mountain of Lycia, of the same name, Dædala, and here the whole Lycian coast begins, and extends 1720 stadia. This maritime tract is rugged, and difficult to be approached, but has very good harbours, and is inhabited by a people who are not inclined to acts of violence. The country is similar in nature to that of Pamphylia and Cilicia Tracheia. But the former used the places of shelter for vessels for piratical purposes themselves, or afforded to pirates a market for their plunder and stations for their vessels.

At Side,¹ a city of Pamphylia, the Cilicians had places for building ships. They sold their prisoners, whom they admitted were freemen, by notice through the public crier.

But the Lycians continued to live as good citizens, and with so much restraint upon themselves, that although the Pamphylians had succeeded in obtaining the sovereignty of the sea as far as Italy, yet they were never influenced by the desire of base gain, and persevered in administering the affairs of the state according to the laws of the Lycian body.

3. There are three and twenty cities in this body, which have votes. They assemble from each city at a general congress, and select what city they please for their place of meeting. Each of the largest cities commands three votes, those of intermediate importance two, and the rest one vote. They contribute in the same proportion to taxes and other public charges. The six largest cities, according to Artemidorus, are Xanthus,² Patara,³ Pinara,⁴ Olympus, Myra, Tlos,⁵ which is situated at the pass of the mountain leading to Cibyra.

At the congress a lyciarch is first elected, then the other officers of the body. Public tribunals are also appointed for

¹ Eski Adalia, Old Attaleia; but the Greeks gave the name *παλαιά Αρτάλεια*, Old A. taleia, to Perge.—*Leake*.

² Gunik.

³ Patara.

⁴ Minara.

⁵ Duvar.

the administration of justice. Formerly they deliberated about war and peace, and alliances, but this is not now permitted, as these things are under the control of the Romans. It is only done by their consent, or when it may be for their own advantage.

Thus judges and magistrates are elected according to the proportion of the number of votes belonging to each city.¹ It was the fortune of these people, who lived under such an excellent government, to retain their liberty under the Romans, and the laws and institutions of their ancestors; to see also the entire extirpation of the pirates, first by Servilius Isauricus, at the time that he demolished Isaura, and afterwards by Pompey the Great, who burnt more than 1300 vessels, and destroyed their haunts and retreats. Of the survivors in these contests he transferred some to Soli, which he called Pompeiopolis; others to Dyme, which had a deficient population, and is now occupied by a Roman colony.

The poets, however, particularly the tragic poets, confound nations together; for instance, Trojans, Mysians, and Lydians, whom they call Phrygians, and give the name of Lycians to Carians.

4. After Dædala is a Lycian mountain, and near it is Telmessus,² a small town of the Lycians, and Telmessis, a promontory with a harbour. Eumenes took this place from the Romans in the war with Antiochus, but after the dissolution of the kingdom of Pergamus, the Lycians recovered it again.

5. Then follows Anticragus, a precipitous mountain, on which is Carmylessus,³ a fortress situated in a gorge; next is Mount Cragus, with eight peaks,⁴ and a city of the same name. The neighbourhood of these mountains is the scene of the fable of the Chimæra; and at no great distance is Chimæra, a sort of ravine, extending upwards from the shore. Below the Cragus in the interior is Pinara, which is one of the largest cities of Lycia. Here Pandarus is worshipped, of the same name perhaps as the Trojan Pandarus;

¹ Gillies, in his translation of Aristotle, makes use of this example of the Lycians to prove that representative government was not unknown to the ancients. The deputies sent from the twenty-three cities formed a parliament. The taxes and public charges imposed on the several towns were in proportion to the number of representatives sent from each city. — *Gillies*, vol. ii. p. 64, &c.

² Makri.

³ Site unknown.

⁴ Efta Kavi, the Seven Capes.

“ thus the pale nightingale, daughter of Pandarus ; ”¹
for this Pandarus, it is said, came from Lycia.

6. Next is the river Xanthus, formerly called Sirbis.² In sailing up it in vessels which ply as tenders, to the distance of 10 stadia, we come to the Letoum, and proceeding 60 stadia beyond the temple, we find the city of the Xanthians, the largest in Lycia. After the Xanthus follows Patara, which is also a large city with a harbour, and containing a temple of Apollo. Its founder was Patarus. When Ptolemy Philadelphus repaired it, he called it the Lycian Arsinoe, but the old name prevailed.

7. Next is Myra, at the distance of 20 stadia from the sea, situated upon a lofty hill ; then the mouth of the river Limyrus, and on ascending from it by land 20 stadia, we come to the small town Limyra. In the intervening distance along the coast above mentioned are many small islands and harbours. The most considerable of the islands is Cisthene, on which is a city of the same name.³ In the interior are the strongholds Phellus, Antiphellus, and Chimæra, which I mentioned above.

8. Then follow the Sacred Promontory⁴ and the Chelidonia, three rocky islands, equal in size, and distant from each other about 5, and from the land 6 stadia. One of them has an anchorage for vessels. According to the opinion of many writers, the Taurus begins here, because the summit is lofty, and extends from the Pisidian mountains situated above Pamphylia, and because the islands lying in front exhibit a re-

¹ Od. xix. 518.

² Kodscha.

³ The passage in the original, in which all manuscripts agree, and which is the subject of much doubt, is—

ὄν καὶ μεγίστη νῆσος καὶ πόλις ὁμώνυμος, ἡ Κισθήνη.

Groskurd would read *καὶ* before *ἡ*, and translates,—“ Among others is Megiste an island, and a city of the same name, and Cisthene.”

Later writers, says Leake, make no mention of Cisthene ; and Ptolemy, Pliny, Stephanus, agree in showing that Megiste and Dolichiste were the two principal islands on the coast of Lycia : the former word Megiste, *greatest*, well describing the island Kasteloryzo or Castel Rosso, as the latter word (longest) does that of Kakava. Nor is Scylax less precise in pointing out Kasteloryzo as Megiste, which name is found in an inscription copied by M. Cockerell from a rock at Castel Rosso. It would seem, therefore, that this island was anciently known by both names, (Megiste and Cisthene,) but in later times perhaps chiefly by that of Megiste.

⁴ Cape Chelidonia.

markable figure in the sea, like a skirt of a mountain. But in fact the mountainous chain is continued from the country opposite Rhodes to the parts near Pisidia, and this range of mountains is called Taurus.

The Chelidoniæ islands seem to be situated in a manner opposite to Canopus,¹ and the passage across is said to be 4000 stadia.

From the Sacred Promontory to Olbia² there remain 367 stadia. In this distance are Crambusa,³ and Olympus⁴ a large city, and a mountain of the same name, which is called also Phœnicus;⁵ then follows Corycus, a tract of sea-coast.

9. Then follows Phaselis,⁶ a considerable city, with three harbours and a lake. Above it is the mountain Solyma⁷ and Termessus,⁸ a Pisidic city, situated on the defiles, through which there is a pass over the mountain to Milyas. Alexander demolished it, with the intention of opening the defiles.

About Phaselis, near the sea, are narrow passes through which Alexander conducted his army. There is a mountain called Climax. It overhangs the sea of Pamphylia, leaving a narrow road along the coast, which in calm weather is not covered with water, and travellers can pass along it, but when the sea is rough, it is in a great measure hidden by the waves. The pass over the mountains is circuitous and steep, but in fair weather persons travel on the road along the shore. Alexander came there when there was a storm, and trusting generally to fortune, set out before the sea had receded, and the soldiers marched during the whole day up to the middle of the body in water.

Phaselis also is a Lycian city, situated on the confines of Pamphylia. It is not a part of the Lycian body, but is an independent city.

10. The poet distinguishes the Solymi from the Lycians, when he despatches Bellerophon by the king of the Lycians to this second adventure ;

“ he encountered the brave Solymi ; ”⁹

¹ Aboukir, nearly under the same meridian.

² Tschariklar.

³ Garabusa.

⁴ Tschiraly. Deliktasch.—*Leake*.

⁵ Ianartasch.

⁶ Tirikowa.

⁷ Solyma-dagh.

⁸ Gulik-Chan ?

⁹ Il. vi. 184.

other writers say that the Lycians were formerly called Soly-mi, and afterwards Termilæ, from the colonists that accompanied Sarpedon from Crete; and afterwards Lycians, from Lycus the son of Pandion, who, after having been banished from his own country, was admitted by Sarpedon to a share in the government; but their story does not agree with Homer. We prefer the opinion of those who say that the poet called the people Soly-mi who have now the name of Milyæ, and whom we have mentioned before.

CHAPTER IV.

1. AFTER Phaselis is Olbia; here Pamphylia begins. It is a large fortress. It is followed by the Cataractes,¹ as it is called, a river which descends violently from a lofty rock, with a great body of water, like a winter torrent, so that the noise of it is heard at a great distance.

Next is Attaleia,² a city, so called from its founder Attalus Philadelphus, who also settled another colony at Corycus, a small city near Attaleia, by introducing other inhabitants, and extending the circuit of the walls.

It is said, that between Phaselis and Attaleia, Thebe and Lyrnessus³ are shown; for, according to Callisthenes, a part of the Trojan Cilicians were driven from the plain of Thebe into Pamphylia.

2. Next is the river Cestrus;⁴ on sailing up its stream 60 stadia we find the city Perge,⁵ and near it upon an elevated place, the temple of the Pergæan Artemis, where a general festival is celebrated every year.

Then at the distance of about 40 stadia from the sea is [Syllium],⁶ on an elevated site, and visible at Perge. Next is Capria, a lake of considerable extent; then the river Eury-medon;⁷ sailing up it to the distance of 60 stadia, we come to Aspendus,⁸ a well-peopled city, founded by Argives. Above it is Petnelissus;⁹ then another river, and many small islands

¹ Duden-su.² Adalia.³ Ernatia.⁴ Ak-su.⁵ Murtana.⁶ Tekeh.⁷ Kopru-su.⁸ Balkesu.⁹ Kislidscha-koj.

lying in front; then Side, a colony of the Cymæans, where there is a temple of Minerva. Near it is the coast of the Little Cibyratæ; then the river Melas,¹ and an anchorage for vessels; then Ptolemais² a city; next the borders of Pamphylia, and Coracesium,³ where Cilicia Tracheia begins. The whole of the voyage along the coast of Pamphylia is 640 stadia.

3. Herodotus says,⁴ that the Pamphylians are descendants of the people who accompanied Amphiloehus and Calchas from Troy, a mixture of various nations. The majority of them settled here, others were dispersed over different countries. Callinus says that Calchas died at Clarus, but that some of the people who, together with Mopsus, crossed the Taurus, remained in Pamphylia, and that others were scattered in Cilicia and Syria, and as far even as Phœnicia.

CHAPTER V.

1. OF Cilicia without the Taurus one part is called Cilicia Tracheia, the rugged; the other, Cilicia Pedias, the flat or plain country.

The coast of the Tracheia is narrow, and either has no level ground or it rarely occurs; besides this, the Taurus overhangs it, which is badly inhabited as far even as the northern side, about Isaura and the Homonadeis as far as Pisidia. This tract has the name of Tracheiotis, and the inhabitants that of Tracheiotæ. The flat or plain country extends from Soli and Tarsus as far as Issus, and the parts above, where the Cappadocians are situated on the northern side of the Taurus. This tract consists chiefly of fertile plains.

I have already spoken of the parts within the Taurus; I shall now describe those without the Taurus, beginning with the Tracheiotæ.

2. The first place is Coracesium,⁵ a fortress of the Cilicians,

¹ Menavgat-su.

² Alara.

³ Alaja, or Castel Ubaldo.

⁴ Herod. vii. 91. According to this passage, therefore, the name Pamphylians is derived from πάν, "all," and φύλον, "nation."

⁵ Alaja.

situated upon an abrupt rock. Diodotus surnamed Tryphon used it as a rendezvous at the time that he caused Syria to revolt from her kings, and carried on war against them with various success. Antiochus, the son of Demetrius, obliged him to shut himself up in one of the fortresses, and there he killed himself.

Tryphon was the cause of originating among the Cilicians a piratical confederacy. They were induced also to do this by the imbecility of the kings who succeeded each other on the thrones of Syria and Cilicia. In consequence of his introduction of political changes, others imitated his example, and the dissensions among brothers exposed the country to the attacks of invaders.

The exportation of slaves was the chief cause of inducing them to commit criminal acts, for this traffic was attended with very great profit, and the slaves were easily taken. Delos was at no great distance, a large and rich mart, capable of receiving and transporting, when sold, the same day, ten thousand slaves; so that hence arose a proverbial saying,

“ Merchant, come into port, discharge your freight—everything is sold.”

The Romans, having acquired wealth after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth, employed great numbers of domestic slaves, and were the cause of this traffic. The pirates, observing the facility with which slaves could be procured, issued forth in numbers from all quarters, committing robbery and dealing in slaves.

The kings of Cyprus and of Egypt, who were enemies of the Syrians, favoured their marauding enterprises; the Rhodians were no less hostile to the Syrians, and therefore afforded the latter no protection. The pirates, therefore, under the pretence of trading in slaves, continued without intermission their invasions and robbery.

The Romans paid little attention to the places situated without the Taurus; they sent, however, Scipio Æmilianus, and afterwards some others, to examine the people and the cities. They discovered that the evils arose from negligence on the part of the sovereigns, but they were reluctant to deprive the family of Seleucus Nicator of the succession, in which he had been confirmed by themselves.

For the same reason the Parthians, who occupied the parts

beyond the Euphrates, became masters of the country; and lastly the Armenians, who also gained possession of the country without the Taurus as far as Phœnicia. They used their utmost to extirpate the power of the kings and all their descendants, but surrendered the command of the sea to the Cilicians.

The Romans were subsequently compelled to reduce the Cilicians, after their aggrandizement, by war and expeditions, whose progress, however, and advancement they had not obstructed; yet it would be improper to accuse the Romans of neglect, because, being engaged with concerns nearer at hand, they were unable to direct their attention to more distant objects.

I thought proper to make these remarks in a short digression from my subject.

3. Next to the Coracesium is the city Syedra;¹ then Hamaxia,² a small town upon a hill, with a harbour, to which is brought down timber for ship-building; the greatest part of it consists of cedar. This country seems to produce this tree in abundance. It was on this account that Antony assigned it to Cleopatra, as being capable of furnishing materials for the construction of her fleet.

Then follows Laertes a fortress, situated upon the crest of a hill, of a pap-like form; a port belongs to it; next, the city Selinus,³ then Cragus, a precipitous rock on the sea-coast; then Charadrus⁴ a fortress, which has a port (above it is the mountain Andriclus⁵) and a rocky shore, called Platanistus, next Anemurium⁶ a promontory, where the continent approaches nearest to Cyprus, towards the promontory Crommyum,⁷ the passage across being 350 stadia.

From the boundaries of Pamphylia to Anemurium, the voyage along the Cilician coast is 820 stadia; the remainder of it as far as Soli⁸ is about 500 stadia (1500?). On this coast, after Anemurium, the first city is Nagidus, then Arsinoë,⁹ with a small port; then a place called Melania,¹⁰ and Celenderis¹¹ a city, with a harbour.

¹ Syedra probably shared with Coraœsium (Alaja), a fertile plain which here borders on the coast. But Syedra is Tzschucke's emendation of Arsinoë in the text.

² Not mentioned by any other author.

³ Selindi.

⁴ Charadran.

⁵ Kara-Gedik.

⁶ Inamur.

⁷ Cape Kormakiti.

⁸ Mesetlii.

⁹ Softa-Kalessi.

¹⁰ Mandane?

¹¹ Kilandria, or Gulnar.

Some writers,¹ among whom is Artemidorus, consider this place as the commencement of Cilicia, and not Coracesium. He says, that from the Pelusiæ mouth to Orthosia are 3900 stadia, and to the river Orontes² 1130 stadia; then to the gates of Cilicia 525 stadia, and to the borders of Cilicia 1260 stadia.³

4. Next is Holmi,⁴ formerly inhabited by the present Seleucians; but when Seleucia on the Calycadnus was built, they removed there. On doubling the coast, which forms a promontory called Sarpedon,⁵ we immediately come to the mouth of the Calycadnus.⁶ Zephyrium⁷ a promontory is near the Calycadnus. The river may be ascended as far as Seleucia, a city well peopled, and the manners of whose inhabitants are very different from those of the people of Cilicia and Pamphylia.

In our time there flourished at that place remarkable persons of the Peripatetic sect of philosophers, Athenæus and Xenarchus. The former was engaged in the administration of the affairs of state in his own country, and for some time espoused the party of the people; he afterwards contracted a friendship with Murena, with whom he fled, and with whom he was captured, on the discovery of the conspiracy against Augustus Cæsar; but he established his innocence, and was set at liberty by Cæsar. When he returned from Rome, he addressed the first persons who saluted him, and made their inquiries, in the words of Euripides—

“I come from the coverts of the dead, and the gates of darkness.”⁸

He survived his return but a short time, being killed by the fall, during the night, of the house in which he lived.

Xenarchus, whose lectures I myself attended, did not long remain at home, but taught philosophy at Alexandria, Athens, and Rome. He enjoyed the friendship of Areius, and afterwards of Augustus Cæsar; he lived to old age, honoured and respected. Shortly before his death he lost his sight, and died a natural death.

¹ According to Pliny, Cilicia anciently commenced at the river Melas, which Strabo has just said belongs to Pamphylia. Ptolemy fixes upon Coracesium as the first place in Cilicia, which, according to Mela, was separated from Pamphylia by Cape Anemurium, which was near Nagidus.

² Nahr-el-Asy.

³ B. xvi. c. ii. § 33.

⁴ Selefke.

⁵ Cape Lissan.

⁶ Gok-su.

⁷ Cape Cavaliere.

⁸ Eurip. Hec. 1

5. After the Calycadnus, is the rock called Pœcile,¹ which has steps, like those of a ladder, cut in the rock, on the road to Seleucia. Then follows the promontory Anemurium,² of the same name with the former, Crambusa an island, and Corycus³ a promontory, above which, at the distance of 20 stadia, is the Corycian cave, where grows the best saffron. It is a large valley of a circular form, surrounded by a ridge of rock, of considerable height all round. Upon descending into it, the bottom is irregular, and a great part of it rocky, but abounding with shrubs of the evergreen and cultivated kind. There are interspersed spots which produce the saffron. There is also a cave in which rises a river of pure and transparent water. Immediately at its source the river buries itself in the ground, and continues its subterraneous course till it discharges itself into the sea. The name of (Pikron Hydor) "bitter water" is given to it.

6. After Corycus, is the island Elæussa,⁴ lying very near the continent. Here Archelaus resided, and built a palace, after having become master of the whole of Cilicia Tracheiotis, except Seleucia, as Augustus had been before, and as at a still earlier period it was held by Cleopatra. For as the country was well adapted by nature for robbery both by sea and land, (by land, on account of the extent of the mountains, and the nations situated beyond them, who occupy plains, and large tracts of cultivated country easy to be overrun; by sea, on account of the supply of timber for ship-building, the harbours, fortresses, and places of retreat,) for all these reasons the Romans thought it preferable that the country should be under the government of kings, than be subject to Roman governors sent to administer justice, but who would not always be on the spot, nor attended by an army. In this manner Archelaus obtained possession of Cilicia Tracheia, in addition to Cappadocia. Its boundaries between Soli and Elæussa are the river Lamus,⁵ and a village of the same name.⁶

7. At the extremity of the Taurus is Olympus a moun-

¹ Its distance (40 stadia) from the Calycadnus, if correct, will place it about Pershendi, at the north-eastern angle of the sandy plain of the Calycadnus.

² Anamur.

³ Ianartasch; but, according to Leake, it still preserves its name.

⁴ A sandy plain now connects Elæussa with the coast.—*Leake*.

⁵ Lamas-su, of which Lamuzo-soui is an Italian corruption. ⁶ Lamas.

tain,¹ the piratical hold of Zenicetus, and a fortress of the same name. It commands a view of the whole of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia. When the mountain was taken by (Servilius) Isauricus, Zenicetus burnt himself, with all his household. To this robber belonged Corycus, Phaselis, and many strongholds in Pamphylia, all of which were taken by (Servilius) Isauricus.

8. Next to Lamus is Soli,² a considerable city, where the other Cilicia, that about Issus, commences. It was founded by Achæans, and by Rhodians from Lindus. Pompey the Great transferred to this city, which had a scanty population, the survivors of the pirates, whom he thought most entitled to protection and clemency, and changed its name to Pompeiopolis.

Chrysippus the Stoic philosopher, the son of an inhabitant of Tarsus, who left it to live at Soli; Philemon the comic poet; and Aratus, who composed a poem called "the Phænomena," were among the illustrious natives of this place.

9. Next follows Zephyrium,³ of the same name as that near Calycadnus; then Anchiale, a little above the sea, built by Sardanapalus, according to Aristobulus. (According to the same author) the tomb of Sardanapalus is here, and a stone figure representing him with the fingers of his right hand brought together as in the act of snapping them, and the following inscription in Assyrian letters: "SARDANAPALUS, THE SON OF ANACYNDARAXES, BUILT ANCHIALE AND TARSUS IN ONE DAY. EAT, DRINK, BE MERRY; EVERYTHING ELSE IS NOT WORTH⁴ THAT"—the snapping of the fingers.

Chœrilus mentions this inscription, and the following lines are everywhere known:

"Meat and drink, wanton jests, and the delights of love, these I have enjoyed; but my great wealth I have left behind."⁴

10. Above Anchiale is situated Cyinda a fortress, where the Macedonian kings formerly kept their treasure. Eumenes, when he revolted from Antigonus, took it away. Further above this place and Soli, is a mountainous tract, where is situated Olbe a city, which has a temple of Jupiter, founded by Ajax, son of Teucer. The priest of this temple was master

¹ Tschirlay, or Porto Venetico.

² Mesetlii.

³ Cape Zafra.

⁴ What better inscription, said Aristotle, could you have for the tomb, not of a king, but of an ox? Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. iii. 35.

of the Tracheiotis. Subsequently many tyrants seized upon the country, and it became the retreat of robbers. After their extermination, the country was called, even to our times, the dominion of Teucer; and the priesthood, the priesthood of Teucer; indeed, most of the priests had the name of Teucer, or of Ajax. Aba, the daughter of Xenophanes, one of the tyrants, entered into this family by marriage, and obtained possession of the government. Her father had previously administered it as guardian, but Antony and Cleopatra afterwards conferred it upon Aba, as a favour, being ultimately prevailed upon to do so by her entreaties and attentions. She was afterwards dispossessed, but the government remained in the hands of the descendants of her family.

Next to Anchiale are the mouths of the Cydnus¹ at the Rhagma, (the Rent,) as it is called. It is a place like a lake, and has ancient dockyards; here the Cydnus discharges itself, after flowing through the middle of Tarsus. It rises in the Taurus, which overhangs the city. The lake is a naval arsenal of Tarsus.

11. The whole of the sea-coast, beginning from the part opposite to Rhodes, extends to this place in the direction from the western to the eastern point of the equinoctial. It then turns towards the winter solstice, as far as Issus, and thence immediately makes a bend to the south to Phœnicia. The remainder towards the west terminates at the pillars (of Hercules).²

The actual isthmus of the peninsula, which we have described, is that which extends from Tarsus and the mouth of the Cydnus as far as Amisus, for this is the shortest distance from Amisus to the boundaries of Cilicia; from these to Tarsus are 120 stadia, and not more from Tarsus to the mouth of the Cydnus. To Issus, and the sea near it, there is no shorter road from Amisus than that leading through Tarsus, nor from Tarsus to Issus is there any nearer than that leading to Cydnus; so that it is clear, that, in reality, this is the isthmus. Yet it is pretended that the isthmus extending as far as the

¹ Mesarlyk-tschai.

² Strabo means to say, that the coast, from the part opposite Rhodes, runs E. in a straight line to Tarsus, and then inclines to the S. E.; that afterwards it inclines to the S., to Gaza, and continues in a westerly direction to the Straits of Gibraltar.

Bay of Issus is the true isthmus, on account of its presenting remarkable points.

Hence, not aiming at exactness, we say that the line drawn from the country opposite to Rhodes, which we protracted as far as Cydnus, is the same as that extending as far as Issus, and that the Taurus extends in a straight direction with this line as far as India.

12. Tarsus is situated in a plain. It was founded by Argives, who accompanied Triptolemus in his search after Io. The Cydnus flows through the middle of it, close by the gymnasium of the young men. As the source is not far distant, and the stream passing through a deep valley, then flows immediately into the city, the water is cold and rapid in its course; hence it is of advantage to men and beasts affected with swellings of the sinews, fluxions, and gout.¹

13. The inhabitants of this city apply to the study of philosophy and to the whole encyclical compass of learning with so much ardour, that they surpass Athens, Alexandria, and every other place which can be named where there are schools and lectures of philosophers.

It differs however so far from other places, that the studious are all natives, and strangers are not inclined to resort thither. Even the natives themselves do not remain, but travel abroad to complete their studies, and having completed them reside in foreign countries. Few of them return.

The contrary is the case in the other cities which I have mentioned, except Alexandria; for multitudes repair to them, and reside there with pleasure; but you would observe that few of the natives travel abroad from a love of learning, or show much zeal in the pursuit of it on the spot. But both these things are to be seen at Alexandria, a large number of strangers is received, (into their schools,) and not a few of their own countrymen are sent out to foreign countries (to study). They have schools of all kinds, for instruction in the liberal arts. In other respects Tarsus is well peopled, extremely powerful, and has the character of being the capital.²

¹ The translation follows the reading proposed by Groskurd, *παχυνευροῦσι καὶ ῥοιζομένοις καὶ ποδαγριζομένοις*, who quotes Vitruv. viii. 3, and Pliny xxxi. 8.

² Kramer does not approve of the corrections proposed in this passage by Groskurd. The translation follows the proposed emendation of Falconer, which Kramer considers the least objectionable.

14. The Stoic philosophers Antipater, Archedemus, and Nestor were natives of Tarsus : and besides these, the two Athenodori, one of whom, Cordylion, lived with Marcus Cato, and died at his house ; the other, the son of Sandon, called Cananites, from some village, was the preceptor of Cæsar,¹ who conferred on him great honours. In his old age he returned to his native country, where he dissolved the form of government existing there, which was unjustly administered by various persons, and among them by Boëthus, a bad poet and a bad citizen, who had acquired great power by courting the favour of the people. Antony contributed to increase his importance by having in the first instance commended a poem which he had composed on the victory at Philippi ; his influence was still augmented by the facility which he possessed (and it is very general among the inhabitants of Tarsus) of discoursing at great length, and without preparation, upon any given subject. Antony also had promised the people of Tarsus to establish a gymnasium ; he appointed Boëthus chief director of it, and intrusted to him the expenditure of the funds. He was detected in secreting, among other things, even the oil, and when charged with this offence by his accusers in the presence of Antony, he deprecated his anger by this, among other remarks in his speech, that as Homer had sung the praises of “ Achilles, Agamemnon, and Ulysses, so have I sung yours. I therefore ought not to be brought before you on such a charge.” The accuser answered, “ Homer did not steal oil from Agamemnon² nor Achilles ; but you have stolen it from the gymnasium, and therefore you shall be punished.” Yet he contrived to avert the displeasure of Antony by courteous offices, and continued to plunder the city until the death of his protector.

Athenodorus found the city in this state, and for some time attempted to control Boëthus and his accomplices by argument ; but finding that they continued to commit all kinds of injustice, he exerted the power given to him by Cæsar, condemned them to banishment, and expelled them. They had previously caused to be written upon the walls, “ Action for the young, counsel for the middle-aged, discharging wind for the

¹ Augustus.

² Groskurd, with some probability, supposes the name of Achilles to be here omitted.

old;" but Athenodorus, accepting it as a jest, gave orders to inscribe by the side of it, "Thunder for the old." Some one, however, in contempt for his good manners, having a lax state of body, bespattered the gate and wall of his house as he passed by it at night. Athenodorus, in an assembly of the people, accusing persons of being factiously disposed, said, "We may perceive the sickly condition of the city, and its bad habit of body, from many circumstances, but particularly from its discharges."

These men were Stoics, but Nestor, of our time, the tutor of Marcellus, son of Octavia, the sister of Cæsar, was of the Academic sect. He was also at the head of the government, having succeeded Athenodorus, and continued to be honoured both by the Roman governors and by the citizens.

15. Among the other philosophers,

"Those whom I know, and could in order name,"¹

were Plutiades and Diogenes, who went about from city to city, instituting schools of philosophy as the opportunity occurred. Diogenes, as if inspired by Apollo, composed and rehearsed poems, chiefly of the tragic kind, upon any subject that was proposed. The grammarians of Tarsus, whose writings we have, were Artemidorus and Diodorus. But the best writer of tragedy, among those enumerated in "The Pleiad," was Dionysides. Rome is best able to inform us what number of learned men this city has produced, for it is filled with persons from Tarsus and Alexandria.

Such then is Tarsus.

16. After the Cydnus follows the Pyramus,² which flows from Cataonia. We have spoken of it before. Artemidorus says, that from thence to Soli is a voyage in a straight line of 500 stadia. Near the Pyramus is Mallus,³ situated upon a height; it was founded by Amphiloehus, and Mopsus, the son of Apollo, and Mantus, about whom many fables are related. I have mentioned them in speaking of Calchas, and of the contest between Calchas and Mopsus respecting their skill in divination. Some persons, as Sophocles, transfer the scene of this contest to Sicily, which, after the custom of tragic poets, they call Pamphylia, as they call Lycia, Caria, and

¹ Il. iii. 235.

² Dschehan-tschai.

³ Chun.

Troy and Lydia, Phrygia. Sophocles, among other writers, says that Calchas died there. According to the fable, the contest did not relate to skill in divination only, but also to sovereignty. For it is said, that Mopsus and Amphilo- chus, on their return from Troy, founded Mallus; that Amphilo- chus afterwards went to Argos, and being dissatisfied with the state of affairs there, returned to Mallus, where, being ex- cluded from a share in the government, he engaged with Mopsus in single combat. Both were killed, but their sepul- chres are not in sight of each other. They are shown at present at Magarsa, near the Pyramus.

Crates the grammarian was a native of this place, and Panætius is said to have been his disciple.

17. Above this coast is situated the Aleïan plain, over which Philotas conducted Alexander's cavalry, he himself leading the phalanx from Soli along the sea-coast and the territory of Mallus to Issus, against the forces of Darius. It is said that Alexander performed sacrifices in honour of Am- philochus, on account of their common affinity to Argos. He- siod says that Amphilo- chus was killed by Apollo at Soli; according to others, at the Aleïan plain; and others again say, in Syria, upon his quitting the Aleïan plain on account of the quarrel.

18. Mallus is followed by Ægææ, a small town¹ with a shelter for vessels; then the Amanides Gates, (Gates of Ama- nus,²) with a shelter for vessels. At these gates terminates the mountain Amanus,³ which extends from the Taurus, and lies above Cilicia towards the east. It was successively in the possession of several tyrants, who had strongholds; but, in our time, Tarcondimotus, who was a man of merit, became master of all; for his good conduct and bravery, he received from the Romans the title of King, and transmitted the suc- cession to his posterity.

19. Next to Ægææ is Issus, a small town with a shel- ter for vessels, and a river, the Pinarus.⁴ At Issus the battle was fought between Alexander and Darius. The bay is called the Issic Bay. The city Rhosus⁵ is situated upon it,

¹ Ajas.

² Demir-Kapu.

³ The ridge extending N. E., the parts of which bear various names, Missis, Durdan-dagh, &c.

⁴ Deli-tschai.

⁵ Arsus.

as also the city Myriandrus, Alexandria,¹ Nicopolis, Mopsuestia,² and the Gates,³ as they are called, which are the boundary between Cilicia and Syria.

In Cilicia are the temple of the Sarpedonian Artemis and an oracle. Persons possessed with divine inspiration deliver the oracles.

20. After Cilicia, the first Syrian city is Seleucia-in-Pieria ;⁴ near it the river Orontes⁵ empties itself. From Seleucia to Soli is a voyage in a straight line of nearly 1000 stadia.

21. Since the Cilicians of the Troad, whom Homer mentions, are situated at a great distance from the Cilicians without the Taurus, some writers declare that the leaders of the latter colony were Cilicians of the Troad, and point to Thebe and Lyrnessus in Pamphylia, places bearing the same name as those in the Troad ; other authors are of a contrary opinion, and (considering the Cilicians of the Troad as descendants of those from beyond the Taurus) point to an Aleian plain (in support of their hypothesis).

22. Having described the parts of the before-mentioned Chersonesus without the Taurus, I must add these particulars.

Apollodorus, in his work on the catalogue of the ships mentioned in Homer, relates, that all the allies of the Trojans, who came from Asia, inhabited, according to the poet, the peninsula of which at its narrowest part is the isthmus between the innermost recess of the bay at Sinope and Issus. The exterior sides (of this peninsula), which is of a triangular shape, are unequal. Of these, one extends from Cilicia to Chelidoniæ, (islands,) another thence to the mouth of the Euxine, and the third from the mouth of the Euxine to Sinope.

The assertion that the allies were only those who occupied the peninsula may be proved to be erroneous by the same arguments by which we before showed that those who lived within the Halys were not the only allies. For the places about Pharnacia, where we said the Halizoni lived, are situated without the Halys, and also without the isthmus, for they

¹ Iskenderun.

² Its name under the Byzantine empire was corrupted to Mampsyssta, or Mamista ; of which names the modern Mensis appears to be a further corruption.—*Leake*.

³ The passage is defended by the fortress of Merkes.

⁴ Suveidijeh.

⁵ Nahr-el-Asy.

are without the line drawn from Sinope to Issus;¹ and not only without this line, but also without the true line of the isthmus drawn from Amisus to Issus; for Apollodorus incorrectly describes the isthmus and the line of its direction, substituting one line for another (the line drawn from Sinope to Issus for the line drawn from Amisus to Issus).

But the greatest absurdity is this, that after having said that the peninsula was of a triangular shape, he speaks of three *exterior* sides. For in speaking of *exterior* sides, he seems to except the line of the isthmus itself, considering it still a side, although not an *exterior* side, from its not being upon the sea. But if this line were so shortened that the extremities of the (*exterior*) sides falling upon Issus and Sinope nearly coincided, the peninsula might in that case be said to be of a triangular shape; but as his own line (from Sinope to Issus) is 3000 stadia in length, it would be ignorance, and not a knowledge of chorography, to call such a four-sided figure a triangle. Yet he published a work on Chorography, in the metre of comedy, (Iambic metre,) entitled "The Circuit of the Earth."

He is still liable to the same charge of ignorance, even if we should suppose the isthmus to be contracted to its least dimensions, and follow writers who erroneously estimate the distance at one-half of the sum, namely 1500 stadia, to which it is reduced by Artemidorus; but even this would not by any means reduce the thus contracted space to the figure of a triangle.

Besides, Artemidorus has not correctly described the exterior sides; one side, he says, extends from Issus to the Chelidoniæ islands, although the whole Lycian coast, and the country opposite to Rhodes as far as Physcus, lies in a straight line with, and is a continuation of it; the continent then makes a bend at Physcus, and forms the commencement of the second or western side, extending to the Propontis and Byzantium.

23. Ephorus had said that this peninsula was inhabited by sixteen tribes, three of which were Grecian, and the rest barbarous, with the exception of the mixed nations; he placed

¹ Groskurd is desirous of reading Tarsus for Issus. See above, c. v. § 11. But Strabo is here considering the two opinions held respecting the isthmus.

on the sea-coast Cilicians, Pamphylians, Lycians, Bithynians, Paphlagonians, Mariandyni, Troes, and Carians; and in the interior, Pisidians, Mysians, Chalybes, Phrygians, and Milyæ.¹ Apollodorus, when discussing this position, says there is a seventeenth tribe, the Galatians, who are more recent than the time of Ephorus; that of the sixteen tribes mentioned, the Greeks were not settled (in the peninsula) at the period of the Trojan war, and that time has produced great intermixture and confusion among the barbarous nations. Homer, he continues, recites in his Catalogue the Troes, and those now called Paphlagonians, Mysians, Phrygians, Carians, Lycians, Meionians, instead of Lydians and other unknown people, as Halizoni and Caucones; nations besides not mentioned in the Catalogue but elsewhere, as Ceteii, Solymi, the Cilicians from the plain of Thebe, and Leleges. But the Pamphylians, Bithynians, Mariandyni, Pisidians, and Chalybes, Milyæ, and Cappadocians are nowhere mentioned by the poet; some because they did not then inhabit these places, and some because they were surrounded by other tribes, as Idrieis and Termilæ by Carians, Doliones and Bebryces by Phrygians.

24. But Apollodorus does not seem to have carefully examined the statements of Ephorus, for he confounds and misrepresents the words of Homer. He ought first to have inquired of Ephorus why he placed the Chalybes within the peninsula, who were situated at a great distance from Sinope, and Amisus towards the east. Those who describe the isthmus of this peninsula to be on the line drawn from Issus to the Euxine, lay down this line as a sort of meridian line, which some suppose to pass through Sinope, others through Amisus; but no one through the Chalybes, for such a line would be altogether an oblique line. For the meridian passing through the Chalybes, drawn through the Lesser Armenia, and the Euphrates, would comprise (on the east) the whole of Cappadocia, Commagene, Mount Amanus, and the Bay of Issus.

¹ Scymnus of Chios counts fifteen nations who occupied this peninsula, namely, three Greek and twelve barbarian. The latter were Cilicians, Lycians, Carians, Mariandyni, Paphlagonians, Pamphylians, Chalybes, Cappadocians, Pisidians, Lydians, Mysians, and Phrygians. In this list the Bithynians, Trojans, and Milyæ are not mentioned; but in it are found the Cappadocians and Lydians—two nations whom, according to Strabo, Ephorus has not mentioned. This discrepancy is the more remarkable as Scymnus must have taken the list from Ephorus himself.

But if we should grant (to Ephorus) that this oblique line is the direction of the isthmus, most of these places, Cappadocia in particular, would be included, and (the kingdom of) Pontus, properly so called, which is a part of Cappadocia on the Euxine; so that if we were to admit the Chalybes to be a part of the peninsula, with more reason we ought to admit the Cataonians, the two nations of Cappadocians, and the Lycaonians, whom even he himself has omitted. But why has he placed in the interior the Chalybes, whom the poet, as we have shown, calls Halizoni? It would have been better to divide them, and to place one portion of them on the sea-coast, and another in the inland parts. The same division ought to be made of the Cappadocians and Cilicians. But Ephorus does not even mention the former, and speaks only of the Cilicians on the sea-coast. The subjects, then, of Antipater of Derbe, the Homonadeis, and many other tribes contiguous to the Pisidians,

“men, who know not the sea, nor have ever eaten food seasoned with salt,”¹

where are they to be placed? Nor does he say whether the Lydians and the Meonians are two nations or the same nation, or whether they live separately by themselves or are comprehended in another tribe. For it was impossible for Ephorus to be ignorant of so celebrated a nation, and does he not, by passing it over in silence, appear to omit a most important fact?

25. But who are “the mixed nations”? For we cannot say that he either named or omitted others, besides those already mentioned, whom we should call mixed nations. Nor, indeed, should we say that they were a part of those nations whom he has either mentioned or omitted. For if they were a mixed people, still the majority constituted them either Greeks or Barbarians. We know nothing of a third mixed people.

26. But how (according to Ephorus) are there three tribes of Greeks who inhabit the peninsula? Is it because anciently the Athenians and Ionians were the same people? In that case the Dorians and the Æolians should be considered as the same nation, and then there would be (only) two tribes (and not three, inhabiting the peninsula). But if, following modern

¹ Od. xi. 122.

practice, we are to distinguish nations according to dialects, there will be four nations, as there are four dialects. But this peninsula is inhabited, especially if we adopt the division by Ephorus, not only by Ionians, but also by Athenians, as we have shown in the account of each particular place.

It was worth while to controvert the positions of Ephorus, Apollodorus however disregards all this, and adds a seventeenth to the sixteen nations, namely, the Galatians; although it is well to mention this, yet it is not required in a discussion of what Ephorus relates or omits; Apollodorus has assigned as the reason of the omission, that all these nations settled in the peninsula subsequently to the time of Ephorus.

27. Passing then to Homer, Apollodorus is correct in saying that there was a great intermixture and confusion among the barbarous nations, from the Trojan war to the present time, on account of the changes which had taken place; for some nations had an accession of others, some were extinct or dispersed, or had coalesced together.

But he is mistaken in assigning two reasons why the poet does not mention some nations, namely, either because the place was not then occupied by the particular people, or because they were comprehended in another tribe. Neither of these reasons could induce him to be silent respecting Cappadocia or Cataonia, or Lycaonia itself, for we have nothing of the kind in history relating to these countries. It is ridiculous to be anxious to find excuses why Homer has omitted to speak of Cappadocia [Cataonia] and Lycaonia, and not to inform us why Ephorus omitted them, particularly as the proposed object of Apollodorus was to examine and discuss the opinions of Ephorus; and to tell us why Homer mentions Mæonians instead of Lydians, and also not to remark that Ephorus has not omitted to mention either Lydians or Mæonians.¹

28. Apollodorus remarks, that Homer mentions certain unknown nations, and he is right in specifying Caucones, Solymi, Ceteii, Leleges, and the Cilicians from the plain of Thebe; but the Halizones are a fiction of his own, or rather of those who, not knowing who the Halizones were, frequently altered the mode of writing the name, and invented the existence of

¹ Apollodorus, like Scymnus, had probably found the Lydians mentioned in the list of Ephorus, as also the Cappadocians.

mines of silver and of many other mines, all of which are abandoned.

With this vain intention they collected the stories related by the Sepsian, (Demetrius,) and taken from Callisthenes and other writers, who did not clear them from false notions respecting the Halizones; for example, the wealth of Tantalus and of the Pelopidæ was derived, it is said, from the mines about Phrygia and Sipylus; that of Cadmus from the mines about Thrace and Mount Pangæum; that of Priam from the gold mines at Astyra, near Abydos (of which at present there are small remains, yet there is a large quantity of matter ejected, and the excavations are proofs of former workings); that of Midas from the mines about Mount Bermium; that of Gyges, Alyattes, and Cræsus, from the mines in Lydia and the small deserted city between Atarneus and Pergamum, where are the sites of exhausted mines.¹

29. We may impute another fault to Apollodorus, that although he frequently censures modern writers for introducing new readings at variance with the meaning of Homer, yet in this instance he not only neglects his own advice, but actually unites together places which are not so represented (by Homer).

(For example), Xanthus the Lydian says, that after the Trojan times the Phrygians came from Europe (into Asia) and the left (western) side of the Euxine, and that their leader Scamandrius conducted them from the Berecynti and Ascania. Apollodorus adds, that Homer mentions the same Ascania as Xanthus,

“Phorceys and the divine Ascanius led the Phrygians from the distant Ascania.”²

If this be so, the migration (from Europe to Asia) must be later than the Trojan war; but in the Trojan war the auxiliaries mentioned by the poet came from the opposite continent, from the Berecynti and Ascania. Who then were the Phrygians,

“who were then encamped on the banks of the Sangarius,”

when Priam says,

“And I joined them with these troops as an auxiliary”?³

¹ Kramer says that he is unable to decide how this corrupt passage should be restored. The translation follows the conjectures of Coray.

² Il. ii. 862.

³ Il. iii. 187.

And how came Priam to send for the Phrygians from among the Berecynti, between whom and himself no compact existed, and pass over the people who were contiguous to him, and whose ally he formerly had been ?

Apollodorus, after having spoken of the Phrygians in this manner, introduces an account concerning the Mysians which contradicts this. He says that there is a village of Mysia called Ascania, near a lake of the same name,¹ out of which issues the river Ascanius, mentioned by Euphorion :²

“near the waters of the Mysian Ascanius ;”

and by Alexander of Ætolia :

“they who dwell on the stream of Ascanius, on the brink of the Ascanian lake, where lived Dolion, the son of Silenus and Melia.”

The district, he says, about Cyzicus, on the road to Miletopolis, is called Dolionis and Mysia.

If this is the case, and if it is confirmed by existing places and by the poets, what prevented Homer, when he mentioned this Ascania, from mentioning the Ascania also of which Xanthus speaks ?

I have already spoken of these places in the description of Mysia and Phrygia, and shall here conclude the discussion.

CHAPTER VI.

1. It remains for me to describe the island Cyprus, which adjoins this peninsula on the south. I have already said, that the sea comprised between Egypt, Phœnice, Syria, and the remainder of the coast as far as that opposite to Rhodes, con-

¹ Isnik.

² Euphorion acquired celebrity as a voluminous writer. Vossius, i. 16, gives a catalogue of his works. According to Suidas, he was born in Chalcis, in Negropont, at the time Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was defeated by the Romans. He acquired a considerable fortune by his writings and by his connexion with persons of eminent rank. He was invited to the court of Antiochus the Great, king of Syria, who intrusted him with the care of his library. According to Sallust, (Life of Tiberius,) he was one of the poets whom Tiberius took as his model in writing Greek verse. *Fecit et Græca poemata, imitatus Euphorionem, et Rhianum et Parthenium.*

sists, so to say, of the Egyptian and Pamphylian seas and the sea along the Bay of Issus.

In this sea lies the island Cyprus, having its northern side approaching to Cilicia Tracheia, and here also it approaches nearest to the continent; on the east it is washed by the Bay of Issus, on the west by the Pamphylian sea, and on the south by that of Egypt. The latter sea is confluent on the west with the Libyan and Carpathian seas. On its southern and eastern parts is Egypt, and the succeeding tract of coast as far as Seleucia and Issus. On the north is Cyprus, and the Pamphylian sea.

The Pamphylian sea is bounded on the north by the extremities of Cilicia Tracheia, of Pamphylia, and of Lycia as far as the territory opposite to Rhodes; on the west, by the island of Rhodes; on the east, by the part of Cyprus near Paphos, and the Acamas; on the south, it unites with the Egyptian sea.

2. The circumference of Cyprus is 3420 stadia, including the winding of the bays. Its length from Cleides¹ to the Acamas,² to a traveller on land proceeding from east to west, is 1400 stadia.

The Cleides are two small islands lying in front of Cyprus on the eastern side, at the distance of 700 stadia from the Pyramus.³

The Acamas is a promontory with two paps, and upon it is a large forest. It is situated at the western part of the island, but extends towards the north, approaching very near Selinus in Cilicia Tracheia, for the passage across is only 1000 stadia; to Side in Pamphylia the passage is 1600 stadia, and to the Chelidoniæ (islands) 1900 stadia.

The figure of the whole island is oblong, and in some places on the sides, which define its breadth, there are isthmuses.

We shall describe the several parts of the island briefly, beginning from the point nearest to the continent.

3. We have said before, that opposite to Anemyrium, a promontory of Cilicia Tracheia, is the extremity of Cyprus, namely, the promontory of Crommyon,⁴ at the distance of 350 stadia.

From the cape, keeping the island on the right hand, and

¹ The Clides, off Cape Andrea.

² Cape Arnauti.

³ Dschehan-Tschai.

⁴ Kormakiti.

the continent on the left, the voyage to the Cleides in a straight line towards north and east is a distance of 700 stadia.

In the interval is the city Lapathus,¹ with a harbour and dockyards; it was founded by Laconians and Praxander. Opposite to it was Nagidus. Then follows Aphrodisium;² here the island is narrow, for over the mountains to Salamis³ are 70 stadia. Next is the sea-beach of the Achæans; here Teucer, the founder of Salamis in Cyprus, being it is said banished by his father Telamon, first disembarked. Then follows the city Carpasia,⁴ with a harbour. It is situated opposite to the promontory Sarpedon.⁵ From Carpasia there is a transit across the isthmus of 30 stadia to the Carpasian islands and the southern sea; next are a promontory and a mountain. The name of the promontory is Olympus, and upon it is a temple of Venus Acræa, not to be approached nor seen by women.

Near and in front lie the Cleides, and many other islands; next are the Carpasian islands, and after these Salamis, the birth-place of Aristus the historian; then Arsinoë, a city with a harbour; next Leucolla, another harbour; then the promontory Pedalium, above which is a hill, rugged, lofty, and table-shaped, sacred to Venus; to this hill from Cleides are 680 stadia. Then to Citium⁶ the navigation along the coast is for the greater part difficult and among bays. Citium has a close harbour. It is the birth-place of Zeno, the chief of the Stoic sect, and of Apollonius the physician. Thence to Berytus are 1500 stadia. Next is the city Amathus,⁷ and between Citium and Berytus, a small city called Palæa, and a pap-shaped mountain, Olympus; then follows Curias,⁸ a promontory of a peninsular form, to which from Throni⁹ are 700 stadia; then the city Curium,¹⁰ with a harbour, founded by Argives.

Here we may observe the negligence of the author, whether Hedylus, or whoever he was, of the elegiac lines which begin, "We hinds, sacred to Phœbus, hither came in our swift course; we traversed the broad sea, to avoid the arrows of our pursuers."

He says, that the hinds ran down from the Corycian heights,

¹ Lapito. ² Near Artemisi. ³ To the north of Tamagousta.

⁴ Carpas. ⁵ Lissan el Cape, in Cilicia.

⁶ Near the present Larnaka. ⁷ Limasol.

⁸ Cape Gata

⁹ Cape Greg. ¹⁰ Piscopia.

and swam across from the Cilician coast to the beach near Curias, and adds,

“That it was a cause of vast surprise to men to think how we scoured the trackless waves, aided by the vernal Zephyrs.”

For it is possible (by doubling the cape) to sail round from Corycus to the beach of Curias, but not with the assistance of the west wind, nor by keeping the island on the right, but on the left hand; and there is no (direct) passage across.

At Curium is the commencement of the voyage towards the west in the direction of Rhodes; then immediately follows a promontory, whence those who touch with their hands the altar of Apollo are precipitated. Next are Treta,¹ Boosura,² and Palæpaphus, situated about 10 stadia from the sea, with a harbour and an ancient temple of the Paphian Venus; then follows Zephyria,³ a promontory with an anchorage, and another Arsinoë, which also has an anchorage, a temple, and a grove. At a little distance from the sea is Hierocepis.⁴ Next is Paphos, founded by Agapenor, with a harbour and temples, which are fine buildings. It is distant from Palæpaphus 60 stadia by land. Along this road the annual sacred processions are conducted, when a great concourse both of men and women resort thither from other cities. Some writers say, that from Paphos to Alexandria are 3600 stadia. Next after Paphos is the Acamas; then after the Acamas the voyage is easterly to Arsinoë a city, and to the grove of Jupiter; then Soli⁵ a city, where there is a harbour, a river, and a temple of Venus and Isis. It was founded by Phalerus and Acamas, who were Athenians. The inhabitants are called Solii. Stasanor, one of the companions of Alexander, was a native of Soli, and was honoured with a chief command. Above Soli in the interior is Limenia a city, then follows the promontory of Cromyon.

4. But why should we be surprised at poets, and those particularly who study modes of expression only, when we compare them with Damastes? The latter gives the length of the island from north to south, from Hierocepia, as he says, to Cleides.

Nor does even Eratosthenes give it exactly. For, when

¹ Capo Bianco.

² Bisur.

³ Point Zephyro.

⁴ Jeroskipo.

⁵ Solea.

he censures Damastes, he says that Hierocepsia is not on the north, but on the south. Yet neither is it on the south, but on the west, since it lies on the western side, where are situated Paphos and Acamas.

Such then is the position of Cyprus.

5. It is not inferior in fertility to any one of the islands, for it produces good wine and oil, and sufficient corn to supply the wants of the inhabitants. At Tamassus there are abundant mines of copper, in which the calcanthus is found, and rust of copper, useful for its medicinal properties.

Eratosthenes says, that anciently the plains abounded with timber, and were covered with forests, which prevented cultivation; the mines were of some service towards clearing the surface, for trees were cut down to smelt the copper and silver. Besides this, timber was required for the construction of fleets, as the sea was now navigated with security and by a large naval force; but when even these means were insufficient to check the growth of timber in the forests, permission was given to such as were able and inclined, to cut down the trees and to hold the land thus cleared as their own property, free from all payments.

6. Formerly the Cyprian cities were governed by tyrants, but from the time that the Ptolemaic kings were masters of Egypt, Cyprus also came into their power, the Romans frequently affording them assistance. But when the last Ptolemy that was king, brother of the father of Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt in our time, had conducted himself in a disorderly manner, and was ungrateful to his benefactors, he was deposed, and the Romans took possession of the island, which became a Prætorian province by itself.

The chief author of the deposition of the king was Pub. Claudius Pulcher, who having fallen into the hands of the Cilician pirates, at that time at the height of their power, and a ransom being demanded of him, despatched a message to the king, entreating him to send it for his release. The king sent a ransom, but of so small an amount, that the pirates disdained to accept it, and returned it, but they dismissed Pulcher without any payment. After his escape, he remembered what he owed to both parties; and when he became tribune of the people, he had sufficient influence to have Mar-

cus Cato sent to deprive the king of the possession of Cyprus. The latter put himself to death before the arrival of Cato, who, coming soon afterwards, took possession of Cyprus, sold the king's property, and conveyed the money to the public treasury of the Romans.

From this time the island became, as it is at present, a Prætorian province. During a short intervening period Antony had given it to Cleopatra and her sister Arsinoë, but upon his death all his arrangements were annulled.

BOOK XV.

SUMMARY.

The Fifteenth Book contains India and Persia.

CHAPTER I.

1. THE parts of Asia which remain to be described are those without the Taurus, except Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia; extending from India to the Nile, and situated between the Taurus and the exterior Southern Sea.¹

Next to Asia is Africa, which I shall describe hereafter. At present I shall begin from India, the first and the largest country situated towards the east.

2. The reader must receive the account of this country with indulgence, for it lies at a very great distance, and few persons of our nation have seen it; those also who have visited it have seen only some portions of it; the greater part of what they relate is from report, and even what they saw, they became acquainted with during their passage through the country with an army, and in great haste. For this reason they do not agree in their accounts of the same things, although they write about them as if they had examined them with the greatest care and attention. Some of these writers were fellow-soldiers and fellow-travellers, as those who belonged to the army which, under the command of Alexander, conquered Asia; yet they frequently contradict each other. If, then, they differ so much respecting things which they had seen, what must we think of what they relate from report?

3. Nor do the writers who, many ages since Alexander's time, have given an account of these countries, nor even those who at present make voyages thither, afford any precise information.

Apollodorus, for instance, author of the Parthian History, when he mentions the Greeks who occasioned the revolt of Bactriana from the Syrian kings, who were the successors of

¹ The Indian Ocean.

Seleucus Nicator, says, that when they became powerful they invaded India. He adds no discoveries to what was previously known, and even asserts, in contradiction to others, that the Bactrians had subjected to their dominion a larger portion of India than the Macedonians; for Eucratidas (one of these kings) had a thousand cities subject to his authority. But other writers affirm that the Macedonians conquered nine nations situated between the Hydaspes¹ and the Hypanis,² and obtained possession of five hundred cities, not one of which was less than Cos Meropis,³ and that Alexander, after having conquered all this country, delivered it up to Porus.

4. Very few of the merchants who now sail from Egypt by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf to India have proceeded as far as the Ganges; and, being ignorant persons, were not qualified to give an account of places they have visited. From one place in India, and from one king, namely, Pandion, or, according to others,⁴ Porus, presents and embassies were sent to Augustus Cæsar. With the ambassadors came the Indian Gymno-Sophist, who committed himself to the flames at Athens,⁵ like Calanus, who exhibited the same spectacle in the presence of Alexander.

5. If, then, we set aside these stories, and direct our attention to accounts of the country prior to the expedition of Alexander, we shall find them still more obscure. It is probable that Alexander, elated by his extraordinary good fortune, believed these accounts.

According to Nearchus, Alexander was ambitious of conducting his army through Gedrosia,⁶ when he heard that Semiramis and Cyrus had undertaken expeditions against India (through this country), although both had abandoned the enterprise, the former escaping with twenty, and Cyrus with seven men only. For he considered that it would be a glorious achievement for him to lead a conquering army safe through the same nations and countries where Semiramis and Cyrus had suffered such disasters. Alexander, therefore, believed these stories.

6. But how can we place any just confidence in the accounts

¹ Behul or Jelum.

² Beas.

³ The island Cos, or Stanco, one of the earlier names of which was Meropis.

⁴ ἢ κατ' ἄλλους for καὶ ἄλλου.—Groskurd.

⁵ See ch. i. § 73.

⁶ Mekran.

of India derived from such expeditions as those of Cyrus and Semiramis? Megasthenes concurs in this opinion; he advises persons not to credit the ancient histories of India, for, except the expeditions of Hercules, of Bacchus, and the later invasion of Alexander, no army was ever sent out of their country by the Indians, nor did any foreign enemy ever invade or conquer it. Sesostris the Egyptian (he says), and Tearco the Ethiopian, advanced as far as Europe; and Nabocodrosor, who was more celebrated among the Chaldæans than Hercules among the Greeks, penetrated even as far as the Pillars,¹ which Tearco also reached; Sesostris conducted an army from Iberia to Thrace and Pontus; Idanthyrus the Scythian overran Asia as far as Egypt; but not one of these persons proceeded as far as India, and Semiramis died before her intended enterprise was undertaken. The Persians had sent for the Hydraces² from India, a body of mercenary troops; but they did not lead an army into that country, and only approached it when Cyrus was marching against the Massagetæ.

7. Megasthenes, and a few others, think the stories respecting Hercules and Bacchus to be credible, but the majority of writers, among whom is Eratosthenes, regard them as incredible and fabulous, like the Grecian stories. Dionysus, in the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, makes this boasting speech:

¹ It is evident that the name Pillars misled Megasthenes or the writers from whom he borrowed the facts; for it is impossible to suppose that Tearcho, who reigned in Arabia, or that Nabuchodonosor, who reigned at Babylon, ever conducted an army across the desert and through the whole breadth of Africa to the Straits of Gibraltar, to which place nothing invited them, and the existence of which, as well as that of the neighbouring countries, must have been unknown. The Egyptians, Arabians, and Babylonians directed their invasions towards the north, to Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Iberia, and Colchis. This was the line of march followed by Sesostris.

Ptolemy indicates the existence of "Pillars," which he calls "the Pillars of Alexander," above Albania and Iberia, at the commencement of the Asiatic Sarmatia. But as it is known that Alexander never penetrated into these regions, it is clear that the title "of Alexander" was added by the Greeks to the names of mountains, which separated a country partly civilized from that entirely occupied by hordes of savages. Everything therefore seems to show, that these Pillars near Iberia in Asia, and not the Pillars of Hercules in Europe, formed the boundary of the expeditions of Sesostris, Tearcho, and Nabuchodonosor.—*Gossellin*.

² As the Oxydraci are here meant, Groskurd adopts this name in the text. They were settled in Sagur and Outch, of the province of Lahore.

“ But now from Lydia’s field,
 With gold abounding, from the Phrygian realm
 And that of Persia scorch’d by torrid suns,
 Pressing through Bactrian gates, the frozen land
 Of Media, and through Araby the Blest,
 With Asia’s wide extended continent——”

In Sophocles, also, a person is introduced speaking the praises of Nysa,² as being a mountain sacred to Bacchus:

‘ whence I beheld the famed Nysa, the resort of the Bacchanalian bands, which the horned Iacchus makes his most pleasant and beloved retreat, where no bird’s clang is heard,”

and so on. [He is called also Merotraphes.]³

Homer also mentions Lycurgus the Edonian in these words, “ who formerly pursued the nurses of the infuriate Bacchus along the sacred mountain Nysa.”⁴

So much respecting Bacchus. But with regard to Hercules, some persons say, that he penetrated to the opposite extremities on the west only, while others maintain that he also advanced to those of the east.

8. From such stories as those related above, they gave the name of Nysæans to some imaginary nation, and called their city Nysa, founded by Bacchus; a mountain above the city they called Meron, alleging as a reason for imposing these names that the ivy and vine grow there, although the latter does not perfect its fruit; for the bunches of grapes, in consequence of excessive rains, drop off before they arrive at maturity.

They say, also, that the Sydracæ (Oxydracæ) are descendants of Bacchus, because the vine grows in their country, and because their kings display great pomp in setting out on their warlike expeditions, after the Bacchic manner; whenever they appear in public, it is with beating of drums, and are dressed in flowered robes, which is the common custom among the other Indians.

¹ Eurip. Bacchæ, v. 13.—*Wodehull*.

² Many cities and mountains bore the name of Nysa; but it is impossible to confound the mountain Nysa, spoken of by Sophocles, with the Nysa of India, which became known to the Greeks by the expedition only of Alexander, more than a century after the death of the poet.

³ Probably interpolated

⁴ Il. vi. 132. Nysa in India was unknown to Homer, who here refers to Mount Nysa in Thrace.

When Alexander took, on the first assault, Aornos,¹ a fortress on a rock, the foot of which is washed by the Indus near its source, his flatterers exaggerated this act, and said that Hercules thrice assailed this rock and was thrice repulsed.

They pretended that the Sibæ² were descended from the people who accompanied Hercules in his expedition, and that they retained badges of their descent; that they wore skins like Hercules, and carried clubs, and branded with the mark of a club their oxen and mules. They confirm this fable with stories about Caucasus³ and Prometheus, for they transferred hither from Pontus these tales, on the slight pretence that they had seen a sacred cave among the Paropamisadæ.⁴ This they alleged was the prison of Prometheus, that Hercules came hither to release Prometheus, and that this mountain was the Caucasus, to which the Greeks represent Prometheus as having been bound.

9. That these are the inventions of the flatterers of Alexander is evident, first, because the writers do not agree with one another, some of whom speak of these things; others make no mention of them whatever. For it is not probable, that actions so illustrious, and calculated to foster pride and vanity, should be unknown, or if known, that they should not be thought worthy of record, especially by writers of the greatest credit.

Besides, the intervening people, through whose country the armies of Bacchus and Hercules must have marched in their

¹ Strabo takes for the source of the Indus the place where it passes through the mountains to enter the Punjab. The site of Aornos seems to correspond with Renas.—*Gossellin*.

² The Sibæ, according to Quintus Curtius, who gives them the name of Sobii, occupied the confluent of the Hydaspes and the Acesines.

This people appear to have been driven towards the east by one of these revolutions so frequent in all Asia. At least, to the north of Delhi, and in the neighbourhood of Hardouar, a district is found bearing the name of Siba.

³ That is, the Macedonians transferred the name of the Caucasus, situated between the Black Sea and the Caspian, to the mountains of India. The origin of their mistake arose from the Indians giving, as at present, the name of Kho, which signifies "white," to the great chain of mountains covered with snow, from whence the Indus, and the greater part of the rivers which feed it, descend.

⁴ This people occupied the Paropamisus, where the mountains now separate Candahar from Gaour.

way to India, do not exhibit any proofs of their passage through the country. The kind of dress, too, of Hercules is much more recent than the memorials of Troy, an invention of those who composed the *Heracleia* (or exploits of Hercules,) whether it were Peisander or some one else who composed it. But the ancient wooden statues do not represent Hercules in that attire.

10. Under such circumstances, therefore, we must receive everything that approaches nearest to probability. I have already discussed this subject to the extent of my ability at the beginning of this work; ¹ I shall now assume those opinions as clearly proved, and shall add whatever may seem to be required for the sake of perspicuity.

It appeared from the former discussion, that in the summary given by Eratosthenes, in the third book of his *Geography*, is contained the most credible account of the country considered as India at the time of its invasion by Alexander.

At that period the Indus was the boundary of India and of Ariana,² situated towards the west, and in the possession of the Persians, for afterwards the Indians occupied a larger portion of Ariana, which they had received from the Macedonians.

The account of Eratosthenes is as follows :—

11. The boundaries of India, on the north, from Ariana to the Eastern Sea,³ are the extremities of Taurus, to the several parts of which the natives give, besides others, the names of Paropamisus, Emodus, and Imaus,⁴ but the Macedonians call them Caucasus; on the west, the river Indus; the southern and eastern sides, which are much larger than the others, project towards the Atlantic Sea, and the figure of the country

¹ Book ii. c. i. 2.

² Under the name of Ariana, the ancients comprehended almost all the countries situated between the Indus and the meridian of the Caspian Gates. This large space was afterwards divided by them according to the position of the different nations which occupied it.—*Gossellin*. There can be no doubt the modern Iran represents the ancient Ariana. See *Smith*, art. Ariana, and b. ii. c. v. § 32, vol. i. p. 196, note ³.

³ Eratosthenes and Strabo believed that the eastern parts of Asia terminated at the mouth of the Ganges, and that, consequently, this river discharged itself into the Eastern Ocean at the place where terminated the long chain of Taurus.

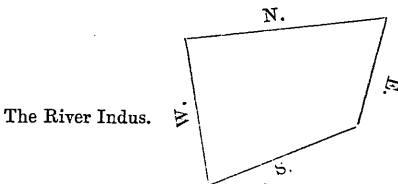
⁴ According to Major Rennell, Emodus and Imaus are only variations of the same name, derived from the Sanscrit word *Himmaleh*, which signifies "covered with snow."

becomes rhomboidal,¹ each of the greater sides exceeding the opposite by 3000 stadia; and this is the extent of the extremity, common to the eastern and southern coast, and which projects beyond the rest of that coast equally on the east and south.

The western side, from the Caucasian mountains to the Southern Sea, is estimated at 13,000 stadia, along the river Indus to its mouth; wherefore the eastern side opposite, with the addition of the 3000 stadia of the promontory, will be 16,000 stadia in extent. This is both the smallest and greatest breadth of India.² The length is reckoned from west to east. The part of this extending (from the Indus) as far as Palibothra³ we may describe more confidently; for it has been measured by Schœni,⁴ and is a royal road of 10,000 stadia. The extent of the parts beyond depends upon conjecture derived from the ascent of vessels from the sea by the Ganges to Palibothra. This may be estimated at 6000 stadia.

The whole, on the shortest computation, will amount to 16,000 stadia, according to Eratosthenes, who says that he took it from the register of the Stathmi (or the several stages from place to place),⁵ which was received as authentic, and Megasthenes agrees with him. But Patrocles says, that the sum of the whole is less by 1000 stadia. If again we add to this

¹ In some MSS. the following diagram is to be found.



² The extremity of India, of which Eratosthenes speaks, is Cape Comorin, which he placed farther to the east than the mouth of the Ganges.

³ Patelputer or Pataliputra near Patna, see b. ii. ch. i. § 9.

⁴ The reading is *σχοίνιοις*, which Coray changes to *σχοίνοις*, Schœni: see Herod. i. 66. The Schœnus was 40 stadia. B. xii. ch. ii. § 12.

⁵ Athenæus (b. xi. ch. 103, page 800, Bohn's Classical Library) speaks of Amyntas as the author of a work on the Stations of Asia. The Stathmus, or distance from station to station, was not strictly a measure of distance, and depended on the nature of the country and the capability of the beasts of burthen.

distance the extent of the extremity which advances far towards the east, the greatest length of India will be 3000 stadia; this length is reckoned from the mouths of the river Indus along the coast, in a line with the mouths to the above-mentioned extremity and its eastern limits. Here the people called Coniaci¹ live.

12. From what has been said, we may perceive how the opinions of the other writers differ from one another. Ctesias says that India is not less than the rest of Asia; Onesicritus regards it as the third part of the habitable world; Nearchus says that it is a march of four months through the plain only. The computations of Megasthenes and Deimachus are more moderate, for they estimate the distance from the Southern Sea to Caucasus² at above 20,000 stadia. Deimachus says that in some places it exceeds 30,000 stadia.

We have replied to these writers in the early part of this work.³ At present it is sufficient to say that these opinions are in favour of the writers who, in describing India, solicit indulgence if they do not advance anything with confidence.

13. The whole of India is watered by rivers, some of which empty themselves into the two largest, the Indus and the Ganges; others discharge themselves into the sea by their own mouths. But all of them have their sources in the Caucasus. At their commencement their course is towards the south; some of them continue to flow in the same direction, particularly those which unite with the Indus; others turn to the east, as the Ganges. This, the largest of the Indian rivers, descends from the mountainous country, and when it reaches the plains, turns to the east, then flowing past Palibothra, a very large city, proceeds onwards to the sea in that quarter, and discharges its waters by a single mouth. The Indus falls into the Southern Sea, and empties itself by two mouths, encompassing the country called Patalene, which resembles the Delta of Egypt.

By the exhalation of vapours from such vast rivers, and by

¹ The reading Coliaci in place of Coniaci has been proposed by various critics, and Kramer, without altering the text, considers it the true form of the name. The Coliaci occupied the extreme southern part of India. Cape Comorin is not precisely the promontory Colis, or Coliacum, which seems to answer to Panban, opposite the island Ramanan Kor.

² The Indian Caucasus.

³ Book ii. ch. i. § 3.

the Etesian winds, India, as Eratosthenes affirms, is watered by summer rains, and the plains are overflowed. During the rainy season flax,¹ millet, sesamum, rice, and bosmorum² are sowed; and in the winter season, wheat, barley, pulse, and other esculent fruits of the earth with which we are not acquainted. Nearly the same animals are bred in India as in Ethiopia and Egypt, and the rivers of India produce all the animals of those countries, except the hippopotamus, although Onesicritus asserts that even this animal is found in them.

The inhabitants of the south resemble the Ethiopians in colour, but their countenances and hair are like those of other people. Their hair does not curl, on account of the humidity of the atmosphere. The inhabitants of the north resemble the Egyptians.

14. Taprobane³ is said to be an island, lying out at sea, distant from the most southerly parts of India, which are opposite the Coniaci, seven days'⁴ sail towards the south. Its length is about 8000 stadia in the direction of Ethiopia.⁵ It produces elephants.

This is the account of Eratosthenes. The accounts of other writers, in addition to this, whenever they convey exact information, will contribute to form the description⁶ (of India).

15. Onesicritus, for example, says of Taprobane, that its magnitude is 5000 stadia, without distinction of length or breadth, and that it is distant twenty days' sail from the continent, but that it was a voyage performed with difficulty and danger by vessels with sails ill constructed, and built with prows at each end, but without holds and keels;⁷ that there are other islands between this and India, but that Taprobane lies farthest to the south; that there are found in the sea, about the island, animals of the cetaceous kind, in form like oxen, horses, and other land-animals.

16. Nearchus, speaking of the accretion of earth form-

¹ λίνον, probably the λίνον τὸ ἀπὸ δενδρέων, or cotton, of Arrian.

² βόσμορον. § 18. ³ Ceylon.

⁴ The voyage from the Ganges to Ceylon, in the time of Eratosthenes, occupied seven days, whence he concluded that Ceylon was seven days' sail from the continent.

⁵ Groskurd reads 5000 stadia. B. ii. c. i. § 14.

⁶ εἰδοποιήσουσι. Coraÿ.

⁷ The text is, as Coraÿ observes, obscure, if not corrupt. The proposed emendations of Coraÿ and Kramer are followed.

ed by the rivers, adduces these instances. The plains of Hermes, Caÿster, Mæander, and Caïcus have these names, because they have been formed by the soil which has been carried over the plains by the rivers; or rather they were produced by the fine and soft soil brought down from the mountains; whence the plains are, as it were, the offspring of the rivers, and it is rightly said, that the plains belong to the rivers. What is said by Herodotus¹ of the Nile, and of the land about it, may be applied to this country, namely, that it is the gift of the Nile. Hence Nearchus thinks that the Nile had properly the synonym of Egypt.

17. Aristobulus, however, says, that rain and snow fall only on the mountains and the country immediately below them, and that the plains experience neither one nor the other, but are overflowed only by the rise of the waters of the rivers; that the mountains are covered with snow in the winter; that the rains set in at the commencement of spring, and continue to increase; that at the time of the blowing of the Etesian winds they pour down impetuously, without intermission, night and day till the rising of Arcturus,² and that the rivers, filled by the melting of the snow and by the rains, irrigate the flat grounds.

These things, he says, were observed by himself and by others on their journey into India from the Paropamisadæ. This was after the setting of the Pleiades,³ and during their stay in the mountainous country in the territory of the Hy-pasii, and in that of Assacanus during the winter. At the beginning of spring they descended into the plains to a large city called Taxila,⁴ thence they proceeded to the Hydaspes and the country of Porus. During the winter they saw no rain, but only snow. The first rain which fell was at Taxila. After their descent to the Hydaspes and the conquest of Porus, their progress was eastwards to the Hypanis, and thence again to the Hydaspes. At this time it rained continually, and particularly during the blowing of the Etesian winds, but at the rising of Arcturus the rains ceased. They remained at the Hydaspes while the ships were constructing,

¹ Herod. ii. 5.

² At the beginning of autumn.

³ At the beginning of winter.

⁴ Taxila seems to have been situated at some distance to the east of Attock.

and began their voyage not many days before the setting of the Pleiades, and were occupied during the whole autumn, winter, and the ensuing spring and summer, in sailing down the river, and arrived at Patalene¹ about the rising of the Dog-Star;² during the passage down the river, which lasted ten months, they did not experience rain at any place, not even when the Etesian winds were at their height, when the rivers were full and the plains overflowed; the sea could not be navigated on account of the blowing of contrary winds, but no land breezes succeeded.

18. Nearchus gives the same account, but does not agree with Aristobulus respecting the rains in summer, but says that the plains are watered by rain in the summer, and that they are without rain in winter. Both writers, however, speak of the rise of the rivers. Nearchus says, that the men encamped upon the Acesines³ were obliged to change their situation for another more elevated, and that this was at the time of the rise of the river, and of the summer solstice.

Aristobulus gives even the measure of the height to which the river rises, namely, forty cubits, of which twenty would fill the channel beyond its previous depth up to the margin, and the other twenty are the measure of the water when it overflows the plains.

They agree also in saying that the cities placed upon mounds become islands, as in Egypt and Ethiopia, and that the inundation ceases after the rising of Arcturus, when the waters recede. They add, that the ground when half dried is sowed, after having been prepared by the commonest labourer, yet the plant comes to perfection, and the produce is good. The rice, according to Aristobulus, stands in water in an enclosure. It is sowed in beds. The plant is four cubits in height, with many ears, and yields a large produce. The harvest is about the time of the setting of the Pleiades, and the grain is beaten out like barley. It grows in Bactriana, Babylonia, Susis, and in the Lower Syria. Megillus says that it is sowed before the rains, but does not require irrigation or transplantation, being supplied with water from tanks.

The bosmorum, according to Onesicritus, is a kind of corn smaller than wheat, and grows in places situated be-

¹ At the delta formed by the Indus.

² Towards the end of summer.

³ The Chenab.

tween rivers. After it is threshed out, it is roasted; the threshers being previously bound by an oath not to carry it away unroasted from the threshing floor; a precaution to prevent the exportation of the seed.

19. Aristobulus, when comparing the circumstances in which this country resembles, and those in which it differs from, Egypt and Ethiopia, and observing that the swelling of the Nile is occasioned by rains in the south, and of the Indian rivers by rains from the north, inquires why the intermediate places have no rain; for it does not rain in the Thebaïs as far as Syene, nor at the places near Meroe, nor in the parts of India from Patalene to the Hydaspes. But the country situated above these parts,¹ in which both rain and snow occur, is cultivated by the husbandman in the same manner as the country without India; for the rain and the snow supply the ground with moisture.

It is probable from what he relates that the country is subject to shocks of earthquakes, that the ground is loose and hollow by excess of moisture, and easily splits into fissures, whence even the course of rivers is altered.

He says that when he was despatched upon some business into the country, he saw a tract of land deserted, which contained more than a thousand cities with their dependent villages; the Indus, having left its proper channel, was diverted into another, on the left hand, much deeper, and precipitated itself into it like a cataract, so that it no longer watered the country by the (usual) inundation on the right hand, from which it had receded, and this was elevated above the level, not only of the new channel of the river, but above that of the (new) inundation.

20. The account of Onesicritus confirms the facts of the rising of the rivers and of the absence of land breezes. He says that the sea-shore is swampy, particularly near the mouths of rivers, on account of the mud, tides, and the force of the winds blowing from the sea.

Megasthenes also indicates the fertility of India by the circumstance of the soil producing fruits and grain twice a year. Eratosthenes relates the same facts, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing, and of the rain at the same

¹ The district between Moulton and the mountains.

seasons. For there is no year, according to him, which is without rain at both those periods, whence ensues great abundance, the ground never failing to bear crops.

An abundance of fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of large reeds, possess a sweetness, which they have by nature and by coction; for the water, both from rains and rivers, is warmed by the sun's rays. The meaning of Eratosthenes seems to be this, that what among other nations is called the ripening of fruits and juices, is called among these *coction*, and which contributes as much to produce an agreeable flavour as the coction by fire. To this is attributed the flexibility of the branches of trees, from which wheels of carriages are made, and to the same cause is imputed the growth upon some trees of wool.¹ Nearchus says that their fine clothes were made of this wool, and that the Macedonians used it for mattresses and the stuffing of saddles. The Serica² also are of a similar kind, and are made of dry byssus, which is obtained from some sort of bark of plants. He says that reeds³ yield honey, although there are no bees, and that there is a tree from the fruit of which honey is procured, but that the fruit eaten fresh causes intoxication.

21. India produces many singular trees. There is one whose branches incline downwards, and whose leaves are not less in size than a shield. Onesicritus, describing minutely the country of Musicanus, which he says is the most southerly part⁴ of India, relates, that there are some large trees the branches of which extend to the length even of twelve cubits. They then grow downwards, as though bent (by force), till they touch the earth, where they penetrate and take root like layers. They next shoot upwards and form a trunk. They again grow as we have described, bending downwards, and implanting one layer after another, and in the above order, so that one tree forms a long shady roof, like a tent, supported by many pillars. In speaking of the size of the trees, he says their trunks could scarcely be clasped by five men.⁵

Aristobulus also, where he mentions the Acesines, and its confluence with the Hyarotis, speaks of trees with their boughs bent downwards and of a size that fifty, but, accord-

¹ Herod. ii. 86. Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres? Virg. Geor. ii. 121.

² Cloth of silk.

³ The sugar-cane.

⁴ C. i. § 33.

⁵ The Banyan tree.

ing to Onesicritus, four hundred horsemen might take shelter at mid-day beneath the shade of a single tree.

Aristobulus mentions another tree, not large, bearing great pods, like the bean, ten fingers in length, full of honey,¹ and says that those who eat it do not easily escape with life. But the accounts of all these writers about the size of the trees have been exceeded by those who assert that there has been seen, beyond the Hyarotis,² a tree which casts a shade at noon of five stadia.

Aristobulus says of the wool-bearing trees, that the flower pod contains a kernel, which is taken out, and the remainder is combed like wool.

22. In the country of Musicanus there grows, he says, spontaneously grain resembling wheat, and a vine that produces wine, whereas other authors affirm that there is no wine in India. Hence, according to Anacharsis, they had no pipes, nor any musical instruments, except cymbals, drums, and crotala, which were used by jugglers.

Both Aristobulus and other writers relate that India produces many medicinal plants and roots, both of a salutary and noxious quality, and plants yielding a variety of colours. He adds, that, by a law, any person discovering a deadly substance is punished with death unless he also discover an antidote; in case he discovers an antidote, he is rewarded by the king.

Southern India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, produces cinnamon, nard, and other aromatics. It resembles these countries as regards the effect of the sun's rays, but it surpasses them in having a copious supply of water, whence the atmosphere is humid, and on this account more conducive to fertility and fecundity; and this applies to the earth and to the water, hence those animals which inhabit both one and the other are of a larger size than are found in other countries. The Nile contributes to fecundity more than other rivers, and among other animals of large bulk, produces the amphibious kind. The Egyptian women also sometimes have four children at a birth, and Aristotle says that one woman had seven children at one birth.³ He calls the Nile most fecundating and nutritive, on

¹ Probably the Caroubba (Lotus Zizyphus), but it does not produce the effect here mentioned.

² The Ravee.

³ Arist. Hist. An. vii. 4, who speaks however of five only.

account of the moderate coction effected by the sun's rays, which leave behind the nutritious part of substances, and evaporate that which is superfluous.

23. It is perhaps owing to this cause that the water of the Nile boils, as he says, with one half of the heat which other water requires. In proportion however, he says, as the water of the Nile traverses in a straight line, a long and narrow tract of country, passing through a variety of climates and of atmosphere, while the Indian rivers are poured forth into wider and more extensive plains, their course being delayed a long time in the same climate, in the same degree the waters of India are more nutritious than those of the Nile; they produce larger animals of the cetaceous kind, and in greater number (than the Nile), and the water which descends from the clouds has already undergone the process of coction.

24. This would not be admitted by the followers of Aristobulus, who say that the plains are not watered by rain. Onesicritus, however, thinks that rain-water is the cause of the peculiar properties of animals, and alleges in proof, that the colour of foreign herds which drink of it is changed to that of the native animals.

This is a just remark; but it is not proper to attribute to the power of the water merely the cause of the black complexion and the woolly hair of the Ethiopians, and yet he censures Theodectes, who refers these peculiarities to the effects of the sun, in these words,

“Near these approaching with his radiant car,
The sun their skins with dusky tint doth dye,
And sooty hue; and with unvarying forms
Of fire, crisps their tufted hair.”

There may be reason in this, for he says that the sun does not approach nearer to the Ethiopians than to other nations, but shines more perpendicularly, and that on this account the heat is greater; indeed, it cannot be correctly said that the sun approaches near to the Ethiopians, for he is at an equal distance from all nations. Nor is the heat the cause of the black complexion, particularly of children in the womb, who are out of the reach of the sun. Their opinion is to be preferred, who attribute these effects to the sun and to intense solar heat, causing a great deficiency of moisture on the sur-

face of the skin. Hence we say it is that the Indians have not woolly hair, nor is their colour so intensely¹ dark, because they live in a humid atmosphere.

With respect to children in the womb, they resemble their parents (in colour) according to a seminal disposition and constitution, on the same principle that hereditary diseases, and other likenesses, are explained.

The equal distance of the sun from all nations (according to Onesicritus) is an argument addressed to the senses, and not to reason. But it is not an argument addressed to the senses generally, but in the meaning that the earth bears the proportion of a point to the sun, for we may understand such a meaning of an argument addressed to the senses, by which we estimate heat to be more or less, as it is near or at a distance, in which cases it is not the same; and in this meaning, not in that of Onesicritus, the sun is said to be near the Ethiopians.

25. It is admitted by those who maintain the resemblance of India to Egypt and Ethiopia, that the plains which are not overflowed do not produce anything for want of water.

Nearchus says, that the old question respecting the rise of the Nile is answered by the case of the Indian rivers, namely, that it is the effect of summer rains; when Alexander saw crocodiles in the Hydaspes, and Egyptian beans in the Acesines, he thought that he had discovered the sources of the Nile, and was about to equip a fleet with the intention of sailing by this river to Egypt; but he found out shortly afterwards that his design could not be accomplished,

“for in midway were vast rivers, fearful waters, and first the ocean,”² into which all the Indian rivers discharge themselves; then Ariana, the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, all Arabia and Troglodytica.

The above is what has been said on the subject of winds and rains, the rising of rivers, and the inundation of plains.

26. We must describe these rivers in detail, with the particulars, which are useful for the purposes of geography, and which have been handed down to us by historians.

Besides this, rivers, being a kind of physical boundaries of the size and figures of countries, are of the greatest use in

¹ πεπλησμένως. Coraÿ.

² Od. ii. 157.

every part of the present work. But the Nile and the rivers in India have a superiority above the rest, because the country could not be inhabited without them. By means of the rivers it is open to navigation and capable of cultivation, when otherwise it would not be accessible, nor could it be occupied by inhabitants.

We shall speak of the rivers deserving notice, which flow into the Indus, and of the countries which they traverse; with regard to the rest we know some particulars, but are ignorant of more. Alexander, who discovered the greatest portion of this country, first of all resolved it to be more expedient to pursue and destroy those who had treacherously killed Darius, and were meditating the revolt of Bactriana. He approached India therefore through Ariana, which he left on the right hand, and crossed the Paropamisus to the northern parts, and to Bactriana.¹ Having conquered all the country subject to the Persians, and many other places besides, he then entertained the desire of possessing India, of which he had received many, although indistinct, accounts.

He therefore returned, crossing over the same mountains by other and shorter roads, having India on the left hand; he then immediately turned towards it, and towards its western boundaries and the rivers Cophes and Choaspes.² The latter river empties itself into the Cophes,³ near Plemyrum, after passing by another city Gorys, in its course through Bando-bene and Gandaritis.⁴

He was informed that the mountainous and northern parts were the most habitable and fertile, but that the southern part was either without water, or liable to be overflowed by rivers at one time, or entirely burnt up at another, more fit to be the haunts of wild beasts than the dwellings of men. He resolved therefore to get possession of that part of India first which had been well spoken of, considering at the same time that the rivers which it was necessary to pass, and which flowed

¹ That is to say, he crossed the Paropamisus, or Mount Ghergistan, from the western frontier of Cabul, by the pass of Bamian, to enter the district of Balk.

² The Attock.

³ The river of Cabul.

⁴ The Gandaræ were a widely extended people of Indian or Arianian origin, who occupied a district extending more or less from the upper part of the Punjab to the neighbourhood of Candahar, and variously called Gandaris and Gandaritis. See Prof. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*.

transversely through the country which he intended to attack, would be crossed with more facility near their sources. He heard also that many of the rivers united and formed one stream, and that this more frequently occurred the farther they advanced into the country, so that from want of boats it would be more difficult to traverse. Being apprehensive of this obstruction, he crossed the Cophes, and conquered the whole of the mountainous country situated towards the east.

27. Next to the Cophes was the Indus, then the Hydaspes, the Acesines, the Hyarotis, and last, the Hypanis. He was prevented from proceeding farther, partly from regard to some oracles, and partly compelled by his army, which was exhausted by toil and fatigue, but whose principal distress arose from their constant exposure to rain. Hence we became acquainted with the eastern parts of India on this side the Hypanis, and whatever parts besides which have been described by those who, after Alexander, advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra.

After the river Cophes, follows the Indus. The country lying between these two rivers is occupied by Astaceni, Masiani, Nysæi, and Hypasii.¹ Next is the territory of Assacanus, where is the city Masoga (Massaga?), the royal residence of the country. Near the Indus is another city, Peucolaïtis.² At this place a bridge which was constructed afforded a passage for the army.

28. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes is Taxila, a large city, and governed by good laws. The neighbouring country is crowded with inhabitants and very fertile, and here unites with the plains. The people and their king Taxiles received Alexander with kindness, and obtained in return more presents than they had offered to Alexander; so that the Macedonians became jealous, and observed, that it seemed as if Alexander had found none on whom he could confer favours before he passed the Indus. Some writers say that this country is larger than Egypt.

Above this country among the mountains is the territory of Abisarus,³ who, as the ambassadors that came from him

¹ Aspasii. *Coraj*.

² Peucela, in Arrian iv. 22. Rennell supposes it to be Puckholi, or Pehkely.

³ Abisarus was king of the mountainous part of India, and, according

reported, kept two serpents, one of 80, and the other, according to Onesicritus, of 140 cubits in length. This writer may as well be called the master fabulist as the master pilot of Alexander. For all those who accompanied Alexander preferred the marvellous to the true, but this writer seems to have surpassed all in his description of prodigies. Some things, however, he relates which are probable and worthy of record, and will not be passed over in silence even by one who does not believe their correctness.

Other writers also mention the hunting of serpents in the Emodi mountains,¹ and the keeping and feeding of them in caves.

29. Between the Hydaspes and Acesines is the country of Porus,² an extensive and fertile district, containing nearly three hundred cities. Here also is the forest in the neighbourhood of the Emodi mountains in which Alexander cut down a large quantity of fir, pine, cedar, and a variety of other trees fit for ship-building, and brought the timber down the Hydaspes. With this he constructed a fleet on the Hydaspes, near the cities, which he built on each side of the river where he had crossed it and conquered Porus. One of these cities he called Bucephalia,³ from the horse Bucephalus, which was

to the conjecture of Vincent, which is not without some probability, his territory extended to Cashmir.

¹ India is bordered to the north, from Ariana to the Eastern Sea, by the extremities of Taurus, to which the aboriginal inhabitants give the different names of Paropamisus, Emodon, Imaon, and others, while the Macedonians call them Caucasus. The Emodi mountains were the Western Himalaya. See *Smith*, art. Emodi Montes.

² The name of the modern city Lahore, anciently Lo-pore, recalls that of Porus. It is situated on the Hyarotis or Hydraotes (Ravee), which does not contradict our author; for, as Vincent observes, the modern Lahore represents the capital of the second Porus, whom Strabo will mention immediately; and the Lahore situate between the Hydaspes (the Behut or Jelum) and the Acesines (the Chenab), the exact position of which is unknown, was that of the first Porus. Probably these two districts, in which the two cities were situated, formed a single district only, one part of which was occupied and governed by Porus the uncle, and the other by Porus the nephew. It is probable, also, that these two princes took their name from the country itself, Lahore, as the prince of Taxila was called Taxiles, and the prince of Palibothra, Palibothrus.

³ Strabo's Bucephalia was on the Hydaspes, between Beherat and Turkoor, not far from Rotas. *Groskurd*. The exact site is not ascertained, but the probabilities seem to be in favour of Jelum, at which place is the or-

killed in the battle with Porus. The name Bucephalus¹ was given to it from the breadth of its forehead. He was an excellent war-horse, and Alexander constantly rode him in battle.

The other city he called Nicæa from the victory, NIKH (Nice), which he had obtained.

In the forest before mentioned it is said there is a vast number of monkeys,² and as large as they are numerous. On one occasion the Macedonians, seeing a body of them standing in array opposite to them, on some bare eminences, (for this animal is not less intelligent than the elephant,) and presenting the appearance of an army, prepared to attack them as real enemies, but being informed by Taxiles, who was then with the king, of the real fact, they desisted.

The chase of this animal is conducted in two different manners. It is an imitative creature, and takes refuge up among the trees. The hunters, when they perceive a monkey seated on a tree, place in sight a basin containing water, with which they wash their own eyes; then, instead of water, they put a basin of bird-lime, go away, and lie in wait at a distance. The animal leaps down, and besmears itself with the bird-lime, and when it winks, the eyelids are fastened together; the hunters then come upon it, and take it.

The other method of capturing them is as follows: the hunters dress themselves in bags like trowsers, and go away, leaving behind them others which are downy, with the inside smeared over with bird-lime. The monkeys put them on, and are easily taken.

30. Some writers place Cathaia³ and the country of Sopeithes, one of the nomarchs, in the tract between the rivers (Hydaspes and Acesines); some, on the other side of the Acesines and of the Hyarotis, on the confines of the territory of the other Porus, the nephew of Porus who was taken prisoner by Alexander, and call the country subject to him Gandaris.

A very singular usage is related of the high estimation in which the inhabitants of Cathaia hold the quality of

dinary passage of the river, or of Jellapoor, about 16 miles lower down.
Smith.

¹ Ox-headed.

² Cercopithecus.

³ Hence the Cathay of the Chinese and Modern Europe.

beauty, which they extend to horses and dogs. According to Onesicritus, they elect the handsomest person as king. The child (selected), two months after birth, undergoes a public inspection, and is examined. They determine whether it has the amount of beauty required by law, and whether it is worthy to be permitted to live. The presiding magistrate then pronounces whether it is to be allowed to live, or whether it is to be put to death.

They dye their heads with various and the most florid colours, for the purpose of improving their appearance. This custom prevails elsewhere among many of the Indians, who pay great attention to their hair and dress; and the country produces colours of great beauty. In other respects the people are frugal, but are fond of ornament.

A peculiar custom is related of the Cathæi. The bride and the husband are respectively the choice of each other, and the wives burn themselves with their deceased husbands. The reason assigned for this practice is, that the women sometimes fell in love with young men, and deserted or poisoned their husbands. This law was therefore established in order to check the practice of administering poison; but neither the existence nor the origin of the law are probable facts.

It is said, that in the territory of Sopeithes there is a mountain composed of fossile salt, sufficient for the whole of India. Valuable mines also both of gold and silver are situated, it is said, not far off among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgus, the miner (of Alexander). The Indians, unacquainted with mining and smelting, are ignorant of their own wealth, and therefore traffic with greater simplicity.

31. The dogs in the territory of Sopeithes are said to possess remarkable courage: Alexander received from Sopeithes a present of one hundred and fifty of them. To prove them, two were set at a lion; when these were mastered, two others were set on; when the battle became equal, Sopeithes ordered a man to seize one of the dogs by the leg, and to drag him away; or to cut off his leg, if he still held on. Alexander at first refused his consent to the dog's leg being cut off, as he wished to save the dog. But on Sopeithes saying, "I will give you four in the place of it," Alexander consented; and he saw the dog permit his leg to be cut off by a slow incision, rather than loose his hold.

32. The direction of the march, as far as the Hydaspes, was for the most part towards the south. After that, to the Hypanis, it was more towards the east. The whole of it, however, was much nearer to the country lying at the foot of the mountains than to the plains. Alexander therefore, when he returned from the Hypanis to the Hydaspes and the station of his vessels, prepared his fleet, and set sail on the Hydaspes.

All the rivers which have been mentioned (the last of which is the Hypanis) unite in one, the Indus. It is said that there are altogether fifteen¹ considerable rivers which flow into the Indus. After the Indus has been filled by all these rivers, so as to be enlarged in some places to the extent of a hundred stadia, according to writers who exaggerate, or, according to a more moderate estimate, to fifty stadia at the utmost, and at the least to seven, [and who speak of many nations and cities about this river,]² it discharges itself by two mouths into the southern sea, and forms the island called Patalene.

Alexander's intention was to relinquish the march towards the parts situated to the east, first, because he was prevented from crossing the Hypanis; next, because he learnt by experience the falsehood of the reports previously received, to the effect that the plains were burnt up with fire, and more fit for the haunts of wild beasts than for the habitation of man. He therefore set out in this direction, relinquishing the other track; so that these parts became better known than the other.

33. The territory lying between the Hypanis and the Hydaspes is said to contain nine nations and five thousand cities, not less in size than Cos Meropis;³ but the number seems to be exaggerated. We have already mentioned nearly all the nations deserving of notice, which inhabit the country situated between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

Below, and next in order, are the people called Sibæ, whom we formerly mentioned,⁴ and the great nations, the Malli⁵ and Sydracæ (Oxydracæ). It was among the Malli that Alex-

¹ So also Arrian, who takes the number from Megasthenes. Pliny says that nineteen rivers unite with the Indus.

² Probably an interpolation.

³ The island Cos.

⁴ B. xv. c. i. § 7.

⁵ The Malli occupied a part of Moultan.

ander was in danger of losing his life, from a wound he received at the capture of a small city. The Sydracæ, we have said, are fabled to be allied to Bacchus.

Near Patalene is placed the country of Musicanus, that of Sabus,¹ whose capital is Sindomana, that of Porticanus, and of other princes who inhabited the country on the banks of the Indus. They were all conquered by Alexander; last of all he made himself master of Patalene, which is formed by the two branches of the Indus. Aristobulus says that these two branches are distant 1000 stadia from each other. Nearchus adds 800 stadia more to this number. Onesicritus reckons each side of the included island, which is of a triangular shape, at 2000 stadia; and the breadth of the river, where it is separated into two mouths, at about 200 stadia.² He calls the island Delta, and says that it is as large as the Delta of Egypt; but this is a mistake. For the Egyptian Delta is said to have a base of 1300 stadia, and each of the sides to be less than the base. In Patalene is Patala, a considerable city, from which the island has its name.

34. Onesicritus says, that the greatest part of the coast in this quarter abounds with swamps, particularly at the mouths of the river, which is owing to the mud, the tides, and the want of land breezes; for these parts are chiefly under the influence of winds blowing from the sea.

He expatiates also in praise of the country of Musicanus, and relates of the inhabitants what is common to other Indian tribes, that they are long-lived, and that life is protracted even to the age of 130 years, (the Seres,³ however, are said by some

¹ The Sambus of Arrian. Porticanus is the Oxycanus of Arrian. Both Porticanus and Musicanus were chiefs of the cicar of Sehwan. *Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 133.

² This number is too large. There is probably an error in the text. Groskurd reads 20; but Kramer refers to Arrian's expedition of Alexander, v. 20, and suggests that we may here read 100 (ρ) instead of 200 (σ).

³ The Seres are here meant, whose country and capital still preserve the name of Serhend. It was the Serica India of the middle ages, and to this country Justinian sent to procure silkworms' eggs, for the purpose of introducing them into Europe. Strabo was not acquainted with the Seres of Scythia, whose territory is now called Serinagar, from whence the ancients procured the wool and fine fabrics which are now obtained from Cashmir; nor was he acquainted with the Seres who inhabited the peninsula of India, and whose territory and capital have retained the name of Sera. Pliny is the only ancient author who seems to have spoken of these latter

writers to be still longer lived,) that they are temperate in their habits and healthy; although the country produces everything in abundance.

The following are their peculiarities: to have a kind of Lacedæmonian common meal, where they eat in public. Their food consists of what is taken in the chase. They make no use of gold nor silver, although they have mines of these metals. Instead of slaves, they employed youths in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotæ, and the Lacedæmonians the Helots. They study no science with attention but that of medicine; for they consider the excessive pursuit of some arts, as that of war, and the like, to be committing evil. There is no process at law but against murder and outrage, for it is not in a person's own power to escape either one or the other; but as contracts are in the power of each individual, he must endure the wrong, if good faith is violated by another; for a man should be cautious whom he trusts, and not disturb the city with constant disputes in courts of justice.

Such are the accounts of the persons who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

35. A letter of Craterus to his mother Aristopatra is circulated, which contains many other singular circumstances, and differs from every other writer, particularly in saying that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganges. Craterus says, that he himself saw the river, and the whales¹ which it produces, and [his account] of its magnitude, breadth, and depth, far exceeds, rather than approximates, probability. For that the Ganges is the largest of known rivers in the three continents, it is generally agreed; next to this is the Indus; and, thirdly, the Danube; and, fourthly, the Nile. But different authors differ in their account of it, some assigning 30, others 3 stadia, as the least breadth. But Megasthenes says that its ordinary width is 100 stadia,² and its least depth twenty orguæ.³

Seres. *Gossellin.* The passage in brackets is supposed by Groskurd to be an interpolation. Meineke would retain it, by reading *καὶ τοὶ καὶ γὰρ*.

¹ The passage is corrupt, and for *κῆτη*, "whales or cetaceous animals," Groskurd proposes *λέγει*. The whole would therefore thus be translated, "and speaks of what he saw on it, of its magnitude," &c.

² The exaggeration of Megasthenes is nothing in comparison of Ælian, who gives to the Ganges a breadth of 400 stadia. Modern observations attribute to the Ganges a breadth of about three quarters of a geographical mile, or 30 stadia.

³ About 120 feet.

36. At the confluence of the Ganges and of another river (the Erannoboas¹) is situated (the city) Palibothra, in length 80, and in breadth 15 stadia. It is in the shape of a parallelogram, surrounded by a wooden wall pierced with openings through which arrows may be discharged. In front is a ditch, which serves the purpose of defence and of a sewer for the city. The people in whose country the city is situated are the most distinguished of all the tribes, and are called Prasii. The king, besides his family name, has the surname of Palibothrus, as the king to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy had the name of Sandrocottus.²

Such also is the custom among the Parthians; for all have the name Arsacæ,³ although each has his peculiar name of Orodes, Phraates, or some other appellation.

37. All the country on the other side of the Hypanis is allowed to be very fertile, but we have no accurate knowledge of it. Either through ignorance or from its remote situation, everything relative to it is exaggerated or partakes of the wonderful. As, for example, the stories of myrmeces (or ants),⁴ which dig up gold; of animals and men with peculiar shapes, and possessing extraordinary faculties; of the longevity of the Seres, whose lives exceed the age of two hundred years. They speak also of an aristocratical form of government, consisting of five hundred counsellors, each of whom furnishes the state with an elephant.

According to Megasthenes, the largest tigers are found among the Prasii, almost twice the size of lions, and of such strength that a tame one led by four persons seized a mule by its hinder leg, overpowered it, and dragged it to him. The monkeys are larger than the largest dogs; they are of a white colour, except the face, which is black. The contrary is observed in other places. Their tails are more than two cubits in length. They are very tame, and not of a mischievous disposition. They neither attack people, nor steal.

Stones are found there of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey.

In some places there are serpents of two cubits in length, with membranous wings like bats. They fly at night, and let fall drops of urine or sweat, which occasions the skin of per-

¹ Hiranjavahu.² B. ii. c. i. § 9.³ B. xvi. c. i. § 28.⁴ Herodotus iii. 102. The marmot?

sons who are not on their guard to putrefy. There are also winged scorpions of great size.

Ebony grows there. There are also dogs of great courage, which do not loose their hold till water is poured into their nostrils: some of them destroy their sight, and the eyes of others even fall out, by the eagerness of their bite. Both a lion and a bull were held fast by one of these dogs. The bull was caught by the muzzle, and died before the dog could be loosened.

38. In the mountainous country is a river, the Silas, on the surface of which nothing will float. Democritus, who had travelled over a large part of Asia, disbelieves this, and Aristotle does not credit it, although atmospheres exist so rare, that no bird can sustain its flight in them. Vapours also, which ascend (from some substances), attract and absorb, as it were, whatever is flying over them; as amber attracts straw, and the magnet iron, and perhaps there may be in water a similar power.

As these matters belong to physics and to the question of floating bodies, these must be referred to them. At present we must proceed to what follows, and to the subjects more nearly relating to geography.

39. It is said that the Indians are divided into seven castes. The first in rank, but the smallest in number, are the philosophers. Persons who intend to offer sacrifice, or to perform any sacred rite, have the services of these persons on their private account; but the kings employ them in a public capacity at the time of the Great Assembly, as it is called, where at the beginning of the new year all the philosophers repair to the king at the gate, and anything useful which they have committed to writing, or observed, tending to improve the productions of the earth or animals, or of advantage to the government of the state, is then publicly declared.

Whoever has been detected in giving false information thrice is enjoined silence by law during the rest of his life; but he who has made correct observations is exempted from all contributions and tribute.

40. The second caste is that of husbandmen, who constitute the majority of natives, and are a most mild and gentle people, as they are exempted from military service, and cultivate

their land free from alarm ; they do not resort to cities, either to transact private business, or take part in public tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, one body of men are in battle array, and engaged in contests with the enemy, while others are ploughing or digging in security, having these soldiers to protect them. The whole of the territory belongs to the king. They cultivate it on the terms of receiving as wages a fourth part of the produce.

41. The third caste consists of shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt, to breed cattle, to sell and to let out for hire beasts of burden. In return for freeing the country from wild beasts and birds, which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life, and dwell in tents. No private person is allowed to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either one or the other is a royal privilege, and persons are appointed to take care of them.

42. The manner of hunting the elephant is as follows : Round a bare spot a ditch is dug, of about four or five stadia in extent, and at the place of entrance a very narrow bridge is constructed. Into the enclosure three or four of the tamest female elephants are driven. The men themselves lie in wait under cover of concealed huts. The wild elephants do not approach the females by day, but at night they enter the enclosure one by one ; when they have passed the entrance, the men secretly close it. They then introduce the strongest of the tame combatants, the drivers of which engage with the wild animals, and also wear them out by famine ; when the latter are exhausted by fatigue, the boldest of the drivers gets down unobserved, and creeps under the belly of his own elephant. From this position he creeps beneath the belly of the wild elephant, and ties his legs together ; when this is done, a signal is given to the tame elephants to beat those which are tied by the legs, till they fall to the ground. After they have fallen down, they fasten the wild and tame elephants together by the neck with thongs of raw cow-hide, and, in order that they may not be able to shake off those who are attempting to mount them, cuts are made round the neck, and thongs of leather are put into these incisions, so that they submit to their bonds through pain, and so remain quiet. Among the ele-

phants which are taken, those are rejected which are too old or too young for service ; the remainder are led away to the stables. They tie their feet one to another, and their necks to a pillar firmly fastened in the ground, and tame them by hunger. They recruit their strength afterwards with green cane and grass. They then teach them to obey ; some by words ; others they pacify by tunes, accompanied with the beating of a drum. Few are difficult to be tamed ; for they are naturally of a mild and gentle disposition, so as to approximate to the character of a rational animal. Some have taken up their drivers, who have fallen on the ground lifeless, and carried them safe out of battle. Others have fought, and protected their drivers, who have crept between their fore-legs. If they have killed any of their feeders or masters in anger, they feel their loss so much that they refuse their food through grief, and sometimes die of hunger.

43. They copulate like horses, and produce young chiefly in the spring. It is the season for the male, when he is in heat and is ferocious. At this period he discharges some fatty matter through an opening in the temples. It is the season also for the females, when this same passage is open. Eighteen months is the longest, and sixteen the shortest period that they go with young. The dam suckles her young six years. Many of them live as long as men who attain to the greatest longevity, some even to the protracted age of two hundred years.

They are subject to many diseases, which are difficult to be cured. A remedy for diseases of the eye is to bathe them with cow's milk. For complaints in general, they drink dark wine. In cases of wounds, they drink butter ; for it draws out iron instruments. Their sores are fomented with swine's flesh.

Onesicritus says, that they live three hundred years, and rarely five hundred ; and that they go with young ten years. He and other writers say, that they are larger and stronger than the African elephants. They will pull down with their trunks battlements, and uproot trees, standing erect upon their hind feet.

According to Nearchus, traps are laid in the hunting grounds, at certain places where roads meet ; the wild elephants are forced into the toils by the tame elephants, which

are stronger, and guided by a driver. They become so tame and docile, that they learn even to throw a stone at a mark, to use military weapons, and to be excellent swimmers. A chariot drawn by elephants is esteemed a most important possession, and they are driven without bridles.¹

A woman is greatly honoured who receives from her lover a present of an elephant, but this does not agree with what he said before, that a horse and an elephant are the property of kings alone.

44. This writer says that he saw skins of the myrmeces (or ants), which dig up gold, as large as the skins of leopards. Megasthenes, however, speaking of the myrmeces, says, among the *Derdæ* a populous nation of the Indians, living towards the east, and among the mountains, there was a mountain plain of about 3000 stadia in circumference; that below this plain were mines containing gold, which the myrmeces, in size not less than foxes, dig up. They are excessively fleet, and subsist on what they catch. In winter they dig holes, and pile up the earth in heaps, like moles, at the mouths of the openings.

The gold-dust which they obtain requires little preparation by fire. The neighbouring people go after it by stealth, with beasts of burden; for if it is done openly, the myrmeces fight furiously, pursuing those that run away, and if they seize them, kill them and the beasts. In order to prevent discovery, they place in various parts pieces of the flesh of wild beasts, and when the myrmeces are dispersed in various directions, they take away the gold-dust, and, not being acquainted with the mode of smelting it, dispose of it in its rude state at any price to merchants.

45. Having mentioned what Megasthenes and other writers relate of the hunters and the beasts of prey, we must add the following particulars.

Nearchus is surprised at the multitude and the noxious nature of the tribe of reptiles. They retreat from the plains to the settlements, which are not covered with water at the period of inundations, and fill the houses. For this reason the inhabitants raise their beds at some height from the

¹ The passage is corrupt. Groskurd proposes to add the word *ὡς* before *καὶ καμήλους*, "as camels." Coraÿ changes the last word to *ἀχαλίλους*, which is adopted in the translation. See below, § 53.

ground, and are sometimes compelled to abandon their dwellings, when they are infested by great multitudes of these animals; and, if a great proportion of these multitudes were not destroyed by the waters, the country would be a desert. Both the minuteness of some animals and the excessive magnitude of others are causes of danger; the former, because it is difficult to guard against their attacks; the latter, on account of their strength, for snakes are to be seen of sixteen cubits in length. Charmers go about the country, and are supposed to cure wounds made by serpents. This seems to comprise nearly their whole art of medicine, for disease is not frequent among them, which is owing to their frugal manner of life, and to the absence of wine; whenever diseases do occur, they are treated by the Sophistæ (or wise men).

Aristobulus says, that he saw no animals of these pretended magnitudes, except a snake, which was nine cubits and a span in length. And I myself saw one in Egypt, nearly of the same size, which was brought from India. He says also, that he saw many serpents of a much inferior size, and asps and large scorpions. None of these, however, are so noxious as the slender small serpents, a span long, which are found concealed in tents, in vessels, and in hedges. Persons wounded by them bleed from every pore, suffering great pain, and die, unless they have immediate assistance; but this assistance is easily obtained, by means of the virtues of the Indian roots and drugs.

Few crocodiles, he says, are found in the Indus, and these are harmless, but most of the other animals, except the hippopotamus, are the same as those found in the Nile; but Onesicritus says that this animal also is found there.

According to Aristobulus, none of the sea fish ascend the Nile from the sea, except the shad,¹ the grey mullet,² and dolphin, on account of the crocodiles; but great numbers ascend the Indus. Small craw-fish³ go up as far as the mountains,⁴ and the larger as far as the confluence of the Indus and the Acesines.

¹ θρίσσα.

² κεστρεύς.

³ καρίδες.

⁴ In the text, μέχρι ὄρους, "to a mountain." Coraÿ changes the last word to the name of a people, Οὔρων, but Strabo does not appear to have been acquainted with them; Groskurd, to ὄρων. The translation adopts this correction, with the addition of the article, which, as Kramer observes, is wanting if we follow Groskurd.

So much then on the subject of the wild animals of India. We shall return to Megasthenes, and resume our account where we digressed.

46. After the hunters and the shepherds, follows the fourth caste, which consists, he says, of those who work at trades, retail wares, and who are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay taxes, and perform certain stated services. But the armour-makers and ship-builders receive wages and provisions from the king, for whom only they work. The general-in-chief furnishes the soldiers with arms, and the admiral lets out ships for hire to those who undertake voyages and traffic as merchants.

47. The fifth caste consists of fighting men, who pass the time not employed in the field in idleness and drinking, and are maintained at the charge of the king. They are ready whenever they are wanted to march on an expedition, for they bring nothing of their own with them, except their bodies.

48. The sixth caste is that of the Ephori, or inspectors. They are intrusted with the superintendence of all that is going on, and it is their duty to report privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the city courtesans; and the inspectors of the camp, the women who follow it. The best and the most faithful persons are appointed to the office of inspector.

49. The seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors of the king. To these persons belong the offices of state, tribunals of justice, and the whole administration of affairs.

It is not permitted to contract marriage with a person of another caste, nor to change from one profession or trade to another, nor for the same person to undertake several, except he is of the caste of philosophers, when permission is given, on account of his superior qualifications.

50. Of the magistrates, some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some have the care of the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the closed reservoirs, from which water is distributed by canals, so that all may have an equal use of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing those who merit either. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land, as woodcutters, carpenters, workers in brass, and miners. They

superintend the public roads, and place a pillar at every ten stadia, to indicate the by-ways and distances.

51. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first has the inspection of everything relating to the mechanical arts; the second entertain strangers, assign lodgings, observe their mode of life, by means of attendants whom they attach to them, escort them out of the country on their departure; if they die, take charge of their property, have the care of them when sick, and when they die, bury them.

The third class consists of those who inquire at what time and in what manner births and deaths take place, which is done with a view to tax (on these occasions), and in order that the deaths and births of persons both of good and bad character should not be concealed.

The fourth division consists of those who are occupied in sales and exchanges; they have the charge of measures, and of the sale of the products in season, by a signal. The same person is not allowed to exchange various kinds of articles, except he pays a double tax.

The fifth division presides over works of artisans, and disposes of articles by public notice. The new are sold apart from the old, and there is a fine imposed for mixing them together. The sixth and last comprises those who collect the tenth of the price of the articles sold. Death is the punishment for committing a fraud with regard to the tax.

These are the peculiar duties performed by each class, but in their collective capacity they have the charge both of their own peculiar province and of civil affairs, the repairs of public works, prices¹ of articles, of markets, harbours, and temples.

52. Next to the magistrates of the city is a third body of governors, who have the care of military affairs. This class also consists of six divisions, each composed of five persons. One division is associated with the chief naval superintendent, another with the person who has the charge of the bullock-teams, by which military engines are transported, of provisions both for the men and beasts, and other requisites for the army. They furnish attendants, who beat a drum, and carry gongs;²

¹ Groskurd proposes *τεχνῶν*, "walls," in place of, *τιμῶν*, "prices."

² *κώδων*, "a bell," or gong, or trumpet?

and besides these, grooms, mechanists, and their assistants. They despatch by the sound of the gong the foragers for grass, and insure expedition and security by rewards and punishments. The third division has the care of the infantry; the fourth, of the horses; the fifth, of the chariots; the sixth, of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants. There is also a royal magazine of arms; for the soldier returns his arms to the armoury, and the horse and elephant to the stables. They use the elephants without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen. The horses are led by a halter, in order that their legs may not be chafed and inflamed, nor their spirit damped, by drawing chariots. Besides the charioteer, there are two persons who fight by his side in the chariot. With the elephant are four persons, the driver and three bowmen, who discharge arrows from his back.

53. All the Indians are frugal in their mode of life, and especially in camp. They do not tolerate useless and undisciplined multitudes, and consequently observe good order. Theft is very rare among them. Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrocottus, which consisted of 400,000 men, did not witness on any day thefts reported, which exceeded the sum of two hundred drachmæ, and this among a people who have no written laws, who are ignorant even of writing, and regulate everything by memory. They are, however, happy on account of their simple manners and frugal way of life. They never drink wine, but at sacrifices. Their beverage is made from rice instead of barley, and their food consists for the most part of rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and contracts appears from their not having many law-suits. They have no suits respecting pledges and deposits, nor do they require witnesses or seals, but make their deposits, and confide in one another. Their houses and property are unguarded. These things denote temperance and sobriety; others no one would approve, as their eating always alone, and their not having all of them one common hour for their meals, but each taking it as he likes. The contrary custom is more agreeable to the habits of social and civil life.

54. As an exercise of the body they prefer friction in various ways, but particularly by making use of smooth sticks of ebony, which they pass over the surface of the body.

Their sepulchres are plain, and the tumuli of earth low.

In contrast to their parsimony in other things, they indulge in ornament. They wear dresses worked with gold and precious stones, and flowered (variegated) robes, and are attended by persons following them with umbrellas; for as they highly esteem beauty, everything is attended to, which can improve their looks.

They respect alike truth and virtue; therefore they do not assign any privilege to the old, unless they possess superior wisdom.

They marry many wives, who are purchased from their parents, and give in exchange for them a yoke of oxen. Some marry wives to possess obedient attendants, others with a view to pleasure and numerous offspring, and the wives prostitute themselves, unless chastity is enforced by compulsion.

No one wears a garland when sacrificing, or burning incense, or pouring out a libation. They do not stab, but strangle the victim, that nothing mutilated, but that which is entire, may be offered to the Deity.

A person convicted of bearing false testimony suffers a mutilation of his extremities. He who has maimed another not only undergoes in return the loss of the same limb, but his hand also is cut off. If he has caused a workman to lose his hand or his eye, he is put to death.

Megasthenes says, that none of the Indians employ slaves. But, according to Onesicritus, this is peculiar to the people in the territory of Musicanus. He speaks of this as an excellent rule, and mentions many others to be found in that country, as the effects of a government by good laws.

55. The care of the king's person is committed to women, who are also purchased of their parents. The body-guard, and the rest of the military, are stationed without the gates. A woman, who puts to death a king when drunk, is rewarded by becoming the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the day-time, and at night he is obliged from time to time to change his bed, from dread of treachery.

The king leaves his palace in time of war; he leaves it also when he goes to sit in his court as a judge. He remains there all day thus occupied, not suffering himself to be interrupted even though the time arrives for attending to his per-

son. This attention to his person consists of friction with pieces of wood, and he continues to listen to the cause, while the friction is performed by four attendants who surround him.

Another occasion of leaving his palace is to offer sacrifice.

The third is a sort of Bacchanalian departure to the chase. Crowds of women surround him, and on the outside (of these) are spear-men. The road is set off with ropes; a man, or even a woman, who passes within the ropes is put to death.

The king is preceded by drums and gongs. He hunts in the enclosures, and discharges his arrows from a high seat. Near him stand two or three armed women. When hunting in the open ground, he shoots his arrows from an elephant; of the women some are in chariots, some on horses, and others on elephants; they are provided with all kinds of weapons, as if they were going on a military expedition.

56. These customs when compared with ours are very strange, but the following are still more extraordinary. According to Megasthenes, the nations who inhabit the Caucasus have commerce with women in public; and eat the bodies of their relatives; the monkeys climb precipices, and roll down large stones upon their pursuers; most of the animals which are tame in our country are wild in theirs; the horses have a single horn, with heads like those of deer; reeds which grow to the height of thirty orguia,¹ others which grow on the ground, fifty orguia in length, and in thickness some are three and others six cubits in diameter.

57. He then deviates into fables, and says that there are men of five, and even three spans in height, some of whom are without nostrils, with only two breathing orifices above the mouth. Those of three spans in height wage war with the cranes (described by Homer) and with the partridges, which are as large as geese; these people collect and destroy the eggs of the cranes which lay their eggs there; and nowhere else are the eggs or the young cranes to be found; frequently a crane escapes from this country with a brazen point of a weapon in its body, wounded by these people.

Similar to this is the account of the *Enotocoitæ*,² of the wild men, and of other monsters. The wild men could not be brought to Sandrocottus, for they died by abstaining from

¹ The orguia was equal to four cubits, or six feet one inch.

² Men who slept on their ears. See b. i. c. ii. § 35.

food. Their heels are in front, the instep and toes are turned backwards. Some have been taken, which had no mouths, and were tame. They live near the sources of the Ganges, and are supported by the smell of dressed meat and the fragrance of fruits and flowers, having instead of mouths orifices through which they breathe. They are distressed by strong-smelling substances, and therefore their lives are sustained with difficulty, particularly in a camp.

With respect to the other singular animals, the philosophers informed him of a people called *Ocypodæ*, so swift of foot that they leave horses behind them; of *Enotocoitæ*, or persons having ears hanging down to their feet, so that they lie and sleep upon them, and so strong as to be able to pluck up trees and to break the sinew string of a bow; of others (*Monommati*) who have only one eye, and the ears of a dog, the eye placed in the middle of the forehead, the hair standing erect, and the breasts shaggy; of others (*Amycteres*) without nostrils, devouring everything, eaters of raw meat, short-lived, and dying before they arrive at old age; the upper part of their mouths projects far beyond the lower lip.

With respect to the Hyperboreans, who live to the age of a thousand years, his description is the same as that of *Simonides*, *Pindar*, and other mythological writers.

The story told by *Timagenes* of a shower of drops of brass, which were raked together, is a fable. The account of *Megasthenes* is more probable, namely, that the rivers bring down gold-dust, a part of which is paid as a tax to the king; and this is the case in *Iberia* (of *Armenia*).

58. Speaking of the philosophers, he says, that those who inhabit the mountains are worshippers of *Bacchus*, and show as a proof (of the god having come among them) the wild vine, which grows in their country only; the ivy, the laurel, the myrtle, the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the *Euphrates*, except a few in parks, which are only preserved with great care. To wear robes and turbans, to use perfumes, and to be dressed in dyed and flowered garments, for their kings to be preceded when they leave their palaces, and appear abroad, by gongs and drums, are *Bacchanalian* customs. But the philosophers who live in the plains worship *Hercules*.

These are fabulous stories, contradicted by many writers,

particularly what is said of the vine and wine, for a great part of Armenia, the whole of Mesopotamia and Media, as far as Persia and Carmania, is beyond the Euphrates, the greater part of which countries is said to have excellent vines, and to produce good wine.

59. Megasthenes divides the philosophers again into two kinds, the Brachmanes¹ and the Garmanes.² The Brachmanes are held in greater repute, for they agree more exactly in their opinions. Even from the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men, who go to the mother, and seem to perform some incantation for the happiness and welfare of the mother and the unborn child, but in reality they suggest prudent advice, and the mothers who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After the birth of the children, there is a succession of persons who have the care of them, and as they advance in years, masters more able and accomplished succeed.

The philosophers live in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. Their diet is frugal, and they lie upon straw pallets and on skins. They abstain from animal food, and from sexual intercourse with women; their time is occupied in grave discourse, and they communicate with those who are inclined to listen to them; but the hearer is not permitted to speak or cough, or even to spit on the ground; otherwise, he is expelled that very day from their society, on the ground of having no control over himself. After living thirty-seven years in this manner, each individual retires to his own possessions, and lives with less restraint, wearing robes of fine linen, and rings of gold, but without profuseness, upon the hands and in the ears. They eat the flesh of animals, of those particularly which do not assist man in his labour, and abstain from hot and seasoned food. They have as many wives as they please with a view to numerous offspring, for from many wives greater advantages are derived.

As they have no slaves, they require more the services, which are at hand, of their children.

The Brachmanes do not communicate their philosophy to their wives, for fear they should divulge to the profane, if

¹ The Brahmins:

² Sarmanes, Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 305.

they became depraved, anything which ought to be concealed ; or lest they should abandon their husbands in case they became good (philosophers) themselves. For no one who despises alike pleasure and pain, life and death, is willing to be subject to the authority of another ; and such is the character of a virtuous man and a virtuous woman.

They discourse much on death, for it is their opinion that the present life is the state of one conceived in the womb, and that death to philosophers is birth to a real and a happy life. They therefore discipline themselves much to prepare for death, and maintain that nothing which happens to man is bad or good, for otherwise the same things would not be the occasion of sorrow to some and of joy to others, opinions being merely dreams, nor that the same persons could be affected with sorrow and joy by the same things, on different occasions.

With regard to opinions on physical phenomena, they display, says Megasthenes, great simplicity, their actions being better than their reasoning, for their belief is chiefly founded on fables. On many subjects their sentiments are the same as those of the Greeks. According to the Brachmanes, the world was created, and is liable to corruption ; it is of a spheroidal figure ; the god who made and governs it pervades the whole of it ; the principles of all things are different, but the principle of the world's formation was water ; in addition to the four elements there is a fifth nature, of which the heavens and the stars are composed ; the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. Many other peculiar things they say of the principle of generation and of the soul. They invent fables also, after the manner of Plato, on the immortality of the soul, and on the punishments in Hades, and other things of this kind. This is the account which Megasthenes gives of the Brachmanes.

60. Of the Garmanes, the most honourable, he says, are the Hylobii, who live in the forests, and subsist on leaves and wild fruits : they are clothed with garments made of the bark of trees,¹ and abstain from commerce with women and from wine. The kings hold communication with them by messengers, concerning the causes of things, and through them worship and supplicate the Divinity.

¹ Meineke's conjecture, ἐσθητοὺς φλοιῶ δένδρεϊψ.

Second in honour to the Hylobii, are the physicians, for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are of frugal habits, but do not live in the fields, and subsist upon rice and meal, which every one gives when asked, and receive them hospitably. They are able to cause persons to have a numerous offspring, and to have either male or female children, by means of charms. They cure diseases by diet, rather than by medicinal remedies. Among the latter, the most in repute are unguents and cataplasms. All others they suppose partake greatly of a noxious nature.

Both this and the other class of persons practise fortitude, as well in supporting active toil as in enduring suffering, so that they will continue a whole day in the same posture, without motion.

There are enchanters and diviners, versed in the rites and customs relative to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. There are others who are more civilized and better informed than these, who inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which, according to their ideas, tend to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them, but abstain from sexual intercourse.

61. Aristobulus says, that he saw at Taxila two sophists (wise men), both Brachmanes, the elder had his head shaved, but the younger wore his hair; both were attended by disciples. When not otherwise engaged, they spent their time in the market-place. They are honoured as public counsellors, and have the liberty of taking away, without payment, whatever article they like which is exposed for sale; when any one accosts them, he pours over them oil of jessamine, in such profusion that it runs down from their eyes. Of honey and sesamum, which is exposed for sale in large quantity, they take enough to make cakes, and are fed without expense.

They came up to Alexander's table and took their meal standing, and they gave an example of their fortitude by retiring to a neighbouring spot, where the elder, falling on the ground supine, endured the sun and the rain, which had now set in, it being the commencement of spring. The other stood on one leg, with a piece of wood three cubits in length raised in both hands; when one leg was fatigued he changed the support to the other, and thus continued the whole day. The younger appeared to possess much more self-command; for,

after following the king a short distance, he soon returned to his home. The king sent after him, but he bade the king to come to him, if he wanted anything of him. The other accompanied the king to the last : during his stay he changed his dress, and altered his mode of life, and when reproached for his conduct, answered, that he had completed the forty years of discipline which he had promised to observe : Alexander made presents to his children.

62. Aristobulus relates also some strange and unusual customs of the people of Taxila. Those, who through poverty are unable to marry their daughters, expose them for sale in the market-place, in the flower of their age, to the sound of shell trumpets and drums, with which the war-note is given. A crowd is thus assembled. First her back, as far as the shoulders, is uncovered, then the parts in front, for the examination of any man who comes for this purpose. If she pleases him, he marries her on such conditions as may be determined upon.

The dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures. To have many wives is a custom common to these and to other nations. He says, that he had heard, from some persons, of wives burning themselves voluntarily with their deceased husbands ; and that those women who refused to submit to this custom were disgraced. The same things have been told by other writers.¹

63. Onesicritus says, that he himself was sent to converse with these wise men. For Alexander heard that they went about naked, practised constancy and fortitude, and were held in the highest honour ; that, when invited, they did not go to other persons, but commanded others to come to them, if they wished to participate in their exercises or their conversation. Such being their character, Alexander did not consider it to be consistent with propriety to go to them, nor to compel them to do anything contrary to their inclination or against the custom of their country ; he therefore despatched Onesicritus to them.

Onesicritus found, at the distance of 20 stadia from the city, fifteen men standing in different postures, sitting or

¹ According to Diodorus Siculus, xix. 33, an exception was made for women with child, or with a family ; but otherwise, if she did not comply with this custom, she was compelled to remain a widow during the rest of her life, and to take no part in sacrifices or other rites, as being an impious person.

lying down naked, who continued in these positions until the evening, and then returned to the city. The most difficult thing to endure was the heat of the sun, which was so powerful, that no one else could endure without pain to walk on the ground at mid-day with bare feet.

64. He conversed with Calanus, one of these sophists, who accompanied the king to Persia, and died after the custom of his country, being placed on a pile of [burning] wood. When Onesicritus came, he was lying upon stones. Onesicritus approached, accosted him, and told him that he had been sent by the king, who had heard the fame of his wisdom, and that he was to give an account of his interview, if there were no objection, he was ready to listen to his discourse. When Calanus saw his mantle, head-covering, and shoes, he laughed, and said, "Formerly, there was abundance everywhere of corn and barley, as there is now of dust; fountains then flowed with water, milk, honey, wine, and oil, but mankind by repletion and luxury became proud and insolent. Jupiter, indignant at this state of things, destroyed all, and appointed for man a life of toil. On the reëpearance of temperance and other virtues, there was again an abundance of good things. But at present the condition of mankind approaches satiety and insolence, and there is danger lest the things which now exist should disappear."

When he had finished, he proposed to Onesicritus, if he wished to hear his discourse, to strip off his clothes, to lie down naked by him on the same stones, and in that manner to listen to him; while he was hesitating what to do, Mandanis,¹ who was the oldest and wisest of the sophists, reproached Calanus for his insolence, although he censured such insolence himself. Mandanis called Onesicritus to him, and said, I commend the king, because, although he governs so large an empire, he is yet desirous of acquiring wisdom, for he is the only philosopher in arms that I ever saw; it would be of the greatest advantage, if those were philosophers who have the power of persuading the willing and of compelling the unwilling to learn temperance; but I am entitled to indulgence, if, when conversing by means of three interpreters, who, except the language, know no more than the vulgar, I am not

¹ By Arrian and Plutarch he is called Dandamis.

able to demonstrate the utility of philosophy. To attempt it is to expect water to flow pure through mud.

65. "The tendency of his discourse," he said, "was this, that the best philosophy was that which liberated the mind from pleasure and grief; that grief differed from labour, in that the former was inimical, the latter friendly to men; for that men exercised their bodies with labour in order to strengthen the mental powers, by which means they would be able to put an end to dissensions, and give good counsel to all, to the public and to individuals; that he certainly should at present advise Taxiles to receive Alexander as a friend; for if he entertained a person better than himself, he might be improved; but if a worse person, he might dispose him to good."

After this Mandanis inquired, whether such doctrines were taught among the Greeks. Onesicritus answered, that Pythagoras taught a similar doctrine, and enjoined his disciples to abstain from whatever has life; that Socrates and Diogenes, whose discourses he had heard, held the same opinions. Mandanis replied, "that in other respects he thought them wise, but that in one thing they were mistaken, namely, in preferring custom to nature, for otherwise they would not be ashamed of going naked, like himself, and of subsisting on frugal fare; for the best house was that which required least repairs." He says also that they employ themselves much on natural subjects, as prognostics, rain, drought, and diseases. When they repair to the city, they disperse themselves in the market-places; if they meet any one carrying figs or bunches of grapes, they take what is offered gratuitously; if it is oil, it is poured over them, and they are anointed with it. Every wealthy house, even to the women's apartment, is open to them; when they enter it, they engage in conversation, and partake of the repast. Disease of the body they regard as most disgraceful, and he who apprehends it, after preparing a pyre, destroys himself by fire; he (previously) anoints himself, and sitting down upon it orders it to be lighted, remaining motionless while he is burning.

66. Nearchus gives the following account of the Sophists. The Brachmanes engage in public affairs, and attend the kings as counsellors; the rest are occupied in the study of nature.

Calanus belonged to the latter class. Women study philosophy with them, and all lead an austere life.

Of the customs of the other Indians, he says, that their laws, whether relating to the community or to individuals, are not committed to writing, and differ altogether from those of other people. For example, it is the practice among some tribes, to propose virgins as prizes to the conquerors in a trial of skill in boxing; wherefore they marry without portions; among other tribes the ground is cultivated by families and in common; when the produce is collected, each takes a load sufficient for his subsistence during the year; the remainder is burnt, in order to have a reason for renewing their labour, and not remaining inactive. Their weapons consist of a bow and arrows, which are three cubits in length, or a javelin, and a shield, and a sword three cubits long. Instead of bridles, they use muzzles,¹ which differ little from a halter, and the lips are perforated with spikes.

67. Nearchus, producing proofs of their skill in works of art, says, that when they saw sponges in use among the Macedonians, they imitated them by sewing hairs, thin threads, and strings in wool; after the wool was felted, they drew out the hairs, threads, and strings, and dyed it with colours. There quickly appeared also manufactures of brushes for the body, and of vessels for oil (*lecythi*). They write, he says, letters upon cloth, smoothed by being well beaten, although other authors affirm that they have no knowledge of writing. They use brass, which is cast, and not wrought; he does not give the reason of this, although he mentions the strange effect, namely, if that vessels of this description fall to the ground, they break like those made of clay.

This following custom also is mentioned in accounts of India, that, instead of prostrating themselves before their kings, it is usual to address them, and all persons in authority and high station, with a prayer.

The country produces precious stones, as crystal, carbuncles of all kinds, and pearls.

68. As an instance of the disagreement among historians,

¹ By *φίμοις*, probably here is meant a circular segment, or band of iron, furnished with slightly raised points in the inside; it passes over the bone of the nose, and is fastened below by a cord which is continued as a bridle. Such a contrivance is still in use for mules and asses in the East.

we may adduce their (different) accounts of Calanus. They all agree that he accompanied Alexander, and underwent a voluntary death by fire in his presence, but they differ as to the manner and cause of his death. Some give the following account. Calanus accompanied the king, as the rehearser of his praises, beyond the boundaries of India, contrary to the common Indian custom; for the philosophers attend upon their kings, and act as instructors in the worship of the gods, in the same manner as the Magi attend the Persian kings. When he fell sick at Pasargadæ, being then attacked with disease for the first time in his life, he put himself to death at the age of seventy-three years, regardless of the entreaties of the king. A pyre was raised, and a golden couch placed upon it. He laid down upon it, and covering himself up, was burnt to death.

Others say, that a chamber was constructed of wood, which was filled with the leaves of trees, and a pyre being raised upon the roof, he was shut up in it, according to his directions, after the procession, with which he had been accompanied, had arrived at the spot. He threw himself upon the pyre, and was consumed like a log of wood, together with the chamber.

Megasthenes says, that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, and that those who commit this act are accounted fool-hardy; that some, who are by nature harsh, inflict wounds upon their bodies, or cast themselves down precipices; those who are impatient of pain drown themselves; those who can endure pain strangle themselves; and those of ardent tempers throw themselves into the fire. Of this last description was Calanus, who had no control over himself, and was a slave to the table of Alexander. Calanus is censured, while Mandanis is applauded. When Alexander's messengers invited the latter to come to the son of Jove, promising a reward if he would comply, and threatening punishment if he refused, he answered, "Alexander was not the son of Jove, for he did not govern even the smallest portion of the earth; nor did he himself desire a gift of one who¹ was satisfied with nothing. Neither did he fear his threats, for as long as he lived India would supply him with food enough; and when he died, he should be delivered from the flesh

¹ Coray reads *πóθος* instead of *κόρος* in the text. The translation would then be, "who required nothing;" but *εκείνου* here refers to Alexander.

wasted by old age, and be translated to a better and purer state of existence." Alexander commended and pardoned him.

69. Historians also relate that the Indians worship Jupiter Ombrus (or, the Rainy), the river Ganges, and the indigenous deities of the country; that when the king washes his hair,¹ a great feast is celebrated, and large presents are sent, each person displaying his wealth in competition with his neighbour.

They say, that some of the gold-digging myrmeces (ants) have wings; and that the rivers, like those of Iberia,² bring down gold-dust.

In processions at their festivals, many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver, numerous carriages drawn by four horses and by several pairs of oxen; then follows a body of attendants in full dress, (bearing) vessels of gold, large basins and goblets, an orguia³ in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking-cups, and lavers of Indian copper, most of which were set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian carbuncles; garments embroidered and interwoven with gold; wild beasts, as buffaloes,⁴ panthers, tame lions, and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and of fine song.

Cleitarchus speaks of four-wheeled carriages bearing trees with large leaves, from which were suspended (in cages) different kinds of tame birds, among which the orion⁵ was said to possess the sweetest note, but the catreus⁶ was the most beautiful in appearance, and had the most variegated plumage. In shape it approached nearest to the peacock, but the rest of the description must be taken from Cleitarchus.

70. Opposed to the Brachmanes there are philosophers, called Pramnæ, contentious people, and fond of argument. They ridicule the Brachmanes as boasters and fools for occupying themselves with physiology and astronomy. Some of the Pramnæ are called Pramnæ of the mountains, others Gymnetæ, others again are called Townsmen and Country-

¹ On the day of his birth, Herod. ix. 109.

² Of Armenia.

³ About 6 feet.

⁴ The text is corrupt. Tzschucke's emendation is adopted, viz. βόνασα. Groskurd translates the word by "hump-backed oxen," or zebus.

⁵ Ælian de Nat. Anima. xvii. 21.

⁶ Bird of paradise?

men. The Pramnæ of the mountains wear deer-skins, and carry scrips filled with roots and drugs; they profess to practise medicine by means of incantations, charms, and amulets.

The Gymnetæ, as their name imports, are naked and live chiefly in the open air, practising fortitude for the space of thirty-seven years; this I have before mentioned; women live in their society, but without cohabitation. The Gymnetæ are held in singular estimation.

71. The (Pramnæ) Townsmen are occupied in civil affairs, dwell in cities, and wear fine linen, or (as Countrymen they live) in the fields, clothed in the skins of fawns or antelopes. In short, the Indians wear white garments, white linen and muslin, contrary to the accounts of those who say that they wear garments of a bright colour; all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair, and bind it with a fillet.

72. Artemidorus says that the Ganges descends from the Emoda mountains and proceeds towards the south; when it arrives at the city Ganges,¹ it turns to the east, and keeps this direction as far as Palibothra,² and the mouth by which it discharges itself into the sea. He calls one of the rivers which flow into it *Oedanes*,³ which breeds crocodiles and dolphins. Some other circumstances besides are mentioned by him, but in so confused and negligent a manner that they are not to be regarded. To these accounts may be added that of Nicolaus Damascenus.

73. This writer states that at Antioch, near Daphne,⁴ he met with ambassadors from the Indians, who were sent to Augustus Cæsar. It appeared from the letter that several persons were mentioned in it, but three only survived, whom he says he saw. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of

¹ Not far from the present Anopschir on the Ganges, south-east from Delhi. *Groskurd*.

² Patalputer, b. ii. c. i. § 9.

³ Probably the Iomanes.

⁴ A subordinate town in the pachalic of Aleppo, and its modern name is still Antakieh. It was anciently distinguished as Antioch by the Orontes, because it was situated on the left bank of that river, where its course turns abruptly to the west, after running northwards between the ranges of Lebanon and Antilebanon, and also Antioch by Daphne, because of the celebrated grove of Daphne which was consecrated to Apollo, in the immediate neighbourhood.

the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek upon a skin; the import of it was, that Porus was the writer, that although he was sovereign of six hundred kings, yet that he highly esteemed the friendship of Cæsar; that he was willing to allow him a passage through his country, in whatever part he pleased, and to assist him in any undertaking that was just.

Eight naked servants, with girdles round their waists, and fragrant with perfumes, presented the gifts which were brought. The presents were a Hermes (i. e. a man) born without arms, whom I have seen, large snakes, a serpent ten cubits in length, a river tortoise of three cubits in length, and a partridge (?) larger than a vulture. They were accompanied by the person, it is said, who burnt himself to death at Athens. This is the practice with persons in distress, who seek escape from existing calamities, and with others in prosperous circumstances, as was the case with this man. For as everything hitherto had succeeded with him, he thought it necessary to depart, lest some unexpected calamity should happen to him by continuing to live; with a smile, therefore, naked, anointed, and with the girdle round his waist, he leaped upon the pyre. On his tomb was this inscription,—ZARMANOCHEGAS,¹ AN INDIAN, A NATIVE OF BARGOSA,² HAVING IMMORTALIZED HIMSELF ACCORDING TO THE CUSTOM OF HIS COUNTRY, HERE LIES.

CHAPTER II.

ARIANA.

1. NEXT to India is Ariana, the first portion of the country subject to the Persians, lying beyond³ the Indus, and the first

¹ In Dion Cassius, liv. ix. he is called Zarmanus, a variation probably of Garmanus, see above, § 60. Chegas, or Sheik, seems to be the Tartar title Chan or Khan, which may be detected also in the names Musi-canus, Porti-canus, Oxy-canus, Assa-canus. *Vincent, Voyage of Nearchus*, p. 129. Groskurd writes Zarmanos Chanes.

² Bargosa is probably a corruption of Barygaza mentioned in Arrian's *Periplus of the Red Sea*. It was a large mart on the north of the river Nerbudda, now Baroatsch or Barutsch. *Groskurd*.

³ "Beyond," as Strabo has just been speaking of India, with reference to which Ariana is to the west of the Indus.

of the higher satrapies without the Taurus.¹ On the north it is bounded by the same mountains as India, on the south by the same sea, and by the same river Indus, which separates it from India. It stretches thence towards the west as far as the line drawn from the Caspian Gates² to Carmania,³ whence its figure is quadrilateral.

The southern side begins from the mouths of the Indus, and from Patalene, and terminates at Carmania and the mouth of the Persian Gulf, by a promontory projecting a considerable distance to the south. It then makes a bend towards the gulf in the direction of Persia.

The Arbies, who have the same name as the river Arbis,⁴ are the first inhabitants we meet with in this country. They are separated by the Arbis from the next tribe, the Oritæ, and according to Nearchus, occupy a tract of sea-coast of about 1000 stadia in length; this country also is a part of India. Next are the Oritæ, a people governed by their own laws. The voyage along the coast belonging to this people extends 1800 stadia, that along the country of the Ichthyophagi, who follow next, extends 7400 stadia; that along the country of the Carmani as far as Persia, 3700 stadia. The whole number of stadia is 13,900.

2. The greater part of the country inhabited by the Ichthyophagi is on a level with the sea. No trees, except palms and a kind of thorn, and the tamarisk, grow there. There is also a scarcity of water, and of food produced by cultivation. Both they and their cattle subsist upon fish, and are supplied by rain water and wells. The

¹ To the south of the great chain bearing that name, extending from west to east of Asia.

² The exact place corresponding with the Caspiæ Pylæ is probably a spot between Hark-a-Koh and Siah-Koh, about 6 parasangs from Rey, the name of the entrance of which is called Dereh. *Smith*, art. Caspiæ Pylæ.

³ An extensive province of Asia along the northern side of the Persian Gulf, extending from Carpella (either C. Bombareek or C. Isack) on the E. to the river Bagradas (Nabend) on the W. According to Marcian the distance between these points was 4250 stadia. It appears to have comprehended the coast-line of the modern Laristan, Kirman, and Moghistan. It was bounded on the N. by Parthia and Ariana; on the E. by Drangiana and Gedrosia; on the S. by the Persian Gulf, and on the W. by Persis. *Smith*, art. Carmania.

⁴ The Purali.

flesh of the animals has the smell of fish. Their dwellings are built with the bones of large whales and shells; the ribs furnishing beams and supports, and the jaw-bones, door-ways. The vertebral bones serve as mortars in which fish, which have been previously dried in the sun, are pounded. Of this, with the addition of flour, cakes are made; for they have grinding mills (for corn), although they have no iron. This however is not so surprising, because it is possible for them to import it from other parts. But how do they hollow out the mills again, when worn away? with the same stones, they say, with which their arrows and javelins, which are hardened in the fire, are sharpened. Some fish are dressed in ovens, but the greater part is eaten raw. The fish are taken in nets made of the bark of the palm.

3. Above the Ichthyophagi is situated Gedrosia,¹ a country less exposed to the heat of the sun than India, but more so than the rest of Asia. As it is without fruits and water, except in summer, it is not much better than the country of the Ichthyophagi. But it produces aromatics, particularly nard and myrrh, in such quantity, that the army of Alexander used them on the march for tent coverings and beds; they thus breathed an air full of odours, and at the same time more salubrious.

The summer was purposely chosen for leaving India, for at that season it rains in Gedrosia, and the rivers and wells are filled, but in winter they fail. The rain falls in the higher parts to the north, and near the mountains: when the rivers swell, the plains near the sea are watered, and the wells are also filled. Alexander sent persons before him into the desert country to dig wells and to prepare stations for himself and his fleet.

4. Having separated his forces into three divisions, he set out with one division through Gedrosia, keeping at the utmost from the sea not more than 500 stadia, in order to secure the coast for his fleet; but he frequently approached the sea-side, although the beach was impracticable and rugged. The second division he sent forward under the command of Craterus through the interior, with a view of reducing Ariana, and of proceeding to the same places to which he himself was directing his march. (The third division), the fleet he intrusted to Nearchus and Onesicritus, his master pilot, giving them orders to

¹ Mekran.

take up convenient positions in following him, and to sail along the coast parallel to his line of march.

5 Nearchus says, that while Alexander was on his march, he himself commenced his voyage, in the autumn, about the achronical rising of the Pleiades,¹ the wind not being before favourable. The Barbarians however, taking courage at the departure of the king, became daring, and attempted to throw off their subjection, attacked them, and endeavoured to drive them out of the country. But Craterus set out from the Hydaspes, and proceeded through the country of the Arachoti and of the Drangæ into Carmania.

Alexander was greatly distressed throughout the whole march, as his road lay through a barren country. The supplies of provisions which he obtained came from a distance, and were scanty and unfrequent, so much so that the army suffered greatly from hunger, the beasts of burden dropped down, and the baggage was abandoned, both on the march and in the camp. The army was saved by eating dates and the marrow of the palm-tree.²

Alexander however (says Nearchus), although acquainted with the hardships of the enterprise, was ambitious of conducting this large army in safety, as a conqueror, through the same country where, according to the prevailing report, Semiramis escaped by flight from India with about twenty, and Cyrus with about seven men.

6. Besides the want of provisions, the scorching heat was distressing, as also the deep and burning sand. In some places there were sand-hills, so that in addition to the difficulty of lifting the legs, as out of a pit, there were ascents and descents. It was necessary also, on account of the watering places, to make long marches of two, four, and sometimes even of six hundred stadia, for the most part during the night. Frequently the encampment was at a distance of 30 stadia from the watering places, in order that the soldiers might

¹ By the achronical rising of the Pleiades is meant the rising of this constellation, or its first becoming visible, after sun-set. Vincent (*Voyage of Nearchus*) fixes on the 23rd October, 327 B. C., as the date of the departure of Alexander from Nicæa; August, 326 B. C., as the date of his arrival at Pattala; and the 2nd of October, 326 B. C., as the date of the departure of the fleet from the Indus.

² The pith in the young head-shoot of the palm-tree.

not be induced by thirst to drink to excess. For many of them plunged into the water in their armour, and continued drinking until they were drowned; when swollen after death they floated, and corrupted the shallow water of the cisterns. Others, exhausted by thirst, lay exposed to the sun, in the middle of the road. They then became tremulous, their hands and their feet shook, and they died like persons seized with cold and shivering. Some turned out of the road to indulge in sleep, overcome with drowsiness and fatigue; some were left behind, and perished, being ignorant of the road, destitute of everything, and overpowered by heat. Others escaped after great sufferings. A torrent of water, which fell in the night time, overwhelmed and destroyed many persons, and much baggage; a great part even of the royal equipage was swept away.

The guides, through ignorance, deviated so far into the interior, that the sea was no longer in sight. The king, perceiving the danger, immediately set out in search of the coast; when he had discovered it, and by sinking wells had found water fit for drinking, he sent for the army: afterwards he continued his march for seven days near the shore, with a good supply of water. He then again returned into the interior.

7. There was a plant resembling the laurel, which if eaten by the beasts of burden caused them to die of epilepsy, accompanied with foaming at the mouth. A thorn also, the fruit of which, like gourds, strewed the ground, and was full of a juice; if drops of it fell into the eyes of any kind of animal it became completely blind. Many persons were suffocated by eating unripe dates. Danger also was to be apprehended from serpents; for on the sand-hills there grew a plant, underneath which they crept and hid themselves. The persons wounded by them died.

The *Oritæ*, it was said, smeared the points of their arrows, which were of wood hardened in the fire, with deadly poisons. When Ptolemy was wounded and in danger of his life a person appeared in a dream to Alexander, and showed him a root with leaves and branches, which he told him to bruise and place upon the wound. Alexander awoke from his dream, and remembering the vision, searched and found the root growing in abundance, of which both he and others made use;

when the Barbarians perceived that the antidote for the poison was discovered, they surrendered to the king. It is probable, however, that some one acquainted with the plant informed the king of its virtues, and that the fabulous part of the story was invented for the purpose of flattery.

Having arrived at the palace¹ of the Gedrosii on the sixtieth day after leaving the Ori,² and allowed his army a short period of rest, he set out for Carmania.

8. The position of the southern side of Ariana is thus situated, with reference to the sea-coast, the country of the Gedrosii and the Oritæ lying near and above it. A great part of Gedrosia extends into the interior until it touches upon the Drangæ, Arachoti, and Paropamisadæ, of whom Eratosthenes speaks in the following manner: we cannot give a better description. "Ariana," he says, "is bounded on the east by the Indus, on the south by the Great Sea, on the north by the Paropamisus and the succeeding chain of mountains as far as the Caspian Gates, on the west by the same limits³ by which the territory of the Parthians is separated from Media, and Carmania from Parætacene and Persia.

The breadth of the country is the length of the Indus, reckoned from the Paropamisus as far as the mouths of that river, and amounts to 12,000, or according to others to 13,000, stadia. The length, beginning from the Caspian Gates, as it is laid down in Asiatic Stathmi,⁴ is estimated in two different ways. From the Caspian Gates to Alexandria among the Arii⁵ through Parthia is one and the same road. Then a road leads in a straight line through Bactriana, and over the pass of the mountain to Ortospaña,⁶ to the meeting of the three roads from Bactra, which is among the Paropamisadæ. The other branch turns off a little from Aria towards the south to Prophtasia in Drangiana; then the remainder leads as far as the confines of India and of the Indus; so that the road through the Drangæ and the Arachoti is longer, the whole amounting to 15,300 stadia. But if we deduct 1300 stadia, we shall have the remainder as the length of the country in a straight line, namely, 14,000 stadia; for the length of the coast is not much less, although some persons increase this sum by

¹ Called Pura by Arrian.

² The Oritæ are no doubt here meant.

³ By the line drawn from the Caspian Gates to Carmania.

⁴ See above, c. i. § 12.

⁵ Herat.

⁶ Candahar.

adding to the 10,000 stadia Carmania, which is reckoned at 6000 stadia. For they seem to reckon it either together with the gulfs, or together with the Carmanian coast within the Persian Gulf. The name also of Ariana is extended so as to include some part of Persia, Media, and the north of Bactria and Sogdiana; for these nations speak nearly the same language.¹

9. The order in which these nations are disposed is as follows. Along the Indus are the Paropamisadæ, above whom lies the mountain Paropamisus; then towards the south are the Arachoti; then next to these towards the south, the Gedroseni, together with other tribes who occupy the sea-coast; the Indus runs parallel along the breadth of these tracts. The Indians occupy [in part]² some of the countries situated along the Indus, which formerly belonged to the Persians: Alexander deprived the Ariani of them, and established there settlements of his own. But Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus in consequence of a marriage contract, and received in return five hundred elephants.

The Arii are situated on the west, by the side of the Paropamisadæ, and the Drangæ³ by the Arachoti and Gedrosii. The Arii are situated by the side of the Drangæ both on the north and west, and nearly encompass them. Bactriana adjoins Aria on the north, and the Paropamisadæ, through whose territory Alexander passed when he crossed the Caucasus on his way to Bactra. Towards the west, next to the Arii, are the Parthians, and the parts about the Caspian Gates. Towards the south of Parthia is the desert of Carmania; then follows the remainder of Carmania and Gedrosia.

10. We shall better understand the position of the places about the above-mentioned mountainous tract, if we further examine the route which Alexander took from the Parthian territory to Bactriana, when he was in pursuit of Bessus. He came first to Ariana, next to the Drangæ, where he put to death Philotas, the son of Parmenio, having detected his traitorous intentions. He despatched persons to Ecbatana⁴ also

¹ See b. xi. c. viii. § 9.

² The text is corrupt: *ἐκ μέρου* is probably taken from some other part of the text and here inserted.

³ The same as Zarangæ; they probably dwelt on the lake Zarak, which undoubtedly retains its Zend name. *Wilson's Ariana.*

⁴ Corresponding nearly with the present Hamadan.

to put the father to death as an accomplice in the conspiracy. It is said that these persons performed in eleven days, upon dromedaries, a journey of 30 or 40 days, and executed their business.

The Drangæ resemble the Persians in all other respects in their mode of life, except that they have little wine. Tin is found in the country.¹

Alexander next went from the Drangæ to the Euergetæ,² (to whom Cyrus gave this name,) and to the Arachoti; then through the territory of the Paropamisadæ at the setting of the Pleiad.³ It is a mountainous country, and at that time was covered with snow, so that the march was performed with difficulty. The numerous villages, however, on their march, which were well provided with everything except oil, afforded relief in their distress. On their left hand were the summits of the mountains.

The southern parts of the Paropamisus belong to India and Ariana; the northern parts towards the west belong to Bactriana [towards the east to Sogdiana * * ⁴ Bactrian barbarians]. Having wintered there, with India above to the right hand, and having founded a city, he crossed the summits of the mountains into Bactriana. The road was bare of everything except a few trees of the bushy terminthus;⁵ the army was driven from want of food to eat the flesh of the beasts or burthen, and that in a raw state for want of firewood; but silphium grew in great abundance, which promoted the digestion of this raw food. Fifteen days after founding the city and leaving winter quarters, he came to Adrapsa⁶ (Darapsa?), a city of Bactriana.

11. Chaarene is situated somewhere about this part of the country bordering upon India. This, of all the places subject to the Parthians, lies nearest to India. It is distant 10,000 or

¹ None is said to be found there at the present day.

² They were called Ariaspi; Cyrus, son of Cambyses, gave them the name Euergetæ, "benefactors," in consideration of the services which they had rendered in his expedition against the Scythians.

³ At the beginning of winter.

⁴ The text is corrupt; the words between brackets are supplied by Kramer's conjecture. See b. xi. c. xi. § 2.

⁵ Theophrastus, iv. 5. The Pistatia-nut tree.

⁶ Bamian, see b. xi. c. xi. § 2.

9000 stadia¹ from Bactriana,² through the country of the Arachoti, and the above-mentioned mountainous tract. Craterus traversed this country, subjugating those who refused to submit, and hastened with the greatest expedition to form a junction with the king. Nearly about the same time both armies, consisting of infantry, entered Carmania together, and at a short interval afterwards Nearchus sailed with his fleet into the Persian Gulf, having undergone great danger and distress from wandering in his course, and among other causes, from great whales.

12. It is probable that those who sailed in the expedition greatly exaggerated many circumstances; yet their statements prove the sufferings to which they were exposed, and that their apprehensions were greater than the real danger. That which alarmed them the most was the magnitude of the whales, which occasioned great commotion in the sea from their numbers; their blowing was attended with so great a darkness, that the sailors could not see where they stood. But when the pilots informed the sailors, who were terrified at the sight and ignorant of the cause, that they were animals which might easily be driven away by the sound of a trumpet, and by loud noises, Nearchus impelled the vessels with violence in the direction of the impediment, and at the same time frightened the animals with the sound of trumpets. The whales dived, and again rose at the prow of the vessels, so as to give the appearance of a naval combat; but they soon made off.

13. Those who now sail to India speak of the size of these animals and their mode of appearance, but as coming neither in bodies nor frequently, yet as repulsed by shouts and by the sound of trumpets. They affirm that they do not approach the land, but that the bones of those which die, bared of flesh, are readily thrown up by the waves, and supply the Ichthyophagi with the above-mentioned material for the construction of their cabins. According to Nearchus, the size of these animals is three and twenty orguæ in length.³

¹ In the text 19,000. Kramer's proposed reading is adopted of separating the amount.

² Ariana in the text. Groskurd proposes to read Carmania; Kramer, Bactriana.

³ About 140 feet. Arrian says twenty-five orguæ, or about 150 feet.

Nearchus says that he proved the confident belief of the sailors in the existence of an island situated in the passage, and destructive to those who anchored near it, to be false.

A bark in its course, when it came opposite to this island, was never afterwards seen, and some men who were sent in search did not venture to disembark upon the island, but shouted and called to the crew, when, receiving no answer, they returned. But as all imputed this disappearance to the island, Nearchus said that he himself sailed to it, went ashore, disembarked with a part of his crew, and went round it. But not discovering any trace of those of whom he was in search, he abandoned the attempt, and informed his men that no fault was to be imputed to the island (for otherwise destruction would have come upon himself and those who disembarked with him), but that some other cause (and innumerable others were possible) might have occasioned the loss of the vessel.

14. Carmania is the last portion of the sea-coast which begins from the Indus. Its first promontory projects towards the south into the Great Sea.¹ After it has formed the mouth of the Persian Gulf towards the promontory, which is in sight, of Arabia Felix, it bends towards the Persian Gulf, and is continued till it touches Persia.

Carmania is large, situated in the interior, and extending itself between Gedrosia and Persia, but stretches more to the north than Gedrosia. This is indicated by its fertility, for it not only produces everything, but the trees are of a large size, excepting however the olive; it is also watered by rivers. Gedrosia also differs little from the country of the Ichthyophagi, so that frequently there is no produce from the ground. They therefore keep the annual produce in store for several years.

Onesicritus says, that a river in Carmania brings down gold-dust; that there are mines of silver, copper, and minium; and that there are two mountains, one of which contains arsenic, the other salt.

There belongs to it a desert tract, which is contiguous to Parthia and Parætacene. The produce of the ground is like that of Persia; and among other productions the vine. The

¹ Groskurd proposes to supply after "Sea" words which he thinks are here omitted; upon insufficient grounds, however, according to Kramer.

Carmanian vine, as we call it, often bears bunches of grapes of two cubits in size; the seeds are very numerous and very large; probably the plant grows in its native soil with great luxuriance.

Asses, on account of the scarcity of horses, are generally made use of even in war. They sacrifice an ass to Mars, who is the only deity worshipped by them, for they are a warlike people. No one marries before he has cut off the head of an enemy and presented it to the king, who deposits the scull in the royal treasury. The tongue is minced and mixed with flour, which the king, after tasting it, gives to the person who brought it, to be eaten by himself and his family. That king is the most highly respected, to whom the greatest number of heads are presented.

According to Nearchus, most of the customs and the language of the inhabitants of Carmania resemble those of the Persians and Medes.

The passage across the mouth of the Persian Gulf does not occupy more than one day.

CHAPTER III.

1. NEXT to Carmania is Persis. A great part of it extends along the coast of the Gulf, which has its name from the country, but a much larger portion stretches into the interior, and particularly in its length, reckoned from the south, and Carmania to the north, and to the nations of Media.

It is of a threefold character, as we regard its natural condition and the quality of the air. First, the coast, extending for about 4400 or 4300 stadia, is burnt up with heat; it is sandy, producing little except palm trees, and terminates at the greatest river in those parts, the name of which is Oroatis.¹ Secondly, the country above the coast produces everything, and is a plain; it is excellently adapted for the rearing of cattle, and abounds with rivers and lakes.

The third portion lies towards the north, and is bleak and mountainous. On its borders live the camel-breeders.

¹ The Arosis of Arrian, now the Tab.

Its length, according to Eratosthenes, towards the north and Media,¹ is about 8000, or, including some projecting promontories, 9000 stadia; the remainder (from Media) to the Caspian Gates is not more than 3000 stadia. The breadth in the interior of the country from Susa to Persepolis is 4200 stadia, and thence to the borders of Carmania 1600 stadia more.

The tribes inhabiting this country are those called the Pateischoreis, the Achæmenidæ, and Magi; these last affect a sedate mode of life; the Curtii and Mardi are robbers, the rest are husbandmen.

2. Susis also is almost a part of Persis. It lies between Persis and Babylonia, and has a very considerable city, Susa. For the Persians and Cyrus, after the conquest of the Medes, perceiving that their own country was situated towards the extremities, but Susis more towards the interior, nearer also to Babylon and the other nations, there placed the royal seat of the empire. They were pleased with its situation on the confines of Persis, and with the importance of the city; besides the consideration that it had never of itself undertaken any great enterprise, had always been in subjection to other people, and constituted a part of a greater body, except, perhaps, anciently in the heroic times.

It is said to have been founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon. Its compass was 120 stadia. Its shape was oblong. The Acropolis was called Memnonium. The Susians have the name also of Cissii. Æschylus² calls the mother of Memnon, Cissia. Memnon is said to be buried near Paltus in Syria, by the river Badas, as Simonides says in his Memnon, a dithyrambic poem among the Deliaea. The wall of the city, the temples and palaces, were constructed in the same manner as those of the Babylonians, of baked brick and asphaltus, as some writers relate. Polycletus however says, that its circumference was 200 stadia, and that it was without walls.

3. They embellished the palace at Susa more than the rest, but they did not hold in less veneration and honour the

¹ This passage is very corrupt, and many words, according to Kramer, appear to be omitted. See b. ii. c. i. § 26. We read with Groskurd "Media" for "Caspian Gates" in the text: and insert "9000 stadia," here from b. ii. c. i. § 26, and, following the same authority, 3000 for 2000 stadia in the text below.

² Persæ, v. 17 and 118.

palaces at Persepolis and Pasargadæ.¹ For in these stronger and hereditary places were the treasure-house, the riches, and tombs of the Persians. There was another palace at Gabæ, in the upper parts of Persia, and another on the sea-coast, near a place called Taoce.²

This was the state of things during the empire of the Persians. But afterwards different princes occupied different palaces ; some, as was natural, less sumptuous, after the power of Persis had been reduced first by the Macedonians, and secondly still more by the Parthians. For although the Persians have still a kingly government, and a king of their own, yet their power is very much diminished, and they are subject to the king of Parthia.

4. Susa is situated in the interior, upon the river Choaspes, beyond the bridge ; but the territory extends to the sea : and the sea-coast of this territory, from the borders of the Persian coast nearly as far as the mouths of the Tigris, is a distance of about 3000 stadia.

The Choaspes flows through Susis, terminating on the same coast, and has its source in the territory of the Uxii.³ For a rugged and precipitous range of mountains lies between the Susians and Persis, with narrow defiles, difficult to pass ; they were inhabited by robbers, who constantly exacted payment even from the kings themselves, at their entrance into Persis from Susis.

Polycletus says, that the Choaspes, and the Eulæus,⁴ and the Tigris also enter a lake, and thence discharge themselves into the sea ; that on the side of the lake is a mart, as the rivers do not receive the merchandise from the sea, nor convey it down to the sea, on account of dams in the river, purposely constructed, and that the goods are transported by land a distance of 800 stadia⁵ to Susa ; according to others, the rivers which flow through Susis discharge themselves by the intermediate canals of the Euphrates into the single stream of the Tigris, which on this account has at its mouth the name of Pasitigris.

¹ Pasa or Fesa.

² Taug or Taiiog, on the river Grâ.

³ The Uxii occupied the district of Ascias.

⁴ There seems little doubt that the Karun represents the ancient Eulæus (on which some authors state Susa to have been situated), and the Kerkehah the old Choaspes. See *Smith*, art. Choaspes.

⁵ Groskurd adds 1000 stadia to this amount.

5. According to Nearchus, the sea-coast of Susis is swampy, and terminates at the river Euphrates; at its mouth is a village, which receives the merchandise from Arabia; for the coast of Arabia approaches close to the mouths of the Euphrates and the Pasitigris; the whole intermediate space is occupied by a lake which receives the Tigris; on sailing up the Pasitigris 150 stadia is the bridge of rafts leading to Susa from Persis, and is distant from Susa 60 (600?) stadia; the Pasitigris is distant from the Oroatis about 2000 stadia; the ascent through the lake to the mouth of the Tigris is 600 (6000?) stadia;¹ near the mouth stands the Susian village (Aginis), distant from Susa 500 stadia; the journey by water from the mouth of the Euphrates, up to Babylon, through a well-inhabited tract of country, is a distance of more than 3000 stadia.

Onesicritus says that all the rivers discharge themselves into the lake, both the Euphrates and the Tigris; and that the Euphrates, again issuing from the lake, discharges itself into the sea by a separate mouth.

6. There are many other narrow defiles in passing out through the territory of the Uxii, and entering Persis. These Alexander forced in his march through the country at the Persian Gates, and at other places, when he was hastening to see the principal parts of Persis, and the treasure-holds, in which wealth had been accumulated during the long period that Asia was tributary to Persis.

He crossed many rivers, which flow through the country and discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf.

Next to the Choaspes are the Copratas² and the Pasitigris, which has its source in the country of the Uxii. There is also the river Cyrus, which flows through Cœle Persis,³ as it is called, near Pasargadæ. The king changed his name, which was formerly Agradatus, to that of this river. Alexander crossed the Araxes⁴ close to Persepolis. Persepolis was distinguished for the magnificence of the treasures which it contained. The Araxes flows out of the Parætacene,⁵ and receives the Medus,⁶ which has its source in Media. These rivers run through a very fruitful valley, which, like Perse-

¹ Quin. Curtius, v. 10. Diod. Sic. xvii. 67.

² Ab-Zal.

³ Hollow Persis.

⁴ Bendamir.

⁵ The capital of Parætacene is Ispahan.

⁶ Probably the Ab-Kuren.

polis, lies close to Carmania and to the eastern parts of the country. Alexander burnt the palace at Persepolis, to avenge the Greeks, whose temples and cities the Persians had destroyed by fire and sword.

7. He next came to Pasargadæ,¹ which also was an ancient royal residence. Here he saw in a park the tomb of Cyrus. It was a small tower, concealed within a thick plantation of trees, solid below, but above consisting of one story and a shrine which had a very narrow opening; Aristobulus says, he entered through this opening, by order of Alexander, and decorated the tomb. He saw there a golden couch, a table with cups, a golden coffin, and a large quantity of garments and dresses ornamented with precious stones. These objects he saw at his first visit, but on a subsequent visit the place had been robbed, and everything had been removed except the couch and the coffin which were only broken. The dead body had been removed from its place; whence it was evident that it was the act not of the Satrap,² but of robbers, who had left behind what they could not easily carry off. And this occurred although there was a guard of Magi stationed about the place, who received for their daily subsistence a sheep, and every month a horse.³ The remote distance to which the army of Alexander had advanced, to Bactra and India, gave occasion to the introduction of many disorderly acts, and to this among others.

Such is the account of Aristobulus, who records the following inscription on the tomb. "O MAN, I AM CYRUS,⁴ I ESTABLISHED THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AND WAS KING OF ASIA. GRUDGE ME NOT THEREFORE THIS MONUMENT.

Onesicritus however says that the tower had ten stories, that Cyrus lay in the uppermost, and that there was an inscription in Greek, cut in Persian letters, "I CYRUS, KING OF KINGS, LIE HERE." And another inscription to the same effect in the Persian language.

8. Onesicritus mentions also this inscription on the tomb of Darius: "I WAS A FRIEND TO MY FRIENDS, I WAS THE FIRST OF HORSEMEN AND ARCHERS, I EXCELLED AS HUNTER, I COULD DO EVERYTHING.

¹ Pasa or Fesa.

² Orxines, Quint. Cur. x. c. 1.

³ For sacrifice to Cyrus. Arrian, vi. c. 29.

⁴ Arrian adds, "Son of Cambyses."

Aristus of Salamis, a writer of a much later age than these, says, that the tower consisted of two stories, and was large; that it was built at the time the Persians succeeded to the kingdom (of the Medes); that the tomb was preserved; that the above-mentioned inscription was in the Greek, and that there was another to the same purport in the Persian language.

Cyrus held in honour Pasargadæ, because he there conquered, in his last battle, Astyages the Mede, and transferred to himself the empire of Asia; he raised it to the rank of a city, and built a palace in memory of his victory.

9. Alexander transferred everything that was precious in Persis to Susa, which was itself full of treasures and costly materials; he did not, however, consider this place, but Babylon, as the royal residence, and intended to embellish it. There too his treasure was deposited.

They say that, besides the treasures in Babylon and in the camp of Alexander, which were not included in the sum, the treasure found at Susa and in Persis was reckoned to amount to 40,000, and according to some writers to 50,000, talents. But others say, that the whole treasure, collected from all quarters, and transported to Ecbatana, amounted to 180,000 talents, and that the 8,000 talents which Darius carried away with him in his flight from Media became the booty of those who put him to death.

10. Alexander preferred Babylon, because he saw that it far surpassed the other cities in magnitude, and had other advantages. Although Susis is fertile, it has a glowing and scorching atmosphere, particularly near the city, as he (Aristobulus?) says. Lizards and serpents at mid-day in the summer, when the sun is at its greatest height, cannot cross the streets of the city quick enough to prevent their being burnt to death mid-way by the heat. This happens nowhere in Persis, although it lies more towards the south.

Cold water for baths is suddenly heated by exposure to the sun. Barley spread out in the sun is roasted¹ like barley prepared in ovens. For this reason earth is laid to the depth of two cubits upon the roofs of the houses. They are obliged to construct their houses narrow, on account of the weight placed upon them, and from want of long beams, but, as large dwell-

¹ Groskurd reads, ἄλλεσθαι, hops or jumps up.

ings are required to obviate the suffocating heat, the houses are long.

The beam made of the palm tree has a peculiar property, for although it retains its solidity, it does not as it grows old give way downwards, but curves upwards with the weight, and is a better support to the roof.

The cause of the scorching heat is said to be high, overhanging mountains on the north, which intercept the northern winds. These, blowing from the tops of the mountains at a great height, fly over without touching the plains, to the more southern parts of Susis. There the air is still, particularly when the Etesian winds cool the other parts of the country which are burnt up by heat.

11. Susis is so fertile in grain, that barley and wheat produce, generally, one hundred, and sometimes two hundred fold. Hence the furrows are not ploughed close together, for the roots when crowded impede the sprouting of the plant.

The vine did not grow there before the Macedonians planted it, both there and at Babylon. They do not dig trenches, but thrust down into the ground iron-headed stakes, which when drawn out are immediately replaced by the plants.

Such is the character of the inland parts. The sea-coast is marshy and without harbours; hence Nearchus says, that he met with no native guides, when coasting with his fleet from India to Babylonia, for nowhere could his vessels put in, nor was he able to procure persons who could direct him by their knowledge and experience.

12. The part of Babylonia formerly called Sitacene, and afterwards Apolloniatis,¹ is situated near Susis.

Above both, on the north and towards the east, are the Elymæi² and the Parætaceni, predatory people relying for security on their situation in a rugged and mountainous country. The Parætaceni lie more immediately above the Apolloniataë, and therefore annoy them the more. The Elymæi are at war with this people and with the Susians, and the Uxii with the Elymæi, but not so constantly at present as might be expected, on account of the power of the Parthians, to whom all the in-

¹ Founded probably by the Macedonians.

² The Elymæi reached to the Persian Gulf. Ptolem. vi. 1. They appear to have left vestiges of their name in that of a gulf, and a port called Delem.

habitants of those regions are under subjection. When therefore the Parthians are quiet, all are tranquil, and their subject nations. But when, as frequently happens, there is an insurrection, which has occurred even in our own times, the event is not the same to all, but different to different people. For the disturbance has benefited some, but disappointed the expectation of others.

Such is the nature of the countries of Persis and Susiana.

13. The manners and customs of the Persians are the same as those of the Susians and the Medes, and many other people ; and they have been described by several writers, yet I must mention what is suitable to my purpose.

The Persians do not erect statues nor altars, but, considering the heaven as Jupiter, sacrifice on a high place.¹ They worship the sun also, whom they call Mithras, the moon, Venus, fire, earth, winds, and water. They sacrifice, having offered up prayers, in a place free from impurities, and present the victim crowned.²

After the Magus, who directs the sacrifice, has divided the flesh, each goes away with his share, without setting apart any portion to the gods ; for the god, they say, requires the soul of the victim, and nothing more. Nevertheless, according to some writers, they lay a small piece of the caul upon the fire.

14. But it is to fire and water especially that they offer sacrifice. They throw upon the fire dry wood without the bark, and place fat over it ; they then pour oil upon it, and light it below ; they do not blow the flame with their breath, but fan it ; those who have blown the flame with their breath, or thrown any dead thing or dirt upon the fire, are put to death.

They sacrifice to water by going to a lake, river, or fountain ; having dug a pit, they slaughter the victim over it, taking care that none of the pure water near be sprinkled with blood, and thus be polluted. They then lay the flesh in order upon myrtle or laurel branches ; the Magi touch it with slender twigs,³ and make incantations, pouring oil mixed with

¹ The account of the Persians is taken from Herodotus, i. 131, &c.

² According to Herodotus, the priest who sacrificed was crowned.

³ Roused the sacred fire, as the law bids,
Touching the god with consecrated wand.

Athenæus xii. 40, p. 850. Bohn's Classical Library.

milk and honey, not into the fire, nor into the water, but upon the earth. They continue their incantations for a long time, holding in the hands a bundle of slender myrtle rods.

15. In Cappadocia (for in this country there is a great body of Magi, called Pyræthi,¹ and there are many temples dedicated to the Persian deities) the sacrifice is not performed with a knife, but the victim is beaten to death with a log of wood, as with a mallet.

The Persians have also certain large shrines, called Pyrætheia.² In the middle of these is an altar, on which is a great quantity of ashes, where the Magi maintain an unextinguished fire. They enter daily, and continue their incantation for nearly an hour, holding before the fire a bundle of rods, and wear round their heads high turbans of felt, reaching down on each side so as to cover the lips and the sides of the cheeks. The same customs are observed in the temples of Anaïtis and of Omanus. Belonging to these temples are shrines, and a wooden statue of Omanus is carried in procession. These we have seen ourselves.³ Other usages, and such as follow, are related by historians.

16. The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean, into it. To whatever god they intend to sacrifice, they first address a prayer to fire.

17. They are governed by hereditary kings. Disobedience is punished by the head and arms being cut off, and the body cast forth. They marry many women, and maintain at the same time a great number of concubines, with a view to a numerous offspring.

The kings propose annual prizes for a numerous family of children. Children are not brought into the presence of their parents until they are four years old.

Marriages are celebrated at the beginning of the vernal equinox. The bridegroom passes into the bride-chamber, having previously eaten some fruit, or camel's marrow, but nothing else during the day.

18. From the age of five to twenty-four years they are taught to use the bow, to throw the javelin, to ride, and to speak the truth. They have the most virtuous preceptors,

¹ i. e. "who kindle fire."

² i. e. places where fire is kindled.

³ B. xi. c. viii. § 4.

who interweave useful fables in their discourses, and rehearse, sometimes with sometimes without, music, the actions of the gods and of illustrious men.

The youths are called to rise before day-break, at the sound of brazen instruments, and assemble in one spot, as if for arming themselves or for the chase. They are arranged in companies of fifty, to each of which one of the king's or a satrap's son is appointed as leader, who runs, followed at command by the others, an appointed distance of thirty or forty stadia.

They require them to give an account of each lesson, when they practise loud speaking, and exercise the breath and lungs. They are taught to endure heat, cold, and rains; to cross torrents, and keep their armour and clothes dry; to pasture animals, to watch all night in the open air, and to eat wild fruits, as the *terminthus*,¹ acorns, and wild pears.

[These persons are called Cardaces, who live upon plunder, for "carda" means a manly and warlike spirit.]²

The daily food after the exercise of the gymnasium is bread, a cake, *cardamum*,³ a piece of salt, and dressed meat either roasted or boiled, and their drink is water.

Their mode of hunting is by throwing spears from horseback, or with the bow or the sling.

In the evening they are employed in planting trees, cutting roots, fabricating armour, and making lines and nets. The youth do not eat the game, but carry it home. The king gives rewards for running, and to the victors in the other contests of the pentathla (or five games). The youths are adorned with gold, esteeming it for its fiery appearance. They do not ornament the dead with gold, nor apply fire to them, on account of its being an object of veneration.

19. They serve as soldiers in subordinate stations, and in

¹ Not the same plant as mentioned above, c. i. § 10, but the *pistacia terebinthus*.

² An interpolation. The Cardaces were not Persians, but foreign soldiers. "Barbari milites quos Persæ Cardacas appellant," (Cornel. Nepos,) without doubt were Assyrian and Armenian Carduci. See b. xvi. c. i. § 24, and Xenoph. Anab. iv. 3. Later Gordyæi or Gordyeni, now the Kurds. *Groskurd*.

³ *Cardamum* is probably the "*lepidum perfoliatum*" of Linnæus, or the "*nasturtium orientale*" of Tournefort. Xenophon also, *Expedit. Cyr.* iii. 5 and vii. 8, speaks of the great use made of this plant by the Persians.

those of command from twenty to fifty years of age, both on foot and on horseback. They do not concern themselves with the public markets, for they neither buy nor sell. They are armed with a romb-shaped shield. Besides quivers, they have battle-axes and short swords. On their heads they wear a cap rising like a tower. The breastplate is composed of scales of iron.

The dress of the chiefs consists of triple drawers, a double tunic with sleeves reaching to the knees; the under garment is white, the upper of a variegated colour. The cloak for summer is of a purple or violet colour, but for winter of a variegated colour. The turbans are similar to those of the Magi; and a deep double shoe. The generality of people wear a double tunic reaching to the half of the leg. A piece of fine linen is wrapped round the head. Each person has a bow and a sling.

The entertainments of the Persians are expensive. They set upon their table entire animals in great number, and of various kinds. Their couches, drinking-cups, and other articles are so brilliantly ornamented that they gleam with gold and silver.

20. Their consultations on the most important affairs are carried on while they are drinking, and they consider the resolutions made at that time more to be depended upon than those made when sober.

On meeting persons of their acquaintance, and of equal rank with themselves, on the road, they approach and kiss them, but to persons of an inferior station they offer the cheek, and in that manner receive the kiss. But to persons of still lower condition they only bend the body.

Their mode of burial is to smear the bodies over with wax, and then to inter them. The Magi are not buried, but the birds are allowed to devour them. These persons, according to the usage of the country, espouse even their mothers.

Such are the customs of the Persians.

21. The following, mentioned by Polyvletus, are perhaps customary practices:

At Susa each king builds in the citadel, as memorials of the administration of his government, a dwelling for himself, treasure-houses, and magazines for tribute collected (in kind).

From the sea-coast they obtain silver, from the interior the

produce of each province, as dyes, drugs, hair, wool, or anything else of this sort, and cattle. The apportionment of the tribute was settled by Darius [Longimanus, who was a very handsome person with the exception of the length of his arms, which reached to his knees].¹ The greater part both of gold and silver is wrought up, and there is not much in coined money. The former they consider as best adapted for presents, and for depositing in store-houses. So much coined money as suffices for their wants they think enough; but, on the other hand, money is coined in proportion to what is required for expenditure.²

22. Their habits are in general temperate. But their kings, from the great wealth which they possessed, degenerated into a luxurious way of life. They sent for wheat from Assos in Æolia, for Chalybonian³ wine from Syria, and water from the Eulæus, which is the lightest of all, for an Attic cotylus measure of it weighs less by a drachm (than the same quantity of any other water).

23. Of the barbarians the Persians were the best known to the Greeks, for none of the other barbarians who governed Asia governed Greece. The barbarians were not acquainted with the Greeks, and the Greeks were but slightly acquainted, and by distant report only, with the barbarians. As an instance, Homer was not acquainted with the empire of the Syrians nor of the Medes, for otherwise as he mentions the wealth of Egyptian Thebes and of Phœnicia, he would not have passed over in silence the wealth of Babylon, of Ninus, and of Ecbatana.

The Persians were the first people that brought Greeks under their dominion; the Lydians (before them) did the

¹ The length of the arms and the surname "Longhand" here given to Darius are assigned by others to Artaxerxes. It was in fact the latter to whom this surname was given, according to Plutarch, in consequence of the right arm being longer than the left. Therefore Falconer considers this passage an interpolation. *Coraij*.

² This, says Gosselin, may account for the rarity of the Persian Darius, badly struck, and coined long before the time of Alexander, and appearing to belong to a period anterior to the reign of Darius Hystaspes.

³ Chalybon was the name of the modern Aleppo, but the wine of Damascus must have possessed the same qualities, and had the same name. "The Chalybonean wine, Posidonius says, is made in Damascus in Syria, from vines which were planted there by the Persians." *Athenæus*, b. i page 46, Bohn's Classical Library

same, they were not however masters of the whole, but of a small portion only of Asia, that within the river Halys; their empire lasted for a short time, during the reigns of Cræsus and Alyattes; and they were deprived of what little glory they had acquired, when conquered by the Persians.

The Persians, (on the contrary, increased in power and,) as soon as they had destroyed the Median empire, subdued the Lydians and brought the Greeks of Asia under their dominion. At a later period they even passed over into Greece and were worsted in many great battles, but still they continued to keep possession of Asia, as far as the places on the sea-coast, until they were completely subdued by the Macedonians.

24. The founder of their empire was Cyrus. He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who was put to death by the Magi. The seven Persians who killed the Magi delivered the kingdom into the hands of Darius, the son of Hystaspes. The succession terminated with Arses, whom Bagous the eunuch having killed set up Darius, who was not of the royal family. Alexander overthrew Darius, and reigned himself twelve years.¹ The empire of Asia was partitioned out among his successors, and transmitted to their descendants, but was dissolved after it had lasted about two hundred and fifty years.²

At present the Persians are a separate people, governed by kings, who are subject to other kings; to the kings of Macedonia in former times, but now to those of Parthia.

¹ In the text "ten or eleven years," which reading is contrary to all other authorities, and is rejected by Kramer.

² This is only an approximation. From the conquest of the Medes by Cyrus to the death of Darius Codomanus, last king of Persia, is a period of 225 years.

BOOK XVI.

SUMMARY

The sixteenth Book contains Assyria, in which are the great cities Babylon and Nisibis; Adiabene, Mesopotamia, all Syria; Phœnicia, Palestine; the whole of Arabia; all that part of India which touches upon Arabia; the territory of the Saracens, called by our author Scenitis; and the whole country bordering the Dead and Red Seas.

CHAPTER I.

1. ASSYRIA is contiguous to Persia and Susiana. This name is given to Babylonia, and to a large tract of country around; this tract contains Aturia,¹ in which is Nineveh, the Apolloniatis, the Elymæi, the Parætacæ, and the Chalonitis about Mount Zagrum,²—the plains about Nineveh, namely, Dolomene, Calachene, Chazene, and Adiabene,—the nations of Mesopotamia, bordering upon the Gordyæi;³ the Mygdones about Nisibis, extending to the Zeugma⁴ of the Euphrates, and to the great range of country on the other side that river, occupied by Arabians, and by those people who are properly called Syrians in the present age. This last people extend as far as the Cilicians, Phœnicians, and Jews, to the sea opposite the Sea of Egypt, and to the Bay of Issus.

2. The name of Syrians seems to extend from Babylonia as far as the Bay of Issus, and, anciently, from this bay to the Euxine.

Both tribes of the Cappadocians, those near the Taurus and those near the Pontus, are called to this time Leuco-Syrians (or White Syrians),⁵ as though there existed a na-

¹ According to Dion Cassius, xviii. § 26, Aturia is synonymous with Assyria, and only differs from it by a barbarous pronunciation; which shows that the name Assyria belonged peculiarly to the territory of Nineveh.

² Aiaghi-dagh.

³ It is to be remarked that the people bordering upon the Gordyæi are the only people of Mesopotamia here mentioned, for the whole of Mesopotamia, properly so called, is comprised under the name of Assyria.

⁴ The bridge or passage at the foot of the modern fortress Roum-Kala.

⁵ P. xii. c. iii. § 5; Herod. i. 6 and 72.

tion of Black Syrians. These are the people situated beyond the Taurus, and I extend the name of Taurus as far as the Amanus.¹

When the historians of the Syrian empire say that the Medes were overthrown by the Persians, and the Syrians by the Medes, they mean no other Syrians than those who built the royal palaces at Babylon and Nineveh; and Ninus, who built Nineveh in Aturia, was one of these Syrians. His wife, who succeeded her husband, and founded Babylon, was Semiramis. These sovereigns were masters of Asia. Many other works of Semiramis, besides those at Babylon, are extant in almost every part of this continent, as, for example, artificial mounds, which are called mounds of Semiramis, and walls² and fortresses, with subterraneous passages; cisterns for water; roads³ to facilitate the ascent of mountains; canals communicating with rivers and lakes; roads and bridges.

The empire they left continued with their successors to the time of [the contest between] Sardanapalus and Arbaces.⁴ It was afterwards transferred to the Medes.

3. The city Nineveh was destroyed immediately upon the overthrow of the Syrians.⁵ It was much larger than Babylon, and situated in the plain of Aturia. Aturia borders upon the places about Arbela; between these is the river Lycus.⁶ Arbela and the parts about it⁷ belong to Babylonia. In the country on the other side of the Lycus are the plains of Aturia, which surround Nineveh.⁸

¹ Al. Lucan. b. xi. c. xii. § 4; b. xiv. c. v. § 18; b. xvi. c. ii. § 8.

² Probably walls built for the protection of certain districts. Such was the *διατείχισμα Σεμιράμιδος*, constructed between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and intended, together with canals brought from those rivers, to protect Babylon from the incursions of the Arabian Scenitæ or Medes. B. ii.

³ *κλίμακες*, roads of steep ascent, with steps such as may be seen in the Alps of Europe; the word differs from *ὀδοί*, roads below, inasmuch as the former roads are only practicable for travellers on foot and beasts of burthen, the latter for carriages also.

⁴ The union of these two names, says Kramer, is remarkable, and still more so is the insertion of the article *τῆς* before them: he, therefore, but with some hesitation, suggests that the word *μάχης* has been omitted in the text by the copyist.

⁵ Assyrians.

⁶ Erbil.

⁷ Called also Zabus, Zabatus, and Zerbes, now the Great Zab.

⁸ Adopting Kramer's reading, *καὶ ἄ*.

In Aturia is situated Gaugamela, a village where Darius was defeated and lost his kingdom. This place is remarkable for its name, which, when interpreted, signifies the Camel's House. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, gave it this name, and assigned (the revenues of) the place for the maintenance of a camel, which had undergone the greatest possible labour and fatigue in the journey through the deserts of Scythia, when carrying baggage and provision for the king. The Macedonians, observing that this was a mean village, but Arbela a considerable settlement (founded, as it is said, by Arbelus, son of Athmoneus), reported that the battle was fought and the victory obtained near Arbela, which account was transmitted to historians.

4. After Arbela and the mountain Nicatorium¹ (a name which Alexander, after the victory at Arbela, superadded), is the river Caprus,² situated at the same distance from Arbela as the Lycus. The country is called Artacene.³ Near Arbela is the city Demetrias; next is the spring of naphtha, the fires, the temple of the goddess Anæa,⁴ Sadracæ, the palace of Darius, son of Hystaspes, the Cyparisson, or plantation of Cypresses, and the passage across the Caprus, which is close to Seleucia and Babylon.

5. Babylon itself also is situated in a plain. The wall is 385⁵ stadia in circumference, and 32 feet in thickness. The height of the space between the towers is 50, and of the towers 60 cubits. The roadway upon the walls will allow chariots with four horses when they meet to pass each other with ease. Whence, among the seven wonders of the world, are reckoned this wall and the hanging garden: the shape of the garden

¹ Probably a branch of the Karadgeh-dagh.

² The Little Zab, or Or.

³ As the name Artacene occurs nowhere else, Groskurd, following Cellarius (v. Geogr. Ant. i. 771), suspects that here we ought to read Arbelene, and would understand by it the same district which is called Arbelitis by Ptolemy, vi. 1, and by Pliny, H. N. vi. 13, § 16, but as this form of the national name is nowhere to be found, it would appear improper to introduce it into the text. It is more probable, continues Kramer, that Strabo wrote Adiabene, of which Arbelitis was a part, according to Pliny, loco citato.

⁴ The same, no doubt, as the goddess Anaïtis. B. xi. c. viii. § 4, and b. xv. c. iii. § 15.

⁵ All manuscripts agree in giving this number, but critics agree also in its being an error for 365. The number of stadia in the wall, according to ancient authors, corresponded with the number of days in the year.

is a square, and each side of it measures four plethra. It consists of vaulted terraces, raised one above another, and resting upon cube-shaped pillars. These are hollow and filled with earth to allow trees of the largest size to be planted. The pillars, the vaults, and the terraces are constructed of baked brick and asphalt.

The ascent to the highest story is by stairs, and at their side are water engines, by means of which persons, appointed expressly for the purpose, are continually employed in raising water from the Euphrates into the garden. For the river, which is a stadium in breadth, flows through the middle of the city, and the garden is on the side of the river. The tomb also of Belus is there. At present it is in ruins, having been demolished, as it is said, by Xerxes. It was a quadrangular pyramid of baked brick, a stadium in height, and each of the sides a stadium in length. Alexander intended to repair it. It was a great undertaking, and required a long time for its completion (for ten thousand men were occupied two months in clearing away the mound of earth), so that he was not able to execute what he had attempted, before disease hurried him rapidly to his end. None of the persons who succeeded him attended to this undertaking; other works also were neglected, and the city was dilapidated, partly by the Persians, partly by time, and, through the indifference of the Macedonians to things of this kind, particularly after Seleucus Nicator had fortified Seleucia on the Tigris near Babylon, at the distance of about 300 stadia.

Both this prince and all his successors directed their care to that city, and transferred to it the seat of empire. At present it is larger than Babylon; the other is in great part deserted, so that no one would hesitate to apply to it what one of the comic writers said of Megalopolitæ in Arcadia,

“The great city is a great desert.”

On account of the scarcity of timber, the beams and pillars of the houses were made of palm wood. They wind ropes of twisted reed round the pillars, paint them over with colours, and draw designs upon them; they cover the doors with a coat of asphaltus. These are lofty, and all the houses are vaulted on account of the want of timber. For the country is bare, a great part of it is covered with shrubs, and produces

nothing but the palm. This tree grows in the greatest abundance in Babylonia. It is found in Susiana also in great quantity, on the Persian coast, and in Carmania.

They do not use tiles for their houses, because there are no great rains. The case is the same in Susiana and in Sitacene.

6. In Babylon a residence was set apart for the native philosophers called Chaldæans, who are chiefly devoted to the study of astronomy. Some, who are not approved of by the rest, profess to understand genethliology, or the casting of nativities. There is also a tribe of Chaldæans, who inhabit a district of Babylonia, in the neighbourhood of the Arabians, and of the sea called the Persian Sea.¹ There are several classes of the Chaldæan astronomers. Some have the name of Orcheni, some Borsippeni, and many others, as if divided into sects, who disseminate different tenets on the same subjects. The mathematicians make mention of some individuals among them, as Cidenas, Naburianus, and Sudinus. Seleucus also of Seleuceia is a Chaldæan, and many other remarkable men.

7. Borsippa is a city sacred to Diana and Apollo. Here is a large linen manufactory. Bats of much larger size than those in other parts abound in it. They are caught and salted for food.

8. The country of the Babylonians is surrounded on the east by the Susans, Elymæi, and Parætaceni; on the south by the Persian Gulf, and the Chaldæans as far as the Arabian Meseni; on the west by the Arabian Scenitæ as far as Adiabene and Gordyæa; on the north by the Armenians and Medes as far as the Zagrus, and the nations about that river.

9. The country is intersected by many rivers, the largest of which are the Euphrates and the Tigris: next to the Indian rivers, the rivers in the southern parts of Asia are said to hold the second place. The Tigris is navigable upwards from its mouth to Opis,² and to the present Seleuceia. Opis is a village and a mart for the surrounding places. The

¹ That is, at a short distance from the Persian Gulf, a little more to the south than the modern town Basra.

² Some extensive ruins near the angle formed by the Adhem (the ancient Phycus) and the Tigris, and the remains of the Nahr-awan canal, are said to mark the site of Opis.

Euphrates also is navigable up to Babylon, a distance of more than 3000 stadia. The Persians, through fear of incursions from without, and for the purpose of preventing vessels from ascending these rivers, constructed artificial cataracts. Alexander, on arriving there, destroyed as many of them as he could, those particularly [on the Tigris from the sea] to Opis. But he bestowed great care upon the canals; for the Euphrates, at the commencement of summer, overflows. It begins to fill in the spring, when the snow in Armenia melts: the ploughed land, therefore, would be covered with water and be submerged, unless the overflow of the superabundant water were diverted by trenches and canals, as in Egypt the water of the Nile is diverted. Hence the origin of canals. Great labour is requisite for their maintenance, for the soil is deep, soft, and yielding, so that it would easily be swept away by the stream; the fields would be laid bare, the canals filled, and the accumulation of mud would soon obstruct their mouths. Then, again, the excess of water discharging itself into the plains near the sea forms lakes, and marshes, and reed-grounds, supplying the reeds with which all kinds of platted vessels are woven; some of these vessels are capable of holding water, when covered over with asphaltus; others are used with the material in its natural state. Sails are also made of reeds; these resemble mats or hurdles.

10. It is not, perhaps, possible to prevent inundations of this kind altogether, but it is the duty of good princes to afford all possible assistance. The assistance required is to prevent excessive overflow by the construction of dams, and to obviate the filling of rivers, produced by the accumulation of mud, by cleansing the canals, and removing stoppages at their mouths. The cleansing of the canals is easily performed, but the construction of dams requires the labour of numerous workmen. For the earth being soft and yielding, does not support the superincumbent mass, which sinks, and is itself carried away, and thus a difficulty arises in making dams at the mouth. Expedition is necessary in closing the canals to prevent all the water flowing out. When the canals dry up in the summer time, they cause the river to dry up also; and if the river is low (before the canals are closed), it cannot supply the canals in time with water, of which the country, burnt up and scorched, requires a very large quan-

tity; for there is no difference, whether the crops are flooded by an excess or perish by drought and a failure of water. The navigation up the rivers (a source of many advantages) is continually obstructed by both the above-mentioned causes, and it is not possible to remedy this unless the mouths of the canals were quickly opened and quickly closed, and the canals were made to contain and preserve a mean between excess and deficiency of water.

11. Aristobulus relates that Alexander himself, when he was sailing up the river, and directing the course of the boat, inspected the canals, and ordered them to be cleared by his multitude of followers; he likewise stopped up some of the mouths, and opened others. He observed that one of these canals, which took a direction more immediately to the marshes, and to the lakes in front of Arabia, had a mouth very difficult to be dealt with, and which could not be easily closed on account of the soft and yielding nature of the soil; he (therefore) opened a new mouth at the distance of 30 stadia, selecting a place with a rocky bottom, and to this the current was diverted. But in doing this he was taking precautions that Arabia should not become entirely inaccessible in consequence of the lakes and marshes, as it was already almost an island from the quantity of water (which surrounded it). For he contemplated making himself master of this country; and he had already provided a fleet and places of rendezvous; and had built vessels in Phœnicia and at Cyprus, some of which were in separate pieces, others were in parts, fastened together by bolts. These, after being conveyed to Thapsacus in seven distances of a day's march, were then to be transported down the river to Babylon. He constructed other boats in Babylonia, from cypress trees in the groves and parks, for there is a scarcity of timber in Babylonia. Among the Cossæi, and some other tribes, the supply of timber is not great.

The pretext for the war, says Aristobulus, was that the Arabians were the only people who did not send their ambassadors to Alexander; but the true reason was his ambition to be lord of all.

When he was informed that they worshipped two deities only, Jupiter and Bacchus, who supply what is most requisite for the subsistence of mankind, he supposed that, after his conquests, they would worship him as a third, if he permitted

them to enjoy their former national independence. Thus was Alexander employed in clearing the canals, and in examining minutely the sepulchres of the kings, most of which are situated among the lakes.

12. Eratosthenes, when he is speaking of the lakes near Arabia, says, that the water, when it cannot find an outlet, opens passages underground, and is conveyed through these as far as the Cœle-Syrians,¹ it is also compressed and forced into the parts near Rhinocolura² and Mount Casius,³ and there forms lakes and deep pits.⁴ But I know not whether this is probable. For the overflowings of the water of the Euphrates, which form the lakes and marshes near Arabia, are near the Persian Sea. But the isthmus which separates them is neither large nor rocky, so that it was more probable that the water forced its way in this direction into the sea, either under the ground, or across the surface, than that it traversed so dry and parched a soil for more than 6000 stadia; particularly, when we observe, situated mid-way in this course, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Mount Casius.⁵

¹ The name Cœle-Syria, or Hollow Syria, which was properly applied to the district between Libanus and Antilibanus, was extended also to that part of Syria which borders upon Egypt and Arabia; and it is in this latter sense that Strabo here speaks of Cœle-Syria. So also Diodorus Siculus, i. § 30, speaks of "Joppa in Cœle-Syria;" and Polybius, v. 80, § 2, of "Rhinocolura, the first of the cities in Cœle-Syria;" and Josephus, Ant. Jud. xiii. 13, § 2, "of Scythopolis of Cœle-Syria." ² El-Arish.

³ El-Kas near Sebakit-Bardoil, the ancient lake Serbonis.

⁴ Barathra.

⁵ Strabo has misunderstood the meaning of Eratosthenes, who had said that the excess of the waters of the Euphrates sunk into the ground and reappeared under the form of torrents, which became visible near "Rhinocolura in Cœle-Syria and Mt. Casius," the Casius near Egypt. Our author properly observes that the length and nature of the course contradicts this hypothesis: but, misled by the names Cœle-Syria and Casius, he forgets that the Casius of Egypt and the district bordering upon Egypt, improperly called Cœle-Syria, are here in question; he transfers the first name to Cœle-Syria of Libanus, and the second to Mt. Casius near Seleucia and Antioch, and adds that, according to the notion of Eratosthenes, the waters of the Euphrates would have to traverse Libanus, Antilibanus, and the Casius (of Syria), whilst Eratosthenes has not, and could not, say any such thing. The hypothesis of Eratosthenes could not, indeed, be maintained, but Strabo renders it absurd. The error of our author is the more remarkable, as the name of the city Rhinocolura ought necessarily to have suggested to him the sense in which the words Casius and Cœle Syria should be understood.

Such, then, are the accounts of Eratosthenes and Aristobulus.

13. But Polycleitus says, that the Euphrates does not overflow its banks, because its course is through large plains; that of the mountains (from which it is supplied), some are distant 2000, and the Cossæan mountains scarcely 1000 stadia, that they are not very high, nor covered with snow to a great depth, and therefore do not occasion the snow to melt in great masses, for the most elevated mountains are in the northern parts above Ecbatana; towards the south they are divided, spread out, and are much lower; the Tigris also receives the greater part of the water [which comes down from them], and thus overflows its banks.¹

The last assertion is evidently absurd, because the Tigris descends into the same plains (as the Euphrates); and the above-mentioned mountains are not of the same height, the northern being more elevated, the southern extending in breadth, but are of a lower altitude. The quantity of snow is not, however, to be estimated by altitude only, but by aspect. The same mountain has more snow on the northern than on the southern side, and the snow continues longer on the former than on the latter. As the Tigris therefore receives from the most southern parts of Armenia, which are near Babylon, the water of the melted snow, of which there is no great quantity, since it comes from the southern side, it should overflow in a less degree than the Euphrates, which receives the water from both parts (northern and southern); and not from a single mountain only, but from many, as I have mentioned in the description of Armenia. To this we must add the length of the river, the large tract of country which it traverses in the Greater and in the Lesser Armenia, the large space it takes in its course in passing out of the Lesser Armenia and Cappadocia, after issuing out of the Taurus in its way to Thapsacus (forming the boundary between Syria below and Mesopotamia), and the large remaining portion of country as far as Babylon and to its mouth, a course in all of 36,000 stadia.

This, then, on the subject of the canals (of Babylonia).

¹ *καὶ οὕτως πλημμυρεῖν*. These words are, as Kramer proposes, transferred from below. There can be no meaning given to them as they stand in the text, which is here corrupt

14. Babylonia produces barley in larger quantity than any other¹ country, for a produce of three hundred-fold is spoken of. The palm tree furnishes everything else, bread, wine, vinegar, and meal; all kinds of woven articles are also procured from it. Braziers use the stones of the fruit instead of charcoal. When softened by being soaked in water, they are food for fattening oxen and sheep.

It is said that there is a Persian song in which are reckoned up 360 useful properties of the palm.

They employ for the most part the oil of sesamum, a plant which is rare in other places.

15. Asphaltus is found in great abundance in Babylonia. Eratosthenes describes it as follows.

The liquid asphaltus, which is called naphtha, is found in Susiana; the dry kind, which can be made solid, in Babylonia. There is a spring of it near the Euphrates. When this river overflows at the time of the melting of the snow, the spring also of asphaltus is filled, and overflows into the river, where large clods are consolidated, fit for buildings constructed of baked bricks. Others say that the liquid kind also is found in Babylonia. With respect to the solid kind, I have described its great utility in the construction of buildings. They say that boats (of reeds) are woven,² which, when besmeared with asphaltus, are firmly compacted. The liquid kind, called naphtha, is of a singular nature. When it is brought near the fire, the fire catches it; and if a body smeared over with it is brought near the fire, it burns with a flame, which it is impossible to extinguish, except with a large quantity of water; with a small quantity it burns more violently, but it may be smothered and extinguished by mud, vinegar, alum, and glue. It is said that Alexander, as an experiment, ordered naphtha to be poured over a boy in a bath, and a lamp to be brought near his body. The boy became enveloped in flames, and would have perished if the bystanders had not mastered the fire by pouring upon him a great quantity of water, and thus saved his life.

Poseidonius says that there are springs of naphtha in Babylonia, some of which produce white, others black, naphtha; the first of these, I mean the white naphtha, which attracts flame,

¹ Herod. i. 193.

² Herod. i. 194.

is liquid sulphur; the second, or black naphtha, is liquid asphaltus, and is burnt in lamps instead of oil.

16. In former times the capital of Assyria was Babylon; it is now called Seleuceia upon the Tigris. Near it is a large village called Ctesiphon. This the Parthian kings usually made their winter residence, with a view to spare the Seleucians the burden of furnishing quarters for the Scythian soldiery. In consequence of the power of Parthia, Ctesiphon¹ may be considered as a city rather than a village; from its size it is capable of lodging a great multitude of people; it has been adorned with public buildings by the Parthians, and has furnished merchandise, and given rise to arts profitable to its masters.

The kings usually passed the winter there, on account of the salubrity of the air, and the summer at Ecbatana and in Hyrcania,² induced by the ancient renown of these places.

As we call the country Babylonia, so we call the people Babylonians, not from the name of the city, but of the country; the case is not precisely the same, however, as regards even natives of Seleuceia, as, for instance, Diogenes, the stoic philosopher [who had the appellation of the Babylonian, and not the Seleucian].³

17. At the distance of 500 stadia from Seleuceia is Artemita, a considerable city, situated nearly directly to the east, which is the position also of Sitacene.⁴ This extensive and fertile tract of country lies between Babylon and Susiana, so that the whole road in travelling from Babylon to Susa passes through Sitacene. The road from Susa⁵ into the interior of Persis, through the territory of the Uxii,⁶ and from Persis into the middle of Carmania,⁷ leads also towards the east.

Persis, which is a large country, encompasses Carmania on the [west]⁸ and north. Close to it adjoin Parætacene,⁹ and

¹ Al-Madain.

² Strabo probably here refers to Hecatompylos, which, in b. xi. c. ix. § 1, he calls "the royal seat of the Parthians," and which shared with Ecbatana the honour of being a residence of the Parthian kings. The name Hyrcania has here a wide meaning; the proper name would have been Parthia. ³ Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. § 5. ⁴ Descura. *D'Anville*.

⁵ Sus.

⁶ Ascias part of Khosistan.

⁷ Kerman.

⁸ Groskurd here supposes an omission by the copyist of the words *ἐσπίραν καὶ πρὸς* before *ἄρκτον*.

⁹ Parætacene, Cossæa, and Elymaïs occupied the mountainous parts of Irak Adjami.

the Cossæan territory as far as the Caspian Gates, inhabited by mountainous and predatory tribes. Contiguous to Susiana is Elymaïs, a great part of which is rugged, and inhabited by robbers. To Elymaïs adjoin the country about the Zagrus¹ and Media.²

18. The Cossæi, like the neighbouring mountaineers, are for the most part archers, and are always out on foraging parties. For as they occupy a country of small extent, and barren, they are compelled by necessity to live at the expense of others. They are also necessarily powerful, for they are all fighting men. When the Elymæi were at war with the Babylonians and Susians, they supplied the Elymæi with thirteen thousand auxiliaries.

The Parætaceni attend to the cultivation of the ground more than the Cossæi, but even these people do not abstain from robbery.

The Elymæi occupy a country larger in extent, and more varied, than that of the Parætaceni. The fertile part of it is inhabited by husbandmen. The mountainous tract is a nursery for soldiers, the greatest part of whom are archers. As it is of considerable extent, it can furnish a great military force; their king, who possesses great power, refuses to be subject, like others, to the king of Parthia. The country was similarly independent in the time of the Persians, and afterwards³ in the time of the Macedonians, who governed Syria. When Antiochus the Great attempted to plunder the temple of Belus, the neighbouring barbarians, unassisted, attacked and put him to death. In after-times the king of Parthia⁴ heard that the temples in their country contained great wealth, but knowing that the people would not submit, and admonished by the fate of Antiochus, he invaded their country with a large army; he took the temple of Minerva, and that of Diana, called Azara, and carried away treasure to the amount of 10,000

¹ Aïaghi-dagh.

² Media extended partly into Irak Adjami, and partly into Kurdistan.

³ ὕστερον in the text must be omitted, or altered to πρότερον, unless, as Kramer proposes, the words *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας* be introduced into the text. Strabo frequently mentions together the three successive governments of Persians, Macedonians, and Parthians. B. xi. c. xiii. § 4, and c. xiv. § 15.

⁴ Mithridates I., son of Phraates, 163 B. C., and 124 years after the expedition of Antiochus.

talents. Seleuceia also, a large city on the river Hedyphon,¹ was taken. It was formerly called Soloce.

There are three convenient entrances into this country; one from Media and the places about the Zagrus, through Massabatice; a second from Susis, through the district Gabiane. Both Gabiane and Massabatice are provinces of Elymæa. A third passage is that from Persis. Corbiane also is a province of Elymaïs.

Sagapeni and Silaceni, small principalities, border upon Elymaïs.

Such, then, is the number and the character of the nations situated above Babylonia towards the east.

We have said that Media and Armenia lie to the north, and Adiabene and Mesopotamia to the west of Babylonia.

19. The greatest part of Adiabene consists of plains, and, although it is a portion of Babylon, has its own prince. In some places it is contiguous to Armenia.² For the Medes, Armenians, and Babylonians, the three greatest nations in these parts, were from the first in the practice, on convenient opportunities, of waging continual war with each other, and then making peace, which state of things continued till the establishment of the Parthian empire.

The Parthians subdued the Medes and Babylonians, but never at any time conquered the Armenians. They made frequent inroads into their country, but the people were not subdued, and Tigranes, as I have mentioned in the description of Armenia,³ opposed them with great vigour and success.

Such is the nature of Adiabene. The Adiabeni are also called Saccopodes.⁴

We shall describe Mesopotamia and the nations towards

¹ Probably the Djerrahi.

² On comparing this passage with others, (b. xi. c. xiv. § 12, and b. xvi. c. i. § 1, and c. i. § 8,) in which Strabo speaks of Adiabene, we perceive that he understood it to be a part of the country below the mountains of Armenia, and to the north of Nineveh, on both banks of the Tigris. Other authors have given a more extended meaning to the name, and applied it to the country on the north of the two rivers Zab, from whence (Amm. Marcel. xxiii. 5, 6) the name Adiabene appears to be derived. In this sense Adiabene may be considered the same as Assyria Proper.

³ B. xi. c. xiv. § 15.

⁴ Groskurd proposes reading Saulopodes, delicate walkers, in place of Saccopodes, sack-footed.

the south, after premising a short account of the customs of the Assyrians.

20. Their other customs are like those of the Persians, but this is peculiar to themselves: three discreet persons, chiefs of each tribe, are appointed, who present publicly young women who are marriageable, and give notice by the crier, beginning with those most in estimation, of a sale of them to men intending to become husbands. In this manner marriages are contracted.

As often as the parties have sexual intercourse with one another, they rise, each apart from the other, to burn perfumes. In the morning they wash, before touching any household vessel. For as ablution is customary after touching a dead body, so is it practised after sexual intercourse.¹ There is a custom prescribed by an oracle for all the Babylonian women to have intercourse with strangers. The women repair to a temple of Venus, accompanied by numerous attendants and a crowd of people. Each woman has a cord round her head. The man approaches a woman, and places on her lap as much money as he thinks proper; he then leads her away to a distance from the sacred grove, and has intercourse with her. The money is considered as consecrated to Venus.

There are three tribunals, one consisting of persons who are past military service, another of nobles, and a third of old men, besides another appointed by the king. It is the business of the latter² to dispose of the virgins in marriage, and to determine causes respecting adultery; of another to decide those relative to theft; and of the third, those of assault and violence.

The sick are brought out of their houses into the highways, and inquiry is made of passengers whether any of them can give information of a remedy for the disease. There is no one so ill-disposed as not to accost the sick person, and ac-

¹ Herod. i. 198. Almost all the details concerning the Babylonian customs are taken from Herodotus, who sets them forth with greater clearness; there are, however, some differences, as, for example, the disposal of young women in marriage, and the different tribunals, which prove that Strabo had other sources of information.

² Groskurd here suspects a corruption of the text, and for *τούτου* reads *τοῦ πρώτου*, "of the first," and for *ἄλλου*, "of another," *δευτέρου*, "of the second."

quaint him with anything that he considers may conduce to his recovery.

Their dress is a tunic reaching to the feet, an upper garment of wool, [and] a white cloak. The hair is long. They wear a shoe resembling a buskin. They wear also a seal, and carry a staff not plain, but with a figure upon the top of it, as an apple, a rose, a lily, or something of the kind. They anoint themselves with oil of sesamum. They bewail the dead, like the Egyptians and many other nations. They bury the body in honey, first besmearing it with wax.

There are three communities which have no corn. They live in the marshes, and subsist on fish. Their mode of life is like that of the inhabitants of Gedrosia.¹

21. Mesopotamia has its name from an accidental circumstance. We have said that it is situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris, that the Tigris washes its eastern side only, and the Euphrates its western and southern sides. To the north is the Taurus, which separates Armenia from Mesopotamia. The greatest distance by which they are separated from each other is that towards the mountains. This distance may be the same which Eratosthenes mentions, and is reckoned from Thapsacus,² where there was the (Zeugma) old bridge of the Euphrates, to the (Zeugma) passage over the Tigris, where Alexander crossed it, a distance, that is, of 2400 stadia. The least distance between them is somewhere about Seleucia and Babylon, and is a little more than 200 stadia.

The Tigris flows through the middle of the lake called Thopitis³ in the direction of its breadth, and after traversing it to the opposite bank, sinks under ground with a loud noise and rushing of air. Its course is for a long space invisible, but it rises again to the surface not far from Gordyæa. According to Eratosthenes, it traverses the lake with such rapidity, that although the lake is saline and without fish,⁴ yet in this part it is fresh, has a current, and abounds with fish.

22. The contracted shape of Mesopotamia extends far in length, and somewhat resembles a ship. The Euphrates forms the larger part of its boundary. The distance from Thapsacus to Babylon, according to Eratosthenes, is 4800

¹ Merkan.

² El-der.

³ The Van. B. xi. c. xiv. § 8.

⁴ In b. xi. c. xiv. § 8, Strabo says that this lake contains one kind of fish only.

stadia, and from the (Zeugma) bridge in Commagene, where Mesopotamia begins, to Thapsacus, is not less than 2000 stadia.

23. The country lying at the foot of the mountains is very fertile. The people, called by the Macedonians Mygdones, occupy the parts towards the Euphrates, and both Zeugmata, that is, the Zeugma in Commagene, and the ancient Zeugma at Thapsacus. In their territory is Nisibis,² which they called also Antioch in Mygdonia, situated below Mount Masius,³ and Tigranocerta,⁴ and the places about Carrhæ, Nicephorium,⁵ Chordiraza,⁶ and Sinnaca, where Crassus was taken prisoner by stratagem, and put to death by Surena, the Parthian general.⁷

24. Near the Tigris are the places belonging to the Gordyæi,⁸ whom the ancients called Carduchi; their cities are Sareisa, Satalca, and Pinaca, a very strong fortress with three citadels, each enclosed by its own wall, so that it is as it were a triple city. It was, however, subject to the king of Armenia; the Romans also took it by storm, although the Gordyæi had the reputation of excelling in the art of building, and to be skilful in the construction of siege engines. It was for this reason Tigranes took them into his service. The rest of Mesopotamia (Gordyæa?) was subject to the Romans. Pompey assigned to Tigranes the largest and best portion of the country; for it has fine pastures, is rich in plants, and produces ever-greens and an aromatic, the amomum. It breeds lions also. It furnishes naphtha, and the stone called Gangitis,⁹ which drives away reptiles.

25. Gordys, the son of Triptolemus, is related to have colonized Gordyene. The Eretrians¹⁰ afterwards, who were carried away by force by the Persians, settled here. We shall soon speak of Triptolemus in our description of Syria.

26. The parts of Mesopotamia inclining to the south, and

¹ Now Roumkala, from the fortress which defends the passage of the river.

² Nisibin.

³ Kara-dagh.

⁴ Sered.

⁵ Haran.

⁶ Racca.

⁷ B. c. 51.

⁸ Gordyæa was the most northerly part of Assyria, or Kurdistan, near the lake Van. From Carduchi, the name of the inhabitants, is derived the modern name Kurds.

⁹ Pliny, x. c. iii. and xxxvi. c. xix., calls it "Gagates lapis;" a name derived, according to Dioscorides, from a river Gagas in Lycia.

¹⁰ Herod. vi. 199.

at a distance from the mountains, are an arid and barren district, occupied by the Arabian Scenitæ, a tribe of robbers and shepherds, who readily move from place to place, whenever pasture or booty begin to be exhausted. The country lying at the foot of the mountains is harassed both by these people and by the Armenians. They are situated above, and keep them in subjection by force. It is at last subject for the most part to these people, or to the Parthians, who are situated at their side, and possess both Media and Babylonia.

27. Between the Tigris and the Euphrates flows a river, called Basileios (or the Royal river), and about Anthemusia another called the Aborrhæ.¹ The road for merchants going from Syria to Seleuceia and Babylon lies through the country of the (Arabian) Scenitæ, [now called Malii,]² and through the desert belonging to their territory. The Euphrates is crossed in the latitude of Anthemusia, a place in Mesopotamia.³ Above the river, at the distance of four schœni, is Bambyce, which is called by the names of Edessa and Hierapolis,⁴ where the Syrian goddess Atargatis is worshipped. After crossing the river, the road lies through a desert country on the borders of Babylonia to Scenæ, a considerable city, situated on the banks of a canal. From the passage across the river to

¹ These appear to be the rivers found in the neighbourhood of Roha or Orfa, the ancient Edessa. One of these rivers bears the name of Beles, and is perhaps the Baseleios of Strabo. Chabur is the Aborrhæ.

² Probably an interpolation.

³ The passage of the Euphrates here in question was effected at the Zeugma of Commagene, called by Strabo the present passage. On passing the river you entered Anthemusia, a province which appears to have received, later on, the name of Osroene. It extended considerably towards the north, for in it the Aborrhæ, according to Strabo, had its source; but 't is doubtful whether it extended to the north of Mount Masius, where the latitudes, as given by Ptolemy, would place it. I do not exactly know whether Strabo intends to speak of a city or a province, for the position of the city is unknown; we only learn from a passage in Pliny, vi. c. xxvi., that it was not on the Euphrates. The word *ρόπος* is not, I think, so applicable to a province as to a city, and in this last sense I have understood it, giving also to *κατά* the meaning of latitude, in which it is so often applied by Strabo; strictly speaking, the sense of "vis-à-vis," "opposite to," might be given to it.—*Letronne*.

⁴ This is an error of the author or of the copyist. Edessa (now Orfah) is not to be confounded with Bambyce (Kara-Bambuche, or Buguk Mumbedj) c? Cyrrhestica in Syria, which obtained its Hellenic name from Seleucus Nator.

Scenæ is a journey of five and twenty days. There are (on the road) owners of camels, who keep resting-places, which are well supplied with water from cisterns, or transported from a distance.

The Scenitæ exact a moderate tribute from merchants, but [otherwise] do not molest them: the merchants, therefore, avoid the country on the banks of the river, and risk a journey through the desert, leaving the river on the right hand at a distance of nearly three days' march. For the chiefs of the tribes living on both banks of the river, who occupy not indeed a fertile territory, yet one less sterile than the rest (of the country), are settled in the midst of their own peculiar domains, and each exacts a tribute of no moderate amount for himself. And it is difficult among so large a body of people, and of such daring habits, to establish any common standard of tribute advantageous to the merchant.

Scenæ is distant from Seleuceia 18 schoeni.

28. The Euphrates and its eastern banks are the boundaries of the Parthian empire. The Romans and the chiefs of the Arabian tribes occupy the parts on this side the Euphrates as far as Babylonia. Some of the chiefs attach themselves in preference to the Parthians, others to the Romans, to whom they adjoin. The Scenitæ nomades, who live near the river, are less friendly to the Romans than those tribes who are situated at a distance near Arabia Felix. The Parthians were once solicitous of conciliating the friendship of the Romans, but, having repulsed Crassus,¹ who began the war with them, they suffered reprisals, when they themselves commenced hostilities, and sent Pacorus into Asia.² But Antony, following the advice of the Armenian,³ was betrayed, and was unsuccessful (against them). Phraates, his⁴ successor, was so anxious to obtain the friendship of Augustus Cæsar, that he even sent the trophies, which the Parthians had set up as memorials of

¹ B. c. 54.

² The Parthians became masters of Syria under Pacorus, and of Asia Minor under Labienus. B. c. 38.

³ Artavasdes, king of the Armenians. B. xi. c. xiii. § 4.

⁴ The text would lead us to suppose that Phraates succeeded Pacorus, whereas below, § 8, Pacorus, the eldest son of the Parthian king, died before his father, Orodes. Letronne, therefore, and Groskurd suppose that the words, "the son of Orodes," are omitted after "Pacorus" above, and "his" in the translation would then refer to Orodes.

the defeat of the Romans. He also invited Titius to a conference, who was at that time præfect of Syria, and delivered into his hands, as hostages, four of his legitimate sons, Seraspadanés, Rhodaspés, Phraates, and Bononés, with two of their wives and four of their sons; for he was apprehensive of conspiracy and attempts on his life.¹ He knew that no one could prevail against him, unless he was opposed by one of the Arsacian family, to which race the Parthians were strongly attached. He therefore removed the sons out of his way, with a view of annihilating the hopes of the disaffected.

The surviving sons, who live at Rome, are entertained as princes at the public expense. The other kings (his successors) have continued to send ambassadors (to Rome), and to hold conferences (with the Roman præfects).

CHAPTER II.

1. SYRIA is bounded on the north by Cilicia and the mountain Amanus; from the sea to the bridge on the Euphrates (that is, from the Issic Bay to the Zeugma in Commagene) is a distance of 1400 stadia, and forms the above-mentioned (northern) boundary; on the east it is bounded by the Euphrates and the Arabian Scenitæ, who live on this side the Euphrates; on the south, by Arabia Felix and Egypt; on the west, by the Egyptian and Syrian Seas as far as Issus.

2. Beginning from Cilicia and Mount Amanus, we set down as parts of Syria, Commagene, and the Seleucis of Syria, as it is called, then Cœle-Syria, lastly, on the coast, Phœnicia, and in the interior, Judæa. Some writers divide the whole of Syria into Cœlo-Syrians, Syrians, and Phœnicians, and say that there are intermixed with these four other nations, Jews, Idumæans, Gazæans, and Azotii, some of whom are husbandmen, as the Syrians and Cœlo-Syrians, and others merchants, as the Phœnicians.

¹ See b. vi. c. iv. § 2, in which the motives for getting rid of these members of his family are not mentioned.

3. This is the general description [of Syria].¹

In describing it in detail, we say that Commagene is rather a small district. It contains a strong city, Samosata, in which was the seat of the kings. At present it is a (Roman) province. A very fertile but small territory lies around it. Here is now the Zeugma, or bridge, of the Euphrates, and near it is situated Seleuceia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, assigned by Pompey to the Commageneans. Here Tigranes confined in prison for some time and put to death Selene, surnamed Cleopatra, after she was dispossessed of Syria.²

4. Seleucis is the best of the above-mentioned portions of Syria. It is called and is a Tetrapolis, and derives its name from the four distinguished cities which it contains; for there are more than four cities, but the four largest are Antioch Epidaphne,³ Seleuceia in Pieria,⁴ Apameia,⁵ and Laodiceia.⁶ They were called Sisters from the concord which existed between them. They were founded by Seleucus Nicator. The largest bore the name of his father, and the strongest his own. Of the others, Apameia had its name from his wife Apama, and Laodiceia from his mother.

In conformity with its character of Tetrapolis, Seleucis, according to Poseidonius, was divided into four satrapies; Cœle-Syria into the same number, but [Commagene, like] Mesopotamia, consisted of one.⁷

Antioch also is a Tetrapolis, consisting (as the name im-

¹ Judging from Arrian (Anab. v. § 25; vii. § 9; iii. § 8), the historians of Alexander, as well as more ancient authors, gave the name of Syria to all the country comprehended between the Tigris and the Mediterranean. The part to the east of the Euphrates, afterwards named Mesopotamia, was called "Syria between the rivers;" that to the west was called by the general name Cœle-Syria, and although Phœnicia and Palestine were sometimes separated from it, yet it often comprehended the whole country as far as Egypt. Strabo below, c. ii. § 21, refers to this ancient division, when he says that the name Cœle-Syria extends to the whole country as far as Egypt and Arabia, although in its peculiar acceptance it applied only to the valley between Libanus and Antilibanus.

² B. C. 70.

³ Antakieh.

⁴ Modern conjecture has identified it with Shogh and Divertigi.

⁵ Kulat-el-Mudik.

⁶ Ladikiyeh.

⁷ Mesopotamia in the text is no doubt an error of the copyist. We ought probably to read Commagene. Groskurd proposes to read "Commagene, like Mesopotamia, consisted of one satrapy." Groskurd's emendation of the text is followed, although not approved of, by Kramer.

plies) of four portions, each of which has its own, and all of them a common wall.¹

[Seleucus] Nicator founded the first of these portions, transferring thither settlers from Antigonía, which a short time before Antigonus, son of Philip, had built near it. The second was built by the general body of settlers; the third by Seleucus, the son of Callinicus; the fourth by Antiochus, the son of Epiphanes.

5. Antioch is the metropolis of Syria. A palace was constructed there for the princes of the country. It is not much inferior in riches and magnitude to Seleuceia on the Tigris and Alexandria in Egypt.

[Seleucus] Nicator settled here the descendants of Triptolemus, whom we have mentioned a little before.² On this account the people of Antioch regard him as a hero, and celebrate a festival to his honour on Mount Casius³ near Seleuceia. They say that when he was sent by the Argives in search of Io, who first disappeared at Tyre, he wandered through Cilicia; that some of his Argive companions separated from him and founded Tarsus; that the rest attended him along the sea-coast, and, relinquishing their search, settled with him on the banks of the Orontes;⁴ that Gordys the son of Triptolemus, with some of those who had accompanied his father, founded a colony in Gordyæa, and that the descendants of the rest became settlers among the inhabitants of Antioch.

6. Daphne,⁵ a town of moderate size, is situated above Antioch at the distance of 40 stadia. Here is a large forest, with a thick covert of shade and springs of water flowing through it. In the midst of the forest is a sacred grove, which is a sanctuary, and a temple of Apollo and Diana. It is the custom for the inhabitants of Antioch and the neighbouring people to assemble here to celebrate public festivals. The forest is 80 stadia in circumference.

¹ These four portions were no doubt formed by the four hills contained within the circuit of Antioch. The circuit wall existed in the time of Poccoke. The detailed and exact description given of it by this learned traveller, as also his plan of Antioch, agree with Strabo's account. *Poccoke, Descrip. of the East*, ii. p. 190.

² C. i. § 25.

³ Mount Soldin.

⁴ Orontes, or Nahr-el-Asy

⁵ Beit-el-ma.

7. The river Orontes flows near the city. Its source is in Cœle-Syria. Having taken its course under-ground, it reappears, traverses the territory of Apameia to Antioch, approaching the latter city, and then descends to the sea at Seleuceia. The name of the river was formerly Typhon, but was changed to Orontes, from the name of the person who constructed the bridge over it.

According to the fable, it was somewhere here that Typhon was struck with lightning, and here also was the scene of the fable of the Arimi, whom we have before mentioned.¹ Typhon was a serpent, it is said, and being struck by lightning, endeavoured to make its escape, and sought refuge in the ground; it deeply furrowed the earth, and (as it moved along) formed the bed of the river; having descended under-ground, it caused a spring to break out, and from Typhon the river had its name.

On the west the sea, into which the Orontes discharges itself, is situated below Antioch in Seleuceia, which is distant from the mouth of the river 40, and from Antioch 120 stadia. The ascent by the river to Antioch is performed in one day.

To the east of Antioch are the Euphrates, Bambyce,² Berœa,³ and Heracleia, small towns formerly under the government of Dionysius, the son of Heracleon. Heracleia is distant 20 stadia from the temple of Diana Cyrrhæstis.

8. Then follows the district of Cyrrhæstica,⁴ which extends as far as that of Antioch. On the north near it are Mount Amanus and Commagene. Cyrrhæstica extends as far as these places, and touches them. Here is situated a city, Gindarus, the acropolis of Cyrrhæstica, and a convenient resort for robbers, and near it a place called Heracleium. It was near these places that Pacorus, the eldest of the sons of the Parthian king, who had invaded Syria, was defeated by Ventidius, and killed.

Pagræ,⁵ in the district of Antioch, is close to Gindarus. It

¹ B. xii. c. viii. § 19; b. xiii. c. iv. § 6.

² Also Hierapolis, the modern Kara Bambuche.

³ Berœa owes its name to Seleucus Nicator, and continued to be so called till the conquest of the Arabs under Abu Obeidah, A. D. 638, when it resumed its ancient name of Chaleb, or Chalybon.

⁴ The territory subject to the town Cyrrhus, now Coro.

⁵ Baghras.

is a strong fortress situated on the pass over the Amanus, which leads from the gates of the Amanus into Syria. Below Pagræ lies the plain of Antioch, through which flow the rivers Arceuthus, Orontes, and Labotas.¹ In this plain is also the trench of Meleagrus, and the river CENOPARAS,² on the banks of which Ptolemy Philometor, after having defeated Alexander Balas, died of his wounds.³

Above these places is a hill called Trapezon from its form,⁴ and upon it Ventidius engaged Phranticates⁵ the Parthian general.

After these places, near the sea, are Seleuceia⁶ and Pieria, a mountain continuous with the Amanus and Rhosus, situated between Issus and Seleuceia.

Seleuceia formerly had the name of Hydatopotami (rivers of water). It is a considerable fortress, and may defy all attacks; wherefore Pompey, having excluded from it Tigranes, declared it a free city.

To the south of Antioch is Apameia, situated in the interior, and to the south of Seleuceia, the mountains Casius and Anti-Casius.

Still further on from Seleuceia are the mouths of the Orontes, then the Nymphæum, a kind of sacred cave, next Casium, then follows Poseidium⁷ a small city, and Heracleia.⁸

9. Then follows Laodiceia, situated on the sea; it is a very well-built city, with a good harbour; the territory, besides its fertility in other respects, abounds with wine, of which the greatest part is exported to Alexandria. The whole mountain overhanging the city is planted almost to its summit with vines. The summit of the mountain is at a great distance from Laodiceia, sloping gently and by degrees upwards from the city; but it rises perpendicularly over Apameia.

Laodiceia suffered severely when Dolabella took refuge there. Being besieged by Cassius, he defended it until his death, but he involved in his own ruin the destruction of many parts of the city.⁹

¹ The modern names of the Arceuthus and Labotas are unknown.

² The Afreen ³ B. c. 145. ⁴ A table.

⁵ Called Phraates by Pseudo-Appian, in Parthicus, p. 72. Selefkeh.

⁷ Posidi, on the southern side of the bay, which receives the Orontes.

⁸ On Cape Ziaret. ⁹ B. c. 40.

10. In the district of Apameia is a city well fortified in almost every part. For it consists of a well-fortified hill, situated in a hollow plain, and almost surrounded by the Orontes, which, passing by a large lake in the neighbourhood, flows through wide-spread marshes and meadows of vast extent, affording pasture for cattle and horses.¹ The city is thus securely situated, and received the name Cherrhonesus (or the peninsula) from the nature of its position. It is well supplied from a very large fertile tract of country, through which the Orontes flows with numerous windings. Seleucus Nicator, and succeeding kings, kept there five hundred elephants, and the greater part of their army.

It was formerly called Pella by the first Macedonians, because most of the soldiers of the Macedonian army had settled there; for Pella, the native place of Philip and Alexander, was held to be the metropolis of the Macedonians. Here also the soldiers were mustered, and the breed of horses kept up. There were in the royal stud more than thirty thousand brood mares and three hundred stallions. Here were employed colt-breakers, instructors in the method of fighting in heavy armour, and all who were paid to teach the arts of war.

The power Trypho, surnamed Diodotus, acquired is a proof of the influence of this place; for when he aimed at the empire of Syria, he made Apameia the centre of his operations. He was born at Casiana, a strong fortress in the Apameian district, and educated in Apameia; he was a favourite of the king and the persons about the court. When he attempted to effect a revolution in the state, he obtained his supplies from Apameia and from the neighbouring cities, Larisa,² Casiana, Megara, Apollonia, and others like them, all of which were reckoned to belong to the district of Apameia. He was proclaimed king of this country, and maintained his sovereignty for a long time. Cæcilius Bassus, at the head of two legions, caused Apameia to revolt, and was besieged by two large Roman armies, but his resistance was so vigorous and long that he only surrendered voluntarily and on his own conditions.³ For the country supplied his army with provisions,

¹ The text is corrupt. The translation follows the proposed corrections of Letronne and Kramer.

² Shizar, on the Orontes.

³ Cæcilius Bassus was besieged twice in Apameia, first by C. Antistius, afterwards by Marcus Crispus and Lucius Staius Marcius. Cassius suc-

and a great many of the chiefs of the neighbouring tribes were his allies, who possessed strongholds, among which was Lysias, situated above the lake, near Apameia, Arethusa,¹ belonging to Sampsiceramus and Iamblichus his son, chiefs of the tribe of the Emeseni.² At no great distance were Heliopolis and Chalcis,³ which were subject to Ptolemy, son of Mennæus,⁴ who possessed the Massyas⁵ and the mountainous country of the Ituræans. Among the auxiliaries of Bassus was Alchædamnus,⁶ king of the Rhambæi, a tribe of the Nomades on this side of the Euphrates. He was a friend of the Romans, but, considering himself as having been unjustly treated by their governors, he retired to Mesopotamia, and then became a tributary of Bassus. Poseidonius the Stoic was a native of this place, a man of the most extensive learning among the philosophers of our times.

11. The tract called Parapotamia, belonging to the Arab chiefs, and Chalcidica, extending from the Massyas, border upon the district of Apameia on the east; and nearly all the country further to the south of Apameia belongs to the Scenitæ, who resemble the Nomades of Mesopotamia. In proportion as the nations approach the Syrians they become more civilized, while the Arabians and Scenitæ are less so. Their

ceeded in dispersing the troops of this rebel without much difficulty, according to Dion Cassius, *xlvii. 27.*

¹ Arethusa, now Restan, was founded by Seleucus Nicator. According to Appian, Pompey subdued Sampsiceramus, who was king of Arethusa. On this account Cicero, in his letters to Atticus (*ii. 14, 16, 17, 23*), calls Pompey in derision Sampsiceramus. Antony put Iamblicus, son of Sampsiceramus, to death; but Augustus restored the small state of Arethusa to another Iamblicus, son of the former.

² The people of Emesa, now Hems.

³ Balbek and Kalkos.

⁴ This Ptolemy, son of Mennæus, was master chiefly of Chalcis, at the foot of Libanus, from whence he made incursions on the territory of Damascus. Pompey was inclined to suppress his robberies, but Ptolemy softened his anger by a present of 1000 talents, which the Roman general applied to the payment of his troops. He remained in possession of his dominion until his death, and was succeeded by his son Lysanias, whom Cleopatra put to death, on the pretext that he had induced the Parthians to come into the country. *Josephus, Bell. Jud.*

⁵ One of the branches of Antilibanus.

⁶ This Alchædamnus is constantly called Alchæudonius by Dion Cassius, whom he calls the "Arabian dynast." Falconer therefore inferred that here we ought to read *Αράβων* instead of *Ραυβαίων*, but Letronne does not adopt this reading, and supposes the Rhambæi may have been a tribe of the Arabians.

governments are better constituted [as that of Arethusa under Sampsiceramus, that of Themella under Gambarus, and other states of this kind].¹

12. Such is the nature of the interior parts of the district of Seleuceia.

The remainder of the navigation along the coast from Laodiceia is such as I shall now describe.

Near Laodiceia are the small cities, Poseidium, Heracleium, and Gabala. Then follows the maritime tract² of the Aradii, where are Paltus,³ Balanæa, and Carnus,⁴ the arsenal of Aradus, which has a small harbour; then Enydra,⁵ and Marathus, an ancient city of the Phœnicians in ruins. The Aradii⁶ divided the territory by lot. Then follows the district Simyra.⁷ Continuous with these places is Orthosia,⁸ then the river Eleutherus, which some make the boundary of Seleucis towards Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria.

13. Aradus is in front of a rocky coast without harbours, and situated nearly between its arsenal⁹ and Marathus. It is distant from the land 20 stadia. It is a rock, surrounded by the sea, of about seven stadia in circuit, and covered with dwellings. The population even at present is so large that the houses have many stories. It was colonized, it is said, by fugitives from Sidon. The inhabitants are supplied with water partly from cisterns containing rain water, and partly

¹ The text is here corrupt, and the passage, according to Kramer, probably introduced into the text from a marginal note.

² *παράλια*, but this is a correction for *παλαιά*, which Letronne proposes to correct for *περαιά*, which is supported in § 13, below. The part of the continent opposite, and belonging to an island, was properly called *Peræa*, of which there are many examples. That part of Asia Minor which is opposite Rhodes was so called, b. xiv. c. v. § 11, as also the coast opposite Tenedos, b. xiii. c. i. § 46. *Peræa* was also adopted as a proper name. Livy, xxxiii. 18.

³ Pococke places Paltus at Boldo; Shaw, at the ruins at the mouth of the Melleck, six miles from Jebilee, the ancient Gabala.

⁴ Carnoon.

⁵ Ain-el-Hiyeh.

⁶ According to Pococke, the ruins of Aradus (Ruad) are half a mile to the north of Tortosa (Antaradus). It is remarkable that Strabo makes no mention of Antaradus, situated on the continent opposite Aradus; Pliny is the first author who speaks of it. Probably the place only became of note subsequent to the time of Strabo, and acquired power at the expense of some of the small towns here mentioned. Antaradus, reëstablished by Constantine, assumed the name of Constantia.

⁷ Sumrah.

⁸ Ortosa.

⁹ Carnus.

from the opposite coast. In war time they obtain water a little in front of the city, from the channel (between the island and the mainland), in which there is an abundant spring. The water is obtained by letting down from a boat, which serves for the purpose, and inverting over the spring (at the bottom of the sea), a wide-mouthed funnel of lead, the end of which is contracted to a moderate-sized opening; round this is fastened a (long) leathern pipe, which we may call the neck, and which receives the water, forced up from the spring through the funnel. The water first forced up is sea water, but the boatmen wait for the flow of pure and potable water, which is received into vessels ready for the purpose, in as large a quantity as may be required, and carry it to the city.¹

14. The Aradii were anciently governed by their own kings in the same manner as all the other Phœnician cities. Afterwards the Persians, Macedonians, and now the Romans have changed the government to its present state.

The Aradii, together with the other Phœnicians, consented to become allies of the Syrian kings; but upon the dissension of the two brothers, Callinicus Seleucus and Antiochus Hierax, as he was called, they espoused the party of Callinicus; they entered into a treaty, by which they were allowed to receive persons who quitted the king's dominions, and took refuge among them, and were not obliged to deliver them up against their will. They were not, however, to suffer them to embark and quit the island without the king's permission. From this they derived great advantages; for those who took refuge there were not ordinary people, but persons who had held the highest trusts, and apprehended the worst consequences (when they fled). They regarded those who received them with hospitality as their benefactors; they acknowledged their preservers, and remembered with gratitude the kindness which they had received, particularly after their return to their own country. It was thus that the Aradii acquired possession of a large part of the opposite continent, most of which they possess even at present, and were otherwise suc-

¹ The resistance of the sea water to the ascent of the fresh water is cut off by this ingenious contrivance, and the fresh water rises above the level of the sea through the pipe, by natural causes, the head or source of the spring being in the upper ground of the mainland. This fountain is now known by the name of Ain Ibrahim, Abraham's fountain.

cessful. To this good fortune they added prudence and industry in the conduct of their maritime affairs; when they saw their neighbours, the Cilicians, engaged in piratical adventures, they never on any occasion took part with them in such (a disgraceful) occupation.¹

15. After Orthosia and the river Eleutherus is Tripolis, which has its designation from the fact of its consisting of three cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus. Contiguous to Tripolis is Theoprosopon,² where the mountain Libanus terminates. Between them lies a small place called Trieres.

16. There are two mountains, which form Cœle-Syria, as it is called, lying nearly parallel to each other; the commencement of the ascent of both these mountains, Libanus and Antilibanus, is a little way from the sea; Libanus rises above the sea near Tripolis and Theoprosopon, and Antilibanus, above the sea near Sidon. They terminate somewhere near the Arabian mountains, which are above the district of Damascus and the Trachones as they are there called, where they form fruitful hills. A hollow plain lies between them, the breadth of which towards the sea is 200 stadia, and the length from the sea to the interior is about twice that number of stadia. Rivers flow through it, the largest of which is the Jordan, which water a country fertile and productive of all things. It contains also a lake, which produces the aromatic rush and reed. In it are also marshes. The name of the lake is Gennesaritis. It produces also balsamum.³

Among the rivers is the Chrysorrhoas, which commences

¹ B. xiv. c. v. § 2.

² Greego.

³ If the words of the text, *φέρει δὲ καὶ*, "it produces also," refer to the lake, our author would contradict himself; for below, § 41, he says that Jericho alone produces it. They must therefore be referred to "a hollow plain" above; and the fact that they do so arises from the remarkable error of Strabo, in placing Judæa in the valley formed by Libanus and Antilibanus. From the manner in which he expresses himself, it is evident that he supposed the Jordan to flow, and the Lake Gennesaret to be situated, between these two mountains. As to the Lycus (the Nahr el Kelb), Strabo, if he had visited the country, would never have said that the Arabians transported upon it their merchandise. It is evident that he has confused the geography of all these districts, by transferring Judæa, with its lakes and rivers, to Cœle-Syria Proper; and here probably we may find the result of his first error in confounding Cœle-Syria Proper with Cœle-Syria understood in a wider meaning. See above, c. i. § 12.

from the city and territory of Damascus, and is almost entirely drained by water-courses ; for it supplies with water a large tract of country, with a very deep soil.

The Lycus¹ and the Jordan are navigated upwards chiefly by the Aradii, with vessels of burden.

17. Of the plains, the first reckoning from the sea is called Macras and Macra-pedium. Here Poseidonius says there was seen a serpent lying dead, which was nearly a plethrum in length, and of such a bulk and thickness that men on horseback standing on each side of its body could not see one another ; the jaws when opened could take in a man on horseback, and the scales of the skin were larger than a shield.

18. Next to the plain of Macras is that of Massyas, which also contains some mountainous parts, among which is Chalcis, the acropolis, as it were, of the Massyas. The commencement of this plain is at Laodiceia,² near Libanus. The Ituræans and Arabians, all of whom are freebooters, occupy the whole of the mountainous tracts. The husbandmen live in the plains, and when harassed by the freebooters, they require protection of various kinds. The robbers have strongholds from which they issue forth ; those, for example, who occupy Libanus have high up on the mountain the fortresses Sinna, Borrhama, and some others like them ; lower down, Botrys and Gigartus, caves also near the sea, and the castle on the promontory Theoprosopon. Pompey destroyed these fastnesses, from whence the robbers overran Byblus,³ and Berytus⁴ situated next to it, and which lie between Sidon and Theoprosopon.

Byblus, the royal seat of Cinyrus, is sacred to Adonis. Pompey delivered this place from the tyranny of Cinyrus, by striking off his head. It is situated upon an eminence at a little distance from the sea.

19. After Byblus is the river Adonis,⁵ and the mountain Climax, and Palæ-Byblus, then the river Lycus, and Berytus. This latter place was razed by Tryphon, but now the Romans have restored it, and two legions were stationed there by Agrippa, who also added to it a large portion of the territory of Massyas, as far as the sources of the Orontes. These sources are near Libanus, the Paradeisus, and the Egyptian

¹ Nahr-el-Kelb.

² Iouschiah.

³ Gebail.

⁴ Beyrout.

⁵ Nahr-Ibrahim.

Fort near the district of Apameia. These places lie near the sea.

20. Above the Massyas is the Royal Valley, as it is called, and the territory of Damascus, so highly extolled. Damascus is a considerable city, and in the time of the Persian empire was nearly the most distinguished place in that country.

Above Damascus are the two (hills) called Trachones; then, towards the parts occupied by Arabians and Ituræans promiscuously, are mountains of difficult access, in which were caves extending to a great depth. One of these caves was capable of containing four thousand robbers, when the territory of Damascus was subject to incursions from various quarters. The Barbarians used to rob the merchants most generally on the side of Arabia Felix,¹ but this happens less frequently since the destruction of the bands of the robbers under Zenodorus, by the good government of the Romans, and in consequence of the security afforded by the soldiers stationed and maintained in Syria.

21. The whole country² above Seleucis, extending towards Egypt and Arabia, is called Cœle-Syria, but peculiarly the tract bounded by Libanus and Antilibanus, of the remainder one part is the coast extending from Orthosia³ as far as Pelusium,⁴ and is called Phœnicia, a narrow strip of land along the sea; the other, situated above Phœnicia in the interior between Gaza and Antilibanus, and extending to the Arabians, called Judæa.

22. Having described Cœle-Syria properly so called, we pass on to Phœnicia, of which we have already described⁵ the part extending from Orthosia to Berytus.

Next to Berytus is Sidon, at the distance of 400 stadia. Between these places is the river Tamyras,⁶ and the grove of Asclepius and Leontopolis.

Next to Sidon is Tyre,⁷ the largest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians. This city is the rival of Sidon in magnitude, fame, and antiquity, as recorded in many fables. For although poets have celebrated Sidon more than Tyre (Homer, however, does not even mention Tyre), yet the colonies sent into Africa and Spain, as far as, and beyond the Pillars, extol

¹ Josephus, i. 1.² Above, c. ii. § 3.³ Ortosa.⁴ Tineh.⁵ Above, c. i. § 12, 15.⁶ Nahr-Damur.⁷ Sour.

much more the glory of Tyre. Both however were formerly, and are at present, distinguished and illustrious cities, but which of the two should be called the capital of Phœnicia is a subject of dispute among the inhabitants.¹ Sidon is situated upon a fine naturally-formed harbour on the mainland.

23. Tyre is wholly an island, built nearly in the same manner as Aradus. It is joined to the continent by a mound, which Alexander raised, when he was besieging it. It has two harbours, one close, the other open, which is called the Egyptian harbour. The houses here, it is said, consist of many stories, of more even than at Rome; on the occurrence, therefore, of an earthquake, the city was nearly demolished.² It sustained great injury when it was taken by siege by Alexander, but it rose above these misfortunes, and recovered itself both by the skill of the people in the art of navigation, in which the Phœnicians in general have always excelled all nations, and by (the export of) purple-dyed manufactures, the Tyrian purple being in the highest estimation. The shell-fish from which it is procured is caught near the coast, and the Tyrians have in great abundance other requisites for dyeing. The great number of dyeing works renders the city unpleasant as a place of residence, but the superior skill of the people in the practice of this art is the source of its wealth. Their independence was secured to them at a small expense to themselves, not only by the kings of Syria, but also by the Romans, who confirmed what the former had conceded.³ They pay extravagant honours to Hercules.

¹ Tyre—daughter of Zidon. Isaiah xxiii. 12.

² In B. v. c. iii. § 7, Strabo tells us that Augustus prohibited houses being erected of more than 70 Roman feet in height.

³ Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* xv. 4, § 1) states, that Mark Antony gave Cleopatra all the coast of Phœnicia, from Eleutheria to Egypt, with the exception of Tyre and Sidon, which he left in the enjoyment of their ancient independence. But according to Dion Cassius (lxiv. 7), Augustus arrived in the East in the spring of the year 734, B. C., or eighteen years before the Christian era, and deprived the Tyrians and Sidonians of their liberty, in consequence of their seditious conduct. It follows therefore, that if Strabo had travelled in Phœnicia, he must have visited Tyre before the above date, because his account refers to a state of things anterior to the arrival of Augustus in Syria; and in this case the information he gives respecting the state of the neighbouring cities must belong to the same date; but he speaks above (§ 19) of the order reëstablished by

The great number and magnitude of their colonies and cities are proofs of their maritime skill and power.

Such then are the Tyrians.

24. The Sidonians are said by historians to excel in various kinds of art, as the words of Homer also imply.¹ Besides, they cultivate science and study astronomy and arithmetic, to which they were led by the application of numbers (in accounts) and night sailing, each of which (branches of knowledge) concerns the merchant and seaman; in the same manner the Egyptians were led to the invention of geometry by the mensuration of ground, which was required in consequence of the Nile confounding, by its overflow, the respective boundaries of the country. It is thought that geometry was introduced into Greece from Egypt, and astronomy and arithmetic from Phœnicia. At present the best opportunities are afforded in these cities of acquiring a knowledge of these, and of all other branches of philosophy.

If we are to believe Poseidonius, the ancient opinion about atoms originated with Mochus, a native of Sidon, who lived before the Trojan times. Let us, however, dismiss subjects relating to antiquity. In my time there were distinguished philosophers, natives of Sidon, as Boethus, with whom I studied the philosophy of Aristotle,² and Diodotus his brother. Antipater was of Tyre, and a little before my time Apollonius, who published a table of the philosophers of the school of Zeno, and of their writings.

Tyre is distant from Sidon not more than 200 stadia. Between the two is situated a small town, called Ornithopolis, (the city of birds); next a river³ which empties itself near Tyre into the sea. Next after Tyre is Palæ-tyrus (ancient Tyre), at the distance of 30 stadia.⁴

Agrippa at Beyrout, which was effected four years after the coming of Augustus into Syria. We must conclude, therefore, that Strabo speaks only by hearsay of the Phœnician cities, and that he had never seen the country itself. *Letronne.*

¹ II. xxiii. 743.

² Probably under Zenarchus of Seleucia, the Peripatetic philosopher whose lectures he attended. B. xiv. c. v. § 4.

³ Nahr-Quasmieh.

⁴ Vestiges of the ancient city still remain. Here was the celebrated temple of the Phœnician Hercules, founded according to Herodotus, ii. 44, before 2700 B. C.

25. Then follows Ptolemais, a large city, formerly called Ace.¹ It was the place of rendezvous for the Persians in their expeditions against Egypt. Between Ace and Tyre is a sandy beach, the sand of which is used in making glass. The sand, it is said, is not fused there, but carried to Sidon to undergo that process. Some say that the Sidonians have, in their own country, the vitrifiable sand; according to others, the sand of every place can be fused. I heard at Alexandria from the glass-workers, that there is in Egypt a kind of vitrifiable earth, without which expensive works in glass of various colours could not be executed, but in other countries other mixtures are required; and at Rome, it is reported, there have been many inventions both for producing various colours, and for facilitating the manufacture, as for example in glass wares, where a glass bowl may be purchased for a copper coin,² and glass is ordinarily used for drinking.

26. A phenomenon³ of the rarest kind is said to have occurred on the shore between Tyre and Ptolemais. The people of Ptolemais had engaged in battle with Sarpedon the general, and after a signal defeat were left in this place, when a wave from the sea, like the rising tide, overwhelmed the fugitives; some were carried out to sea and drowned, others perished in hollow places; then again the ebb succeeding, uncovered and displayed to sight the bodies lying in confusion among dead fish.

A similar phenomenon took place at Mount Casium in Egypt. The ground, to a considerable distance, after a violent and single shock fell in parts, at once exchanging places; the elevated parts opposed the access of the sea, and parts which had subsided admitted it. Another shock occurred, and the place recovered its ancient position, except that there was an alteration (in the surface of the ground) in some places, and none in others. Perhaps such occurrences are connected with periodical returns the nature of which is unknown to us. This is said to be the case with the rise of the waters of the Nile, which exhibits a variety in its effects, but observes (in general) a certain order, which we do not comprehend.

27. Next to Ace is the Tower of Strato, with a station for

¹ Ἀκε.

² Letronne estimates this at a penny.

³ Athenæus, p. 742, Bohn's Class. Library.

vessels.¹ Between these places is Mount Carmel, and cities of which nothing but the names remain, as Sycaminopolis, Bucolopolis, Crocodeilopolis, and others of this kind ; next is a large forest.²

28. Then Joppa,³ where the coast of Egypt, which at first stretches towards the east, makes a remarkable bend towards the north. In this place, according to some writers, Andromeda was exposed to the sea-monster. It is sufficiently elevated ; it is said to command a view of Jerusalem, the capital of the Jews,⁴ who, when they descended to the sea, used this place as a naval arsenal. But the arsenals of robbers are the haunts of robbers. Carmel, and the forest, belonged to the Jews. The district was so populous that the neighbouring village Iamneia,⁵ and the settlements around, could furnish forty thousand soldiers.

Thence to Casium,⁶ near Pelusium, are little more than 1000 stadia, and 1300 to Pelusium itself.

29. In the interval is Gadaris,⁷ which the Jews have appropriated to themselves, then Azotus and Ascalon.⁸ From Iamneia to Azotus and Ascalon are about 200 stadia. The country of the Ascalonitæ produces excellent onions ; the town is small. Antiochus the philosopher, who lived a little before our time, was a native of this place. Philodemus the Epicurean was a native of Gadara, as also Meleagrus, Menippus the satirist, and Theodorus the rhetorician, my contemporary.

¹ The Tower of Strato was an ancient city almost in ruins, which was repaired, enlarged, and embellished by Herod with magnificent buildings ; for he found there excellent anchorage, the value of which was increased by the fact of its being almost the only one on that dangerous coast. He gave it the name of Cæsarea, in honour of Augustus, and raised it to the rank of a city of the first order. The repairs of the ancient city, the Tower of Strato, or rather the creation of the new city Cæsarea, took place about eight or nine years B. C. ; so that this passage of Strabo refers to an earlier period.

² Josephus (Ant. Jud. xiv. 13, § 3) calls a district near Mount Carmel Drumos, employing the word *Δρυμός*, a forest, as a proper name.

³ Jaffa.

⁴ Van Egmont (Travels, vol. i. p. 297) considers it impossible, from the character of the intervening country, to see Jerusalem from Joppa. Pococke, on the contrary, says, that it would not be surprising to see from the heights of Joppa, in fine weather, the summit of one of the high towers of Jerusalem ; and this is not so unlikely, for according to Josephus the sea was visible from the tower of Psephina at Jerusalem.

⁵ Jebna.

⁶ Ras-el-Kasaroun.

⁷ Esdod.

⁸ Asculan.

30. Next and near Ascalon is the harbour of the Gazæi. The city is situated inland at the distance of seven stadia. It was once famous, but was razed by Alexander, and remains uninhabited. There is said to be a passage thence across, of 1260 stadia, to the city Aila¹ (Aelana), situated on the innermost recess of the Arabian Gulf. This recess has two branches, one, in the direction of Arabia and Gaza, is called Ailanites, from the city upon it; the other is in the direction of Egypt, towards Heroopolis,² to which from Pelusium is the shortest road (between the two seas). Travelling is performed on camels, through a desert and sandy country, in the course of which snakes are found in great numbers.

31. Next to Gaza is Raphia,³ where a battle was fought between Ptolemy the Fourth and Antiochus the Great.⁴ Then Rhinocolura,⁵ so called from the colonists, whose noses had been mutilated. Some Ethiopian invaded Egypt, and, instead of putting the malefactors to death, cut off their noses, and settled them at Rhinocolura, supposing that they would not venture to return to their own country, on account of the disgraceful condition of their faces.

32. The whole country from Gaza is barren and sandy, and still more so is that district next to it, which contains the lake Sirbonis,⁶ lying above it in a direction almost parallel to the sea, and leaving a narrow pass between, as far as what is called the Ecregma.⁷ The length of the pass is about 200, and the greatest breadth 50 stadia. The Ecregma is filled up with earth. Then follows another continuous tract of the same kind to Casium,⁸ and thence to Pelusium.

33. The Casium is a sandy hill without water, and forms a promontory: the body of Pompey the Great is buried there, and on it is a temple of Jupiter Casius.⁹ Near this place Pompey the Great was betrayed by the Egyptians, and put to death. Next is the road to Pelusium, on which is situated

¹ Akaba or Akaba-Ila.

² Near Suez.

³ Refah.

⁴ B. c. 218.

⁵ El Arish.

⁶ Sebaki-Bardoil.

⁷ The passage through which the lake discharged itself into the sea.

⁸ El-Cas.

⁹ It appears that in the time of Strabo and Josephus the temple of Jupiter only remained; at a later period a town was built there, of which Steph. Byzant., Ammianus Marcellinus, and others speak, and which became the seat of a bishopric.

Gerrha ;¹ and the rampart, as it is called, of Chabrias, and the pits near Pelusium, formed by the overflowing of the Nile in places naturally hollow and marshy.

Such is the nature of Phœnicia. Artemidorus says, that from Orthosia to Pelusium is 3650 stadia, including the winding of the bays, and from Melænæ or Melania in Cilicia to Celenderis,² on the confines of Cilicia and Syria, are 1900 stadia ; thence to the Orontes 520 stadia, and from Orontes to Orthosia 1130 stadia.

34. The western extremities of Judæa towards Casius are occupied by Idumæans, and by the lake [Sirbonis]. The Idumæans are Nabatæans. When driven from their country³ by sedition, they passed over to the Jews, and adopted their customs.⁴ The greater part of the country along the coast to Jerusalem is occupied by the Lake Sirbonis, and by the tract contiguous to it ; for Jerusalem is near the sea, which, as we have said,⁵ may be seen from the arsenal of Joppa.⁶ These districts (of Jerusalem and Joppa) lie towards the north ; they are inhabited generally, and each place in particular, by mixed tribes of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phœnicians. Of this description are the inhabitants of Galilee, of the plain of Jericho, and of the territories of Philadelphia and Samaria,⁷ surnamed Sebaste by Herod ;⁸ but although there is such a mixture of inhabitants, the report most credited, [one] among many things believed respecting the temple [and the inhabitants] of Jerusalem, is, that the Egyptians were the ancestors of the present Jews.⁹

35. An Egyptian priest named Moses, who possessed a portion of the country called the Lower [Egypt] * * * * , being dissatisfied with the established institutions there, left it and came to Judæa with a large body of people who worshipped the Divinity. He declared and taught that the Egyptians and Africans entertained erroneous sentiments,

¹ B. xvi. c. iii. § 3.

² B. xiv. c. v. § 3.

³ Arabia Petraea. Petra, now called Karac, was the capital.

⁴ Josephus, Ant. Jud. xiii. 9. 1.

⁵ § 27, above.

⁶ Jaffa.

⁷ Rabbath-Ammon, or Amma.

⁸ Herod rebuilt Samaria, and surrounded it with a vast enclosure. There also he erected a magnificent temple, and gave to the city the surname of Sebaste, in honour of Augustus.

⁹ In b. xiii. c. ii. § 5, our author again says that the Jews were originally Egyptians. So also Josephus, xiv. 7. 2.

in representing the Divinity under the likeness of wild beasts and cattle of the field ; that the Greeks also were in error in making images of their gods after the human form. For God [said he] may be this one thing which encompasses us all, land and sea, which we call heaven, or the universe, or the nature of things.¹ Who then of any understanding would venture to form an image of this Deity, resembling anything with which we are conversant ? on the contrary, we ought not to carve any images, but to set apart some sacred ground and a shrine worthy of the Deity, and to worship Him without any similitude.² He taught that those who made fortunate dreams were to be permitted to sleep in the temple, where they might dream both for themselves and others ; that those who practised temperance and justice, and none else, might expect good, or some gift or sign from the God, from time to time.

36. By such doctrine Moses³ persuaded a large body of right-minded persons to accompany him to the place where Jerusalem now stands. He easily obtained possession of it, as the spot was not such as to excite jealousy, nor for which there could be any fierce contention ; for it is rocky, and, although well supplied with water, it is surrounded by a barren and waterless territory.⁴ The space within [the city] is 60 stadia [in circumference], with rock underneath the surface.

Instead of arms, he taught that their defence was in their sacred things and the Divinity, for whom he was desirous of finding a settled place, promising to the people to deliver such a kind of worship and religion as should not burthen those who adopted it with great expense, nor molest them with [so-called] divine possessions, nor other absurd practices.

Moses thus obtained their good opinion, and established no ordinary kind of government. All the nations around willingly united themselves to him, allured by his discourses and promises.

¹ "Judæi mente solâ, unumque numen intelligunt, summum illud et eternum, neque mutabile, neque interituum." Tacitus, Hist. v. c. 5.

² Strabo here attributes to Moses the opinions of the Stoics.

³ Strabo appears to have had little acquaintance with the Jewish history previous to the return from captivity, nor any exact knowledge until the arrival of the Romans in Judæa. Of the Bible he does not seem to have had any knowledge.

⁴ Probably Strabo copies from accounts when the country was not well cultivated.

37. His successors continued for some time to observe the same conduct, doing justly, and worshipping God with sincerity. Afterwards superstitious persons were appointed to the priesthood, and then tyrants. From superstition arose abstinence from flesh, from the eating of which it is now the custom to refrain, circumcision, excision,¹ and other practices which the people observe. The tyrannical government produced robbery; for the rebels plundered both their own and the neighbouring countries. Those also who shared in the government seized upon the property of others, and ravaged a large part of Syria and of Phœnicia.

Respect, however, was paid to the Acropolis; it was not abhorred as the seat of tyranny, but honoured and venerated as a temple.

38. This is according to nature, and common both to Greeks and barbarians. For, as members of a civil community, they live according to a common law; otherwise it would be impossible for the mass to execute any one thing in concert (in which consists a civil state), or to live in a social state at all. Law is twofold, divine and human. The ancients regarded and respected divine, in preference to human, law; in those times, therefore, the number of persons was very great who consulted oracles, and, being desirous of obtaining the advice of Jupiter, hurried to Dodona,

“to hear the answer of Jove from the lofty oak.”

The parent went to Delphi,

“anxious to learn whether the child which had been exposed (to die) was still living;”

while the child itself

“was gone to the temple of Apollo, with the hope of discovering its parents.”

And Minos among the Cretans,

“the king who in the ninth year enjoyed converse with Great Jupiter,”

every nine years, as Plato says, ascended to the cave of Jupiter, received ordinances from him, and conveyed them to men. Lycurgus, his imitator, acted in a similar manner; for he was often accustomed, as it seemed, to leave his own country to inquire of the Pythian goddess what ordinances he was to promulgate to the Lacedæmonians.

¹ αἱ γυναῖκες Ἰουδαϊκῶς ἐκτετμημένοι, below, c. iv. § 9.

39. What truth there may be in these things I cannot say ; they have at least been regarded and believed as true by mankind. Hence prophets received so much honour as to be thought worthy even of thrones, because they were supposed to communicate ordinances and precepts from the gods, both during their lifetime and after their death ; as for example Teiresias,

“to whom alone Proserpine gave wisdom and understanding after death : the others flit about as shadows.”¹

Such were Amphiaraus, Trophonius, Orpheus, and Musæus : in former times there was Zamolxis, a Pythagorean, who was accounted a god among the Getæ ; and in our time, Decæneus, the diviner of Byrebistas. Among the Bosporani, there was Achaïcarus ; among the Indians, were the Gymnosophists ; among the Persians, the Magi and Nécymanteis,² and besides these the Lecanomanteis³ and Hydromanteis ;⁴ among the Assyrians, were the Chaldæans ; and among the Romans, the Tyrrhenian diviners of dreams.⁵

Such was Moses and his successors ; their beginning was good, but they degenerated.

40. When Judæa openly became subject to a tyrannical government, the first person who exchanged the title of priest for that of king was Alexander.⁶ His sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. While they were disputing the succession to the kingdom, Pompey came upon them by surprise, deprived them of their power, and destroyed their fortresses, first taking Jerusalem itself by storm.⁷ It was a stronghold, situated on a rock, well fortified and well supplied with water⁸

¹ Od. xix. 494.

² Diviners by the dead.

³ Diviners by a dish into which water was poured and little waxen images made to float.

⁴ Diviners by water.

⁵ *ὑποσκόπιοι* is the reading of the text, which Groskurd supposes to be a corruption of the Latin word *Haruspex*. I adopt the reading *οἰωνοσκόπιοι*, approved by Kramer, although he has not introduced it into the text.

⁶ According to Josephus, Johannes Hyrcanus dying, B. C. 107, was succeeded by Aristobulus, who took the title of king, this being the first instance of the assumption of that name among the Jews since the Babylonish captivity. Aristobulus, was succeeded by Alexander Jannæus, whose two sons were Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II., successively kings of Judæa, B. C. 67, 68.

⁷ B. C. 63.

⁸ Solomon's conduit was constructed on the hydraulic principle, that water rises to its own level. The Romans subsequently, being ignorant of this principle, constructed an aqueduct.

within, but externally entirely parched with drought. A ditch was cut in the rock, 60 feet in depth, and in width 250 feet. On the wall of the temple were built towers, constructed of the materials procured when the ditch was excavated. The city was taken, it is said, by waiting for the day of fast, on which the Jews were in the habit of abstaining from all work. Pompey [availing himself of this], filled up the ditch, and threw bridges over it. He gave orders to raze all the walls, and he destroyed, as far as was in his power, the haunts of the robbers and the treasure-holds of the tyrants. Two of these forts, Thrax and Taurus, were situated in the passes leading to Jericho. Others were Alexandrium, Hyrcanium, Machærus, Lysias, and those about Philadelphia, and Scythopolis near Galilee.

41. Jericho is a plain encompassed by a mountainous district, which slopes towards it somewhat in the manner of a theatre. Here is the Phœnicon (or palm plantation), which contains various other trees of the cultivated kind, and producing excellent fruit; but its chief production is the palm tree. It is 100 stadia in length; the whole is watered with streams, and filled with dwellings. Here also is a palace and the garden of the balsamum.¹ The latter is a shrub with an aromatic smell, resembling the cytissus² and the terminthus.³ Incisions are made in the bark, and vessels are placed beneath to receive the sap, which is like oily milk. After it is collected in vessels, it becomes solid. It is an excellent remedy for headache, incipient suffusion of the eyes, and dimness of sight. It bears therefore a high price, especially as it is produced in no other place.⁴ This is the case also with the Phœnicon, which alone contains the caryotes⁵ palm, if we except the Babylonian plain, and the country above it towards the east: a large revenue is derived from the palms and balsamum; xylobalsamum⁶ is also used as a perfume.

¹ Balsamodendron Giliadense. Pliny xii. 25.

² Medicago arborea.

³ The pistachia, b. xv. c. ii. § 10.

⁴ In. b. xvi. c. ii. § 16, our author says that it is found on the borders of the Lake Gennesareth.

⁵ It yields, during the hot season, an immense quantity of toddy or palm wine.

⁶ Obtained by boiling the branches of the balsamodendron in water, and skimming off the resin.

42. The Lake Sirbonis¹ is of great extent. Some say that it is 1000 stadia in circumference. It stretches along the coast, to the distance of a little more than 200 stadia. It is deep, and the water is exceedingly heavy, so that no person can dive into it; if any one wades into it up to the waist, and attempts to move forward, he is immediately lifted out of the water.² It abounds with asphaltus, which rises, not however at any regular seasons, in bubbles, like boiling water, from the middle of the deepest part. The surface is convex, and presents the appearance of a hillock. Together with the asphaltus, there ascends a great quantity of sooty vapour, not perceptible to the eye, which tarnishes copper, silver, and everything bright—even gold. The neighbouring people know by the tarnishing of their vessels that the asphaltus is beginning to rise, and they prepare to collect it by means of rafts composed of reeds. The asphaltus is a clod of earth, liquefied by heat; the air forces it to the surface, where it spreads itself. It is again changed into so firm and solid a mass by cold water, such as the water of the lake, that it requires cutting or chopping (for use). It floats upon the water, which, as I have described, does not admit of diving or immersion, but lifts up the person who goes into it. Those who go on rafts for the asphaltus cut it in pieces, and take away as much as they are able to carry.

43. Such are the phenomena. But Posidonius says, that the people being addicted to magic, and practising incantations, (by these means) consolidate the asphaltus, pouring upon it urine and other fetid fluids, and then cut it into pieces. (Incantations cannot be the cause), but perhaps urine may have some peculiar power (in effecting the consolidation) in the

¹ Strabo here commits the singular error of confounding the Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea, with the Lake Sirbonis. Letronne attempts to explain the origin of the error. According to Josephus, the Peræa, or that part of Judæa which is on the eastern side of the Jordan, between the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, contained a district (the exact position of which is not well known, but which, according to Josephus, could not be far from the Lake Asphaltites) called Silbonitis. The resemblance of this name to Sirbonis probably misled our author.

² Specific gravity 1.211, a degree of density scarcely to be met with in any other natural water. Marcet's Analysis. Philos. Trans. part ii. page 298. 1807.

same manner that chrysocolla¹ is formed in the bladders of persons who labour under the disease of the stone, and in the urine of children.

It is natural for these phenomena to take place in the middle of the lake, because the source of the fire is in the centre, and the greater part of the asphaltus comes from thence. The bubbling up, however, of the asphaltus is irregular, because the motion of fire, like that of many other vapours, has no order perceptible to observers. There are also phenomena of this kind at Apollonia in Epirus.

44. Many other proofs are produced to show that this country is full of fire. Near Moasada² are to be seen rugged rocks, bearing the marks of fire; fissures in many places; a soil like ashes; pitch falling in drops from the rocks; rivers boiling up, and emitting a fetid odour to a great distance; dwellings in every direction overthrown; whence we are inclined to believe the common tradition of the natives, that thirteen cities³ once existed there, the capital of which was Sodom, but that a circuit of about 60 stadia around it escaped uninjured; shocks of earthquakes, however, eruptions of flames and hot springs, containing asphaltus and sulphur, caused the lake to burst its bounds, and the rocks took fire; some of the cities were swallowed up, others were abandoned by such of the inhabitants as were able to make their escape.

But Eratosthenes asserts, on the contrary, that the country was once a lake, and that the greater part of it was uncovered by the water discharging itself through a breach, as was the case in Thessaly.⁴

45. In the Gadaris, also, there is a lake of noxious water. If beasts drink it, they lose their hair, hoofs, and horns. At the place called Taricheæ,⁵ the lake supplies the best fish for

¹ By chrysocolla of the ancients is generally understood borax, which cannot however be meant in this passage. It may probably here mean uric acid, the colour of which is golden.

² A place near the Lake Asphaltites, called Masada by Josephus, de B. Jud. iv. 24, v. 3.

³ Genesis xiv. and Wisdom x. 6: "the fire which fell down on the five cities."

⁴ In this quotation from Eratosthenes we are probably to understand the Lake Sirbonis, and not the Dead Sea; a continuation, in fact, of Strabo's first error. The translator adopts Kramer's suggestion of *θηρταλίαν* for *θάλατταν* in the text.

⁵ "The salting station," on the lake of Gennesareth.

curing. On its banks grow trees which bear a fruit like the apple. The Egyptians use the asphaltus for embalming the bodies of the dead.

46. Pompey curtailed the territory which had been forcibly appropriated by the Jews, and assigned to Hyrcanus the priesthood. Some time afterwards, Herod, of the same family, and a native of the country,¹ having surreptitiously obtained the priesthood, distinguished himself so much above his predecessors, particularly in his intercourse, both civil and political, with the Romans, that he received the title and authority of king,² first from Antony, and afterwards from Augustus Cæsar. He put to death some of his sons, on the pretext of their having conspired against him;³ other sons he left at his death, to succeed him, and assigned to each, portions of his kingdom. Cæsar bestowed upon the sons also of Herod marks of honour,⁴ on his sister Salome,⁵ and on her daughter Berenice. The sons weré unfortunate, and were publicly accused. One⁶ of them died in exile among the Galatæ Allobroges, whose country was assigned for his abode. The others, by great

¹ It has been a subject of dispute whether Herod was of Jewish or Idumæan origin.

² Herod went to Rome B. C. 38, and obtained from the senate the title of king. In the dispute between Octavius and Antony, he espoused the cause of the latter. Octavius not only pardoned him and confirmed him in his title, but also added other cities to his dominions. B. C. 18.

³ The chief promoters of the crimes of Herod were Salome his sister, who desired to gratify her hatred; and Antipater, who aimed at the throne. Herod, influenced by their misrepresentations, put to death Mariamne his wife, Aristobulus her brother, and Alexandra her mother; also his sons Aristobulus and Alexander, besides Antipater, a third son, who had conspired against his life.

⁴ Augustus conferred on Archelaus the half of the kingdom of Herod with the title of ethnarch, promising to grant the title of king, should he prove worthy of it. The other half of the kingdom was separated into two tetrarchies, and divided between Philip and Antipas, two other sons of Herod.

⁵ Augustus not only confirmed to Salome the legacy made to her by Herod, of the towns Jamneia, Azoth, and Phasaëlis, but granted to her also the royal palace and domains of Ascalon.

⁶ This was Archelaus, whose tyranny was insupportable. He was accused by the chief Jews and Samaritans before Augustus, who exiled him to Vienne, to the south of Lyons, where he died the following year, A. D. 7.

interest and solicitation, but with difficulty, obtained leave to return¹ to their own country, each with his tetrarchy restored to him.

CHAPTER III.

1. ABOVE Judæa and Cœle-Syria, as far as Babylonia and the river tract, along the banks of the Euphrates towards the south, lies the whole of Arabia, except the Scenitæ in Mesopotamia. We have already spoken of Mesopotamia, and of the nations that inhabit it.²

The parts on the other (the eastern) side of the Euphrates, towards its mouth, are occupied by Babylonians and the nation of the Chaldæans. We have spoken of these people also.³

Of the rest of the country which follows after Mesopotamia, and extends as far as Cœle-Syria, the part approaching the river, as well as [a part of] Mesopotamia,⁴ are occupied by Arabian Scenitæ, who are divided into small sovereignties, and inhabit tracts which are barren from want of water. They do not till the land at all, or only to a small extent, but they keep herds of cattle of all kinds, particularly of camels. Above these is a great desert; but the parts lying still more to the south are occupied by the nations inhabiting Arabia Felix, as it is called. The northern side of this tract is formed by the above-mentioned desert, the eastern by the Persian, the western by the Arabian Gulf, and the southern by

¹ This refers to the journey of Philip and Antipas to Rome. At the death of Herod, Archelaus went to Rome, A. D. 2, to solicit the confirmation of his father's will, in which he had been named king. The two brothers, Antipas and Philip, also went there, and the kingdom of Herod was divided as above stated. After the exile of Archelaus, his dominions were administered by his two brothers.

Strabo does not appear to have been acquainted with the history of the two brothers after their return to Judæa; for otherwise he would not have omitted to mention the exile of Antipas. This tetrarch, it is known, went to Rome A. D. 38, to intrigue against his brother, of whom he was jealous; but he was himself accused by Agrippa of having intelligence with the Parthians, and was exiled to Lyons, A. D. 39.

² C. i. § 21.

³ C. i. § 6.

⁴ C. iii. § 4.

the great sea lying outside of both the gulfs, the whole of which is called the Erythræan Sea.¹

2. The Persian Gulf has the name also of the Sea of Persia. Eratosthenes speaks of it in this manner: "They say that the mouth is so narrow, that from Harmozi,² the promontory of Carmania, may be seen the promontory at Macæ, in Arabia. From the mouth, the coast on the right hand is circular, and at first inclines a little from Carmania towards the east, then to the north, and afterwards to the west as far as Teredon and the mouth of the Euphrates.³ In an extent of about 10,000 stadia, it comprises the coast of the Carmanians, Persians, and Susians, and in part of the Babylonians. (Of these we ourselves have before spoken.) Hence directly as far as the mouth are 10,000 stadia more, according, it is said, to the computation of Androsthene of Thasos, who not only had accompanied Nearchus, but had also alone sailed along the sea-coast of Arabia.⁴ It is hence evident that this sea is little inferior in size to the Euxine.

"He says that Androsthene, who had navigated the gulf with a fleet, relates, that in sailing from Teredon with the continent on the right hand, an island Icaros⁵ is met with, lying in front, which contained a temple sacred to Apollo, and an oracle of [Diana] Tauropolus.

3. "Having coasted the shore of Arabia to the distance of 2400 stadia, there lies, in a deep gulf, a city of the name of Gerrha,⁶ belonging to Chaldæan exiles from Babylon, who

¹ The name Erythræan, or Red Sea, was extended to the whole of the Arabian Gulf, to the sea which surrounds Arabia to the south, and to a great part of the Persian Gulf.

² The cape Harmozi, or Harmozon, is the cape Kuhestek of Carmania, Kerman, situated opposite to the promontory Maceta, so called from the Macæ, an Arabian tribe living in the neighbourhood. This last promontory is now called Mocandon, and is the "Asaborum promontorium" of Ptolemy.

³ For a long period the Euphrates has ceased to discharge itself directly into the Persian Gulf, and now unites with the Tigris above 100 miles from the sea.

⁴ The reading followed, but not introduced into the text, by Kramer is that suggested by the corrections of Letronne and Groskurd, *καὶ τὴν Ἀράβων παραλίαν παραπλεύσαντα καθ' αὐτόν*.

⁵ Peludje, at the entrance of the Gulf of Gran.

⁶ Heeren (Comment. Gotting. 1793. Vol. xi. pp. 66, 67) supposes that this city was founded by Chaldæans solely for the purpose of a depôt for the transit of goods to Babylon, the trade having for a long time been

inhabit the district in which salt is found, and who have houses constructed of salt: as scales of salt separated by the burning heat of the sun are continually falling off, the houses are sprinkled with water, and the walls are thus kept firm together. The city is distant 200 stadia from the sea. The merchants of Gerrha generally carry the Arabian merchandise and aromatics by land; but Aristobulus says, on the contrary, that they frequently travel into Babylonia on rafts, and thence sail up the Euphrates to Thapsacus¹ with their cargoes, but afterwards carry them by land to all parts of the country.

4. "On sailing further, there are other islands, Tyre² and Aradus,³ which have temples resembling those of the Phœnicians. The inhabitants of these islands (if we are to believe them) say that the islands and cities bearing the same name as those of the Phœnicians are their own colonies.⁴ These islands are distant from Teredon ten days' sail, and from the promontory at the mouth of the gulf at Macæ one day's sail.

5. "Nearchus and Orthagoras relate, that an island Ogyris lies to the south, in the open sea, at the distance of 2000 stadia⁵ from Carmania. In this island is shown the sepulchre of Erythras, a large mound, planted with wild palms. He

in the hands of the Phœnicians. He also conjectures that the most flourishing period of the town was when the Persians, for political reasons, destroyed the commerce of Babylon, and Gerrha then became the sole depôt for the maritime commerce of India.

¹ El-Der.

² The island Ormus, which before the year 1302 was called Turun or Gerun, from which the Greeks formed the names Tyros, Tyrine, Gyris, Gyryne, Ogyris, and Organa. *Gossellin.*

³ Arek.

⁴ Besides the islands Tyre and Aradus, there existed even in the time of Alexander, and near the present Cape Gherd, a city called Sidon or Sidodona, which was visited by Nearchus, as may be seen in his Periplus. The Phœnician inhabitants of these places appear to have afterwards removed to the western side of the Persian Gulf, and to the islands Bahrain, to which they gave the names Tylos, or Tyre, and Aradus. The latter name still exists; it was from this place that the Phœnicians moved, to establish themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean, and transferred the name of Sidon, their ancient capital, and those of Tyre and Aradus, to the new cities which they there founded. *Gossellin.*

⁵ As Nearchus in his voyage kept along the coast, this distance must not be understood as so much to the south of Carmania in the open sea, but as the distance from Cape Jask, the commencement of Carmania.

was king of the country, and the sea received its name from him. It is said that Mithropastes, the son of Arsites, satrap of Phrygia, pointed out these things to them. Mithropastes was banished by Darius, and resided in this island; he joined himself to those who had come down to the Persian Gulf, and hoped through their means to have an opportunity of returning to his own country.

6. "Along the whole coast of the Red Sea, in the deep part of the water grow trees resembling the laurel and the olive. When the tide ebbs, the whole trees are visible above the water, and at the full tide they are sometimes entirely covered. This is the more singular because the coast inland has no trees."

This is the description given by Eratosthenes of the Persian Sea, which forms, as we have said, the eastern side of Arabia Felix.

7. Nearchus says, that they were met by Mithropastes, in company with Mazenes, who was governor of one of the islands, called Doracta (Oaracta ?)¹ in the Persian Gulf; that Mithropastes, after his retreat from Ogyris, took refuge there, and was hospitably received; that he had an interview with Mazenes, for the purpose of being recommended to the Macedonians, in the fleet of which Mazenes was the guide.

Nearchus also mentions an island, met with at the commencement of the voyage along the coast of Persia, where are found pearls in large quantities and of great value; in other islands there are transparent and brilliant pebbles; in the islands in front of the Euphrates there are trees which send forth the odour of frankincense, and from their roots, when bruised, a (perfumed) juice flows out; the crabs and sea hedgehogs are of vast size, which is common in all the exterior seas, some being larger than Macedonian hats;² others of the capacity of two cotyli; he says also that he had seen driven on shore a whale fifty cubits in length.

¹ In Ptolemy, this island is called Vorochtha, now Vroct, or Kismis, or Dschisme.

² ἡ *kavōia*, a broad-brimmed Macedonian hat.

CHAPTER IV.

1. ARABIA commences on the side of Babylonia with Mæcene.¹ In front of this district, on one side lies the desert of the Arabians, on the other are the marshes² opposite to the Chaldæans, formed by the overflowing of the Euphrates, and in another direction is the Sea of Persia. This country has an unhealthy and cloudy atmosphere; it is subject to showers, and also to scorching heat; still its products are excellent. The vine grows in the marshes; as much earth as the plant may require is laid upon hurdles of reeds;³ the hurdle is frequently carried away by the water, and is then forced back again by poles to its proper situation.

2. I return to the opinions of Eratosthenes, which he next delivers respecting Arabia. He is speaking of the northern and desert part, lying between Arabia Felix, Cœle-Syria, and Judæa, to the recess of the Arabian Gulf.

From Heroopolis, situated in that recess of the Arabian Gulf which is on the side of the Nile, to Babylon, towards Petra of the Nabatæi, are 5600 stadia. The whole tract lies in the direction of the summer solstice (i. e. east and west), and passes through the adjacent Arabian tribes, namely Nabatæi, Chaulotæi, and Agræi. Above these people is Arabia Felix, stretching out 12,000 stadia towards the south to the Atlantic Sea.⁴

¹ Pliny, v. 21, mentions a place which he calls Massica, situated on the Euphrates, near the mouth of a canal which communicated with the Tigris near Seleucia. It is now called Masseib-khan, and is at a short distance above Babylon, on the borders of the desert. I do not know whether this is the Mæcene of Strabo. *Gossellin.*

² Strabo here refers to the marsh lakes now called Mesdjed Hosain, Rahémah, Hour, &c. The Chaldæans whom he mentions occupied the country along the banks of the Euphrates to the coast of the Persian Gulf.

³ In Cashmir melons are now grown in the same manner. Humboldt remarks that the same contrivance is adopted in Mexico for the cultivation of vegetables.

⁴ Letronne here proposes to read Erythræan or Ethiopian Sea.

The first people, next after the Syrians and Jews, who occupy this country are husbandmen. These people are succeeded by a barren and sandy tract, producing a few palms, the acanthus,¹ and tamarisk; water is obtained by digging [wells] as in Gedrosia. It is inhabited by Arabian Scenitæ, who breed camels. The extreme parts towards the south, and opposite to Ethiopia, are watered by summer showers, and are sowed twice, like the land in India. Its rivers are exhausted in watering plains, and by running into lakes. The general fertility of the country is very great; among other products, there is in particular an abundant supply of honey; except horses,² there are numerous herds of animals, mules (asses?), and swine; birds also of every kind, except geese and the gallinaceous tribe.

Four of the most populous nations inhabit the extremity of the above-mentioned country; namely, the Minæi the part towards the Red Sea, whose largest city is Carna or Carnana.³ Next to these are the Sabæans, whose chief city is Mariaba.⁴ The third nation are the Cattabaneis,⁵ extending to the straits and the passage across the Arabian Gulf. Their royal seat is called Tamna. The Chatramotitæ⁶ are the furthest of these nations towards the east. Their city is Sabata.

3. All these cities are governed by one monarch, and are flourishing. They are adorned with beautiful temples and palaces. Their houses, in the mode of binding the timbers together, are like those in Egypt. The four countries comprise a greater territory than the Delta of Egypt.⁷

The son does not succeed the father in the throne, but the son who is born in a family of the nobles first after the accession of the king. As soon as any one is invested with the government, the pregnant wives of the nobles are registered, and guardians are appointed to watch which of them is first delivered of a son. The custom is to adopt and educate the

¹ Mimosa Nilotica. ² This is remarkable. ³ Carn Almanazil.

⁴ Mariaba was not the name of a city, but the title of a city acquired by the residence of their sovereigns. "Mariana oppidum," says Pliny, vi. 32, "significat dominos omnium." The capital was called Saba, now Sabbea; and the country in which it is situated is called Sabieh.

⁵ Yemen.

⁶ The people of Hadramaüt.

⁷ The extent was six times as large as the Delta.

child in a princely manner as the future successor to the throne.

4. Cattabania produces frankincense, and Chatramotitis myrrh; these and other aromatics are the medium of exchange with the merchants. Merchants arrive in seventy days at Minæa from Ælana.¹ Ælana is a city on the other recess of the Arabian Gulf, which is called Ælanites, opposite to Gaza, as we have before described it.² The Gerrhæi arrive in Chatramotitis in forty days.

The part of the Arabian Gulf along the side of Arabia, if we reckon from the recess of the Ælanitic bay, is, according to the accounts of Alexander and Anaxicrates, 14,000 stadia in extent; but this computation is too great. The part opposite to Troglodytica, which is on the right hand of those who are sailing from Heroopolis³ to Ptolemaïs, to the country where elephants are taken, extends 9000 stadia to the south, and inclines a little towards the east. Thence to the straits are about 4500 stadia, in a direction more towards the east. The straits at Ethiopia are formed by a promontory called Deire.⁴ There is a small town upon it of the same name. The Ichthyophagi inhabit this country. Here it is said is a pillar of Sesostris the Egyptian, on which is inscribed, in hieroglyphics, an account of his passage (across the Arabian Gulf). For he appears to have subdued first Ethiopia and Troglodytica,⁵ and afterwards to have passed over into Arabia. He then overran the whole of Asia. Hence in many places there are dykes called the dykes of Sesostris, and temples built in honour of Egyptian deities.

The straits at Deire are contracted to the width of 60 stadia; not indeed that these are now called the Straits, for ships proceed to a further distance, and find a passage of about 200

¹ Ailah, or Hœle, or Acaba-Ila.

² C. ii. § 30.

³ The ruins are still visible at Abu-Keyschid.

⁴ Deire, or the "neck," so called from its position on a headland of the same name, was a town situated on the African shore of the straits of Babel-Mandeb, at their narrowest part.

⁵ The Troglodytica extended along the western side of the Arabian Gulf, from about the 19th degree of latitude to beyond the strait. According to Pliny, vi. c. 34, Sesostris conducted his army as far as the promontory Mossylicus, which I think is Cape Mète of the modern kingdom of Adel. *Gossellin.*

stadia between the two continents;¹ six islands contiguous to one another leave a very narrow passage through them for vessels, by filling up the interval between the continents. Through these goods are transported from one continent to the other on rafts; it is this passage which is called the Straits. After these islands, the subsequent navigation is among bays along the Myrrh country, in the direction of south and east, as far as the Cinnamon country, a distance of about 5000 stadia;² beyond this district no one to this time, it is said, has penetrated. There are not many cities upon the coast, but in the interior they are numerous and well inhabited. Such is the account of Arabia given by Eratosthenes. We must add what is related also by other writers.

5. Artemidorus³ says, that the promontory of Arabia, op-

¹ The 60 and 200 stadia assigned to the straits refer to the two passages there to be found. The 60 stadia agree with the distance of the eastern cape of Babelmandeb, the ancient Palindromos, to the island Mehun; and the 200 stadia to the distance of this island from the coast of Africa. In this last interval are the six islands of which Strabo speaks.

² This passage has sometimes been mistaken to mean, that the region producing myrrh and cinnamon refers to the southern coast of Arabia. Our author here speaks of the coast of Africa, which extends from the Strait of Babelmandeb to Cape Guardafui. This space in following the coast is 160 or 165 leagues, which are equivalent to 5000 olympic stadia. *Gossellin.*

³ The long and interesting passage from § 5 to the end of § 20 is taken from Artemidorus, with the exception of a very few facts, which our author has taken from other sources, accompanied by observations of his own. On comparing this fragment of Artemidorus with the extracts of Agatharchides preserved by Photius, and the description of Arabia and Troglodytica which Diodorus Siculus (b. iii. 31) says he derived from Agatharchides, we find an identity, not only in almost all the details, but also in a great number of the expressions. It is, therefore, evident that Artemidorus, for this part of his work, scarcely did anything more than copy Agatharchides. Agatharchides, in his youth, held the situation of secretary or reader to Heraclides Lembus, who (according to Suidas) lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor. This king died b. c. 146. He wrote a work on Asia in 10 books, and one on Europe in 49 books; a geographical work on the Erythræan Sea in 5 books; a treatise on the Troglodytæ in 5 books; and other works. He wrote in the Attic dialect. His style, according to Photius, was dignified and perspicuous, and abounded in sententious passages, which inspired a favourable opinion of his judgment. In the composition of his speeches he was an imitator of Thucydides, whom he equalled in dignity, and excelled in clearness. His rhetorical talents also are highly praised by Photius. He was acquainted with the language of the Ethiopians, and appears to have been the first

posite to Deire, is called Acila,¹ and that the persons who live near Deire deprive themselves of the prepuce.

In sailing from Heroopolis along Troglodytica, a city is met with called Philotera,² after the sister of the second Ptolemy; it was founded by Satyrus, who was sent to explore the hunting-ground for the elephants, and Troglodytica itself. Next to this is another city, Arsinoë; and next to this, springs of hot water, which are salt and bitter; they are precipitated from a high rock, and discharge themselves into the sea. There is in a plain near (these springs) a mountain, which is of a red colour like minium. Next is Myus Hormus, which is also called Aphroditis Hormus;³ it is a large harbour with an oblique entrance. In front are three islands; two are covered with olive trees, and one (the third) is less shaded with trees, and abounds with guinea-fowls.⁴ Then follows Acathartus (or Foul Bay), which, like Myus Hormus, is in the latitude of the Thebais. The bay is really foul, for it is very dangerous from rocks (some of which are covered by the sea, others rise to the surface), as also from almost constant and furious tempests. At the bottom of the bay is situated the city Berenice.⁵

6. After the bay is the island Ophiodes,⁶ so called from the accidental circumstance [of its having once been infested with serpents]. It was cleared of the serpents by the king,⁷ on account of the destruction occasioned by those noxious animals to the persons who frequented the island, and on account of the topazes found there. The topaz is a transparent stone, sparkling with a golden lustre, which however is not easy to be distinguished in the day-time, on account of the brightness of the surrounding light, but at night the stones are visible to those who collect them. The collectors place a vessel over the spot [where the topazes are seen] as a mark, and dig them up in the day. A body of men was appointed and maintained by the kings of Egypt to guard the place

who discovered the true cause of the inundations of the Nile. See Smith, art. Agatharchides.

¹ Ghela.

² Kosseir.

³ Mouse Harbour, or Harbour of Venus.

⁴ Meleagrides.

⁵ Bender-é.-Kebir.

⁶ Zemorget or Zamargat. The "Agathonis Insula" of Ptolemy.

⁷ Ptolemy Philadelphus,

where these stones were found, and to superintend the collection of them.

7. Next after this island follow many tribes of Ichthyophagi and of Nomades; then succeeds the harbour of the goddess Soteira (the Preserver), which had its name from the circumstance of the escape and preservation of some masters [of vessels] from great dangers by sea.

After this the coast and the gulf seem to undergo a great change: for the voyage along the coast is no longer among rocks, and approaches almost close to Arabia; the sea is so shallow as to be scarcely of the depth of two orguæ,¹ and has the appearance of a meadow, in consequence of the sea-weeds, which abound in the passage, being visible through and under the water. Even trees here grow from under the water, and the sea abounds with sea-dogs.

Next are two mountains,² the Tauri (or the Bulls), presenting at a distance a resemblance to these animals. Then follows another mountain, on which is a temple of Isis, built by Sesostris; then an island planted with olive trees, and at times overflowed. This is followed by the city Ptolemais, near the hunting-grounds of the elephants,³ founded by Eumedes, who was sent by Philadelphus to the hunting-ground. He enclosed, without the knowledge of the inhabitants, a kind of peninsula with a ditch and wall, and by his courteous address gained over those who were inclined to obstruct the work, and instead of enemies made them his friends.

8. In the intervening space, a branch of the river Astaboras⁴ discharges itself. It has its source in a lake, and empties part of its waters [into the bay], but the larger portion it contributes to the Nile. Then follow six islands, called Latomiæ,⁵ after these the Sabaitic mouth,⁶ as it is called, and

¹ About 12 feet.

² The whole of this description is so vague that it would be difficult to recognise the position of the places mentioned by Strabo without the assistance of scattered notices by other authors. The result of many comparisons leads me to fix upon 16° 58' as about the latitude of Ptolemais Epitheras. Mount Taurus was 22 leagues higher up, and the harbour of the goddess Soteira 12 leagues beyond. *Gossellin.*

³ Letronne translates Πτολεμαίς πρὸς τῇ θήρᾳ as Ptolemais Epitheras; see c. iv. § 4.

⁴ Tacazze, which however does not appear to have such a branch.

⁵ These islands are to the north of Arkiko.

⁶ Gulf of Matzua.

in the inland parts a fortress built by Suchus.¹ Then a lake called Elæa, and the island of Strato;² next Saba³ a port, and a hunting-ground for elephants of the same name. The country deep in the interior is called Tenessis. It is occupied by those Egyptians who took refuge from the government of Psammitichus.⁴ They are surnamed Sembritæ,⁵ as being strangers. They are governed by a queen, to whom also Meroë, an island in the Nile near these places, is subject. Above this, at no great distance, is another island in the river, a settlement occupied by the same fugitives. From Meroë to this sea is a journey of fifteen days for an active person.

Near Meroë is the confluence of the Astaboras,⁶ the Astapus,⁷ and of the Astasobas with the Nile.

9. On the banks of these rivers live the Rhizophagi (or root-eaters) and Heleii (or marsh-men). They have their name from digging roots in the adjacent marsh, bruising them with stones, and forming them into cakes, which they dry in the sun for food. These countries are the haunts of lions. The wild beasts are driven out of these places, at the time of the rising of the dog-star, by large gnats.

Near these people live the Spermophagi (or seed-eaters), who, when seeds of plants fail, subsist upon seeds of trees,⁸

¹ From the position here assigned to the fortress of Suchus, it is impossible to place it at Suachem, as is commonly done. *Gossellin*.

² An island Stratioton is mentioned in Pliny vi. 29, as though he had read in our author the word Στρατιωτῶν, "the island of soldiers." As the island of Strato is named only in this extract from Artemidorus, we might be tempted to correct the text of Strabo by the text of Pliny. But as it is not certain that the two authors speak of one and the same island, it is more prudent to make no change. *Du Theil*.

³ I am not acquainted with this place. The ancients speak only of one town of the name of Saba (c. iv. § 19). Was there a town Saba which gave its name to the Sabaïtic Gulf? but the one in question does not appear to have been situated there. *Gossellin*.

⁴ B. c. 658.

⁵ The modern Senaar corresponds with the territory of the Sembritæ. See also b. xvii. c. i. § 2. Herodotus, b. ii. 30.

⁶ Tacazze.

⁷ The Blue Nile.

⁸ ἀκροδρύων is expressed in the Periplus of Agatharchides by the words τὸν καρπὸν πίπτουσα ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων, "the fruit falling from the trees." The Periplus adds another tribe, the Hylophagi, "wood-eaters," who subsisted on the tender branches of certain trees. Strabo refers to them, b. xvii. c. ii. § 2, but without giving their name. The pods of the Lotus Zizyphus are catable, and may here be meant.

which they prepare in the same manner as the Rhizophagi prepare their roots.

Next to Elæa are the watch-towers of Demetrius, and the altars of Conon. In the interior Indian reeds grow in abundance. The country there is called the country of Coracius.

Far in the interior was a place called Endera, inhabited by a naked tribe,¹ who use bows and reed arrows, the points of which are hardened in the fire. They generally shoot the animals from trees, sometimes from the ground. They have numerous herds of wild cattle among them, on the flesh of which they subsist, and on that of other wild animals. When they have taken nothing in the chase, they dress dried skins upon hot coals, and are satisfied with food of this kind. It is their custom to propose trials of skill in archery for those who have not attained manhood.

Next to the altars of Conon is the port of Melinus, and above it is a fortress called that of Coraus and the chase of Coraus, also another fortress and more hunting-grounds. Then follows the harbour of Antiphilus, and above this a tribe, the Creophagi, deprived of the prepuce, and the women are excised after the Jewish custom.²

10. Further still towards the south are the Cynamolgi,³ called by the natives Agrii, with long hair and long beards, who keep a breed of very large dogs for hunting the Indian cattle which come into their country from the neighbouring district, driven thither either by wild beasts or by scarcity of pasturage. The time of their incursion is from the summer solstice to the middle of winter.

Next to the harbour of Antiphilus is a port called the Grove of the Colobi (or the Mutilated), the city Berenice⁴ of

¹ Gymnetæ. Between the Spermophagi and the Creophagi, Agatharchides places another people called Cynegetæ. Strabo and Pliny do not mention them; but the sort of life the Gymnetæ, of which they both speak, lead resembles that of the Cynegetæ or Cynegi of Agatharchides and Diodorus Siculus (iii. 25). It seems therefore that these two authors, as well as Strabo and Pliny, meant here to speak of one and the same tribe of Ethiopian Gymnetæ, which might have been distinguished by the particular name of Cynegetæ, or Cynegi. *Du Theil*.

² Above, c. ii. §. 37.

³ Milkers of bitches.

⁴ This Berenice was also surnamed Epi Dire, because it was nearer the promontory Dire than the other cities of the same name. It is probably Bailul, about 12 leagues to the north-west of Assab.

Sabæ, and Sabæ¹ a considerable city; then the grove of Eumenes.²

Above is the city Darada, and a hunting-ground for elephants, called "At the Well." The district is inhabited by the Elephantophagi (or Elephant-eaters), who are occupied in hunting them. When they descry from the trees a herd of elephants directing their course through the forest, they do not [then] attack, but they approach by stealth and hamstring the hindmost stragglers from the herd. Some kill them with bows and arrows, the latter being dipped in the gall of serpents. The shooting with the bow is performed by three men, two, advancing in front, hold the bow, and one draws the string. Others remark the trees against which the elephant is accustomed to rest, and, approaching on the opposite side, cut the trunk of the tree low down. When the animal comes and leans against it, the tree and the elephant fall down together. The elephant is unable to rise, because its legs are formed of one piece of bone which is inflexible; the hunters leap down from the trees, kill it, and cut it in pieces. The Nomades call the hunters Acatharti, or impure.

11. Above this nation is situated a small tribe the Struthophagi³ (or Bird-eaters), in whose country are birds of the size of deer, which are unable to fly, but run with the swiftness of the ostrich. Some hunt them with bows and arrows, others covered with the skins of birds. They hide the right hand in the neck of the skin, and move it as the birds move their necks. With the left hand they scatter grain from a bag suspended to the side; they thus entice the birds, till they drive them into pits, where the hunters despatch them with cudgels. The skins are used both as clothes and as coverings for beds. The Ethiopians called Simi are at war with these people, and use as weapons the horns of antelopes.

12. Bordering on this people is a nation blacker in complexion than the others,⁴ shorter in stature, and very short-lived. They rarely live beyond forty years; for the flesh

¹ Assab or As-Sab.

² Below, Artemidorus calls it the harbour of Eumenes, § 13.

³ Agatharchides, as quoted by Diodorus Sic. iii. 27, says expressly that this bird is the ostrich. May it be the cassowary?

⁴ Groskurd supposes the name of this nation has been omitted in the text, and proposes Acridophagi, or Locust-eaters.

of their bodies is eaten up with worms.¹ Their food consists of locusts, which the south-west and west winds, when they blow violently in the spring-time, drive in bodies into the country. The inhabitants catch them by throwing into the ravines materials which cause a great deal of smoke, and light them gently. The locusts, as they fly across the smoke, are blinded and fall down. They are pounded with salt, made into cakes, and eaten as food.

Above these people is situated a desert tract with extensive pastures. It was abandoned in consequence of the multitudes of scorpions and tarantulas, called tetragnathi (or four-jawed), which formerly abounded to so great a degree as to occasion a complete desertion of the place long since by its inhabitants.

13. Next to the harbour of Eumenes, as far as Deire and the straits opposite the six islands,² live the Ichthyophagi, Creophagi, and Colobi, who extend into the interior.

Many hunting-grounds for elephants, and obscure cities and islands, lie in front of the coast.

The greater part are Nomades; husbandmen are few in number. In the country occupied by some of these nations styrax grows in large quantity. The Ichthyophagi, on the ebbing of the tide, collect fish, which they cast upon the rocks and dry in the sun. When they have well broiled them, the bones are piled in heaps, and the flesh trodden with the feet is made into cakes, which are again exposed to the sun and used as food. In bad weather, when fish cannot be procured, the bones of which they have made heaps are pounded, made into cakes and eaten, but they suck the fresh bones. Some also live upon shell-fish, when they are fattened, which is done by throwing them into holes and standing pools of the sea, where they are supplied with small fish, and used as food when other fish are scarce. They have various kinds of places for preserving and feeding fish, from whence they derive their supply.

Some of the inhabitants of that part of the coast which is without water go inland every five days, accompanied by all

¹ According to Agatharchides and Diodorus Sic. iii. 28, the habit of living on locusts produced a kind of winged louse in the interior of the body; but this is denied by Niebuhr.

² Above, § 4.

their families, with songs and rejoicings, to the watering-places, where, throwing themselves on their faces, they drink as beasts until their stomachs are distended like a drum. They then return again to the sea-coast. They dwell in caves or cabins, with roofs consisting of beams and rafters made of the bones and spines of whales, and covered with branches of the olive tree.

14. The Chelonophagi (or Turtle-eaters) live under the cover of shells (of turtles), which are large enough to be used as boats. Some make of the sea-weed, which is thrown up in large quantities, lofty and hill-like heaps, which are hollowed out, and underneath which they live. They cast out the dead, which are carried away by the tide, as food for fish.

There are three islands which follow in succession, the island of Tortoises, the island of Seals, and the island of Hawks. Along the whole coast there are plantations of palm trees, olive trees, and laurels, not only within, but in a great part also without the straits.

There is also an island [called the island] of Philip, opposite to it inland is situated the hunting-ground for elephants, called the chase of Pythangelus; then follows Arsinoë, a city with a harbour; after these places is Deire, and beyond them is a hunting-ground for elephants.

From Deire, the next country is that which bears aromatic plants. The first produces myrrh, and belongs to the Ichthyophagi and the Creophagi. It bears also the persea, peach or Egyptian almond,¹ and the Egyptian fig. Beyond is Licha, a hunting-ground for elephants. There are also in many places standing pools of rain-water. When these are dried up, the elephants, with their trunks and tusks, dig holes and find water.

On this coast there are two very large lakes extending as far as the promontory Pytholaus.² One of them contains salt water, and is called a sea; the other, fresh water, and is the haunt of hippopotami and crocodiles. On the margin grows the papyrus. The ibis is seen in the neighbourhood of this place. The people who live near the promontory of Pytholaus (and beginning from this place) do not

¹ Pliny, xiii. 17; xv. 13.

² Perhaps Zeila. Strabo is here describing the coast of the modern kingdom of Adel.

undergo any mutilation in any part of their body. Next is the country which produces frankincense ; it has a promontory and a temple with a grove of poplars. In the inland parts is a tract along the banks of a river bearing the name of Isis, and another that of Nilus,¹ both of which produce myrrh and frankincense. Also a lagoon filled with water from the mountains ; next the watch-post of the Lion, and the port of Pythangelus. The next tract bears the false cassia. There are many tracts in succession on the sides of rivers on which frankincense grows, and rivers extending to the cinnamon country. The river which bounds this tract produces (phlous) rushes² in great abundance. Then follows another river, and the port of Daphnus,³ and a valley called Apollo's, which bears, besides frankincense, myrrh and cinnamon. The latter is more abundant in places far in the interior.

Next is the mountain Elephas,⁴ a mountain projecting into the sea, and a creek ; then follows the large harbour of Psygmus, a watering-place called that of Cynocephali, and the last promontory of this coast, Notu-ceras (or the Southern Horn).⁵ After doubling this cape towards the south, we have

¹ The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea indicates on this coast a place called Niloptolemæum, which appears to correspond with the mouth of the river Pedra. *Gossellin.*

² Phleus schæoris. *Linn.*

³ Daphnus Parvus of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea.

⁴ Now Fellis or Fel, which signifies Elephant in Arabic.

⁵ I think that there is something here omitted and wanting in the text of Strabo, as he seems to make Artemidorus say, that a little after Mount Elephas we find the Horn, or the Cape of the South ; for this last appellation appears to have been applied to Cape Guardafui. But this cape, from the time of Philadelphus, and consequently before the period in which Artemidorus wrote, was known by the name of the Promontory of the Aromatics ; this author therefore could not have confounded it with the Southern Horn. I have already come to the conclusion that the Southern Horn corresponds with the Southern Cape of Bandel-caus, where commences the desert coast of Ajan, the ancient Azania, respecting which Artemidorus confesses that he was unable to procure any information. It therefore appears to me, that the description which this author must have given of the coast of Africa, from Mount Elephas to the Southern Horn, and which Strabo should have copied, is now wanting in the text. This omission seems to have been noticed by some copyist, who thought to supply it by naming again, to the south of Mount Elephas, the altars of Pytholaus, Lichas, Pythangelus, and Leon, which Artemidorus had already spoken of, and which navigators meet with on the west, and before arriving at Mount Elephas. *Gossellin.*

no more descriptions, he says, of harbours or places, because nothing is known of the sea-coast beyond this point.¹

15. Along the coast there are both pillars and altars of Pytholaus, Lichas, Pythangelus, Leon, and Charimortus, that is, along the known coast from Deire as far as Notu-ceras; but the distance is not determined. The country abounds with elephants and lions called myrmeces (ants).² They have their genital organs reversed. Their skin is of a golden colour, but they are more bare than the lions of Arabia.

It produces also leopards of great strength and courage, and the rhinoceros. The rhinoceros is little inferior to the elephant; not, according to Artemidorus, in length to the crest,³ although he says he had seen one at Alexandria, but it is somewhat about [*** less]⁴ in height, judging at least from the one I saw. Nor is the colour the pale yellow of boxwood, but like that of the elephant.⁵ It was of the size of a bull. Its shape approached very nearly to that of the wild boar, and particularly the forehead; except the front, which is furnished with a hooked horn, harder than any bone. It uses it as a weapon, like the wild boar its tusks. It has also two hard welts, like folds of serpents, encircling the body from the chine to the belly, one on the withers, the other on the loins. This description is taken from one which I myself saw. Artemidorus adds to his account of this animal, that it is peculiarly inclined to dispute with the elephant for the place of pasture; thrusting its forehead under the belly [of the elephant] and ripping it up, unless prevented by the trunk and tusks of his adversary.

16. Camel-leopards are bred in these parts, but they do not in any respect resemble leopards, for their variegated skin is more like the streaked and spotted skin of fallow deer. The

¹ The text of this paragraph is corrupt; but the reading followed is that suggested in a note by Kramer.

² λέων μύρμηξ. Agatharchides calls them *μυρμηκολέων*, and Ælian simply *μύρμηξ*. What animal is intended by the name is uncertain. In b. xv. c. i. § 44, the marmot seems to be described.

³ What the words *ἐπὶ σειρᾶν* mean is doubtful. Casaubon supposes that some words are wanting in the text; Groskurd proposes to read *ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ οὐρᾶν*, "from the head to the tail."

⁴ The passage is corrupt, and some words are wanting to complete the sense. Groskurd proposes, "a span less."

⁵ Pliny, viii. 29.

hinder quarters are so very much lower than the fore quarters, that it seems as if the animal sat upon its rump, which is the height of an ox; the fore legs are as long as those of the camel. The neck rises high and straight up, but the head greatly exceeds in height that of the camel. From this want of proportion, the speed of the animal is not so great, I think, as it is described by Artemidorus, according to whom it is not to be surpassed. It is not however a wild animal, but rather like a domesticated beast; for it shows no signs of a savage disposition.

This country, continues Artemidorus, produces also sphinxes,¹ cynocephali,² and cebi,³ which have the face of a lion, and the rest of the body like that of a panther; they are as large as deer. There are wild bulls also, which are carnivorous, and greatly exceed ours in size and swiftness. They are of a red colour. The crocuttas⁴ is, according to this author, the mixed progeny of a wolf and a dog. What Metrodorus the Scepsian relates, in his book "on Custom," is like fable, and is to be disregarded.

Artemidorus mentions serpents also of thirty cubits in length, which can master elephants and bulls: in this he does not exaggerate.⁵ But the Indian and African serpents are of a more fabulous size, and are said to have grass growing on their backs.

17. The mode of life among the Troglodytæ is nomadic. Each tribe is governed by tyrants. Their wives and children are common, except those of the tyrants. The offence of corrupting the wife of a tyrant is punished with the fine of a sheep.

The women carefully paint themselves with antimony. They wear about their necks shells, as a protection against fascination by witchcraft. In their quarrels, which are for pastures, they first push away each other with their hands, they then use stones, or, if wounds are inflicted, arrows and daggers. The women put an end to these disputes, by going into the midst of the combatants and using prayers and entreaties.

¹ Ancient authors, under the name of Sphinx, generally describe the ape, *Simia troglodyte* of Gmelin. *Du Theil*.

² *Simia inuus*.

³ *Simia cepus*.

⁴ The spotted hyæna.

⁵ See b. xv. c. 1, § 45.

Their food consists of flesh and bones pounded together, wrapped up in skins and then baked, or prepared after many other methods by the cooks, who are called Acatharti, or impure. In this way they eat not only the flesh, but the bones and skins also.

They use (as an ointment for the body?) a mixture of blood and milk; the drink of the people in general is an infusion of the paliurus (buckthorn);¹ that of the tyrants is mead; the honey being expressed from some kind of flower.

Their winter sets in when the Etesian winds begin to blow (for they have rain), and the remaining season is summer.

They go naked, or wear skins only, and carry clubs. They deprive themselves of the prepuce,² but some are circumcised like Egyptians. The Ethiopian Megabari have their clubs armed with iron knobs. They use spears and shields which are covered with raw hides. The other Ethiopians use bows and lances. Some of the Troglodytæ, when they bury their dead, bind the body from the neck to the legs with twigs of the buckthorn. They then immediately throw stones over the body, at the same time laughing and rejoicing, until they have covered the face. They then place over it a ram's horn, and go away.

They travel by night; the male cattle have bells fastened to them, in order to drive away wild beasts with the sound. They use torches also and arrows in repelling them. They watch during the night, on account of their flocks, and sing some peculiar song around their fires.

18. Having given this account of the Troglodytæ and of the neighbouring Ethiopians, Artemidorus returns to the Arabians. Beginning from Poseidium, he first describes those who border upon the Arabian Gulf, and are opposite to the Troglodytæ. He says that Poseidium is situated within the bay of [Heroopolis],³ and that contiguous to Poseidium⁴ is a grove of palm trees,⁵ well supplied with water, which is

¹ The juice of the berries is a strong purge.

² Above, § 5.

³ The bay of Heroopolis is the modern bay of Suez. In the text "Ælanitic bay," which is an error of the author or of the copyist.

⁴ An altar to Poseidon (Neptune), which was erected by Aristo, whom one of the Ptolemies had sent to explore the Arabian Gulf.

⁵ Φοινικῶν, a grove of palm trees, is taken as a proper name by Diodorus Siculus, b. iii. 41.

highly valued, because all the district around is burnt up and is without water or shade. But there the fertility of the palm is prodigious. A man and a woman are appointed by hereditary right to the guardianship of the grove. They wear skins, and live on dates. They sleep in huts built on trees, the place being infested with multitudes of wild beasts.

Next is the island of Phocæ (Seals),¹ which has its name from those animals, which abound there. Near it is a promontory,² which extends towards Petra, of the Arabians called Nabatæi, and to the country of Palestine, to this [island] the Minæi,³ Gerrhæi, and all the neighbouring nations repair with loads of aromatics.

Next is another tract of sea-coast, formerly called the coast of the Maranitæ,⁴ some of whom were husbandmen, others Scenitæ; but at present it is occupied by Garindæi, who destroyed the former possessors by treachery. They attacked those who were assembled to celebrate some quinquennial festival, and put them to death; they then attacked and exterminated the rest of the tribe.⁵

Next is the Ælanitic⁶ Gulf and Nabatæa, a country well peopled, and abounding in cattle. The islands which lie near, and opposite, are inhabited by people who formerly lived without molesting others, but latterly carried on a piratical warfare in rafts⁷ against vessels on their way from Egypt. But they suffered reprisals, when an armament was sent out against them, which devastated their country.

¹ Sheduan. The "Saspirene insula" of Ptolemy.

² Ras Mahomet, which terminates the south of the peninsula formed by the two bays, the Ælanitic running up to Petra, and that of Heroopolis running up to Suez. The meaning of Strabo seems to be, that this cape is in a direction due south of Petra and Palestine.

³ There is a wide difference of opinion among geographers with regard to the position of this important tribe in the modern map of Arabia. See Smith, art. Minæi.

⁴ The Maraneitæ appear to me to be the same people whom other geographers call Pharanitæ, and who received their name from their proximity to Cape Pharan, now Ras Mahomet. *Gossellin*.

⁵ Diodorus Siculus, iii. § 41, following Agatharchides, narrates the fact with greater precision. The Garindæi took advantage of the absence of the greater part of the Maraneitæ, and put to death those that remained. They then laid in wait for and massacred all those who were returning from the festival.

⁶ Gulf of Akaba.

⁷ "Light vessels." Diodorus Sic.

Next is a plain, well wooded and well supplied with water ; it abounds with cattle of all kinds, and, among other animals, mules, wild camels, harts, and hinds ; lions also, leopards, and wolves are frequently to be found. In front lies an island called Dia. Then follows a bay of about 500 stadia in extent, closed in by mountains, the entrance into which is of difficult access. About it live people who are hunters of wild animals.

Next are three desert islands, abounding with olive trees, not like those in our own country, but an indigenous kind, which we call Ethiopic olives, the tears (or gum) of which have a medicinal virtue.

Then follows a stony beach, which is succeeded by a rugged coast,¹ not easily navigated by vessels, extending about 1000 stadia. It has few harbours and anchorages, for a rugged and lofty mountain stretches parallel to it ; then the parts at its base, extending into the sea, form rocks under water, which, during the blowing of the Etesian winds and the storms of that period, present dangers, when no assistance can be afforded to vessels.

Next is a bay in which are some scattered islands,² and continuous with the bay, are three very lofty mounds³ of black sand. After these is Charmothas⁴ a harbour, about 100 stadia in circumference, with a narrow entrance very dangerous for all kinds of vessels. A river empties itself into it. In the middle is a well-wooded island, adapted for cultivation.

Then follows a rugged coast, and after that are some bays and a country belonging to Nomades, who live by their camels. They fight from their backs ; they travel upon them, and subsist on their milk and flesh. A river flows

¹ Thamud, formerly occupied by the ancient Thamudeni.

² Shaur and Iobab ?

³ Gibel Seik, Gibel el Hawene, and Gibel Hester.

⁴ The harbour of Charmothas seems to be the ancient Iambo, the "Iambia" of Ptolemy, which now, from the accumulation of soil, is more than a day's journey into the interior of the country. It is in a fertile territory. The Arabs call it Iambo el Nakel, or Iambo of Palm Trees, to distinguish it from the new Iambo situated on an arid soil on the sea-coast. Al Charm, in Arabic, signifies a fissure or opening in the mountains. It seems as if the Greeks had formed the name Charmothas from this word, mistaking the epithet given to the narrow entrance of the harbour of Iambo for the name of the town itself. *Gossellin.*

through their country, which brings down gold-dust, but they are ignorant how to make any use of it. They are called Debæ; ¹ some of them are Nomades, others husbandmen.

I do not mention the greater part ² of the names of these nations, on account of the obscurity of the people, and because the pronunciation of them is strange ³ [and uncouth].

Near these people is a nation more civilized, who inhabit a district with a more temperate climate; for it is well watered, and has frequent showers.⁴ Fossil gold is found there, not in the form of dust, but in lumps, which do not require much purification. The least pieces are of the size of a nut, the middle size of a medlar, the largest of a walnut. These are pierced and arranged alternately with transparent stones strung on threads and formed into collars. They are worn round the neck and wrists. They sell the gold to their neighbours at a cheap rate, exchanging it for three times the quantity of brass, and double the quantity of iron,⁵ through ignorance of the mode of working the gold, and the scarcity of the commodities received in exchange, which are more necessary for the purposes of life.

19. The country of the Sabæi,⁶ a very populous nation, is contiguous, and is the most fertile of all, producing myrrh, frank-

¹ The Debæ occupied Sockia. The river which flows through the country is called Bætius by Ptolemy.

² τὰ πλείω is Kramer's correction for παλαιά.

³ Some are called by Diodorus Siculus, iii. 44, and Agatharchides, Asilæi and Casandres or Gasandres.

⁴ Instead of εἶομβρος, Groskurd reads πάμφορος, "produces everything," following the fragments of Agatharchides and Diodorus Sic. b. iii. 44.

⁵ Groskurd's correction, σιδήρου for ἀργύρου, in the text, is adopted. But the passage is probably corrupt, and after σιδήρου we may read καὶ δεκαπλάσιον τοῦ ἀργύρου, "for ten times the quantity of silver," according to Bochart, and approved by Kramer.

⁶ The precise boundaries of Sabæa it is impossible to ascertain. The area we have presumed is comprised within the *Arabian Sea W.*, the *Persian Gulf E.*, the *Indian Ocean S.*, and an irregular line skirting the desert, and running up in a narrow point to Idumæa N. See Smith, Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, art. Saba.

Milton appears to have been acquainted with the following passage from Diodorus Siculus, b. iii. 46, descriptive of Sabæa: "It is impossible to enumerate the peculiarities and nature of all these trees and plants, on account of the surpassing variety and body of perfume which fall upon and excite the senses, in a manner divine and beyond description. The

incense, and cinnamon. On the coast is found balsamum and another kind of herb of a very fragrant smell, but which is soon dissipated. There are also sweet-smelling palms and the calamus. There are snakes also of a dark red colour, a span in length, which spring up as high as a man's waist, and whose bite is incurable.

On account of the abundance which the soil produces, the people are lazy and indolent in their mode of life. The lower class of people live on roots, and sleep on the trees.

The people who live near each other receive, in continued succession, the loads [of perfumes] and deliver them to others, who convey them as far as Syria and Mesopotamia. When the carriers become drowsy by the odour of the aromatics, the drowsiness is removed by the fumes of asphaltus and of goat's beard.

Mariaba,¹ the capital of the Sabæans, is situated upon a mountain, well wooded. A king resides there, who determines absolutely all disputes and other matters; but he is forbidden to leave his palace, or if he does so, the rabble immediately assail him with stones, according to the direction of an oracle. He himself, and those about his person, pass their lives in effeminate voluptuousness.

The people cultivate the ground, or follow the trade of dealing in aromatics, both the indigenous sort and those brought from Ethiopia; in order to procure them, they sail through the straits in vessels covered with skins. There is such an abundance of these aromatics, that cinnamon, cassia, and other spices are used by them instead of sticks and fire-wood.

In the country of the Sabæans is found the larimnum, a most fragrant perfume.

By the trade [in these aromatics] both the Sabæans and the Gerrhæi have become the richest of all the tribes, and possess a great quantity of wrought articles in gold and silver,

mariner, as he sails even at a distance along the coast, has his share of enjoyment; for when the breezes of spring blow from off the land, the fragrance of the trees and shrubs is carried down to the shore; nor is it of the kind with which we are acquainted, proceeding from old and stored aromatics, but fresh and in full perfection from new-blown flowers, striking the inmost sense."

¹ The same as Saba; see c. iv. § 2.

as couches, tripods, basins, drinking-vessels, to which we must add the costly magnificence of their houses; for the doors, walls, and roofs are variegated with inlaid ivory, gold, silver, and precious stones.

This is the account of Artemidorus.¹ The rest of the description is partly similar to that of Eratosthenes, and partly derived from other historians.

20. Some of these say, that the sea is red from the colour arising from reflection either from the sun, which is vertical, or from the mountains, which are red by being scorched with intense heat; for the colour, it is supposed, may be produced by both these causes. Ctesias of Cnidus speaks of a spring which discharges into the sea a red and ochrous water. Agatharchides, his fellow-citizen, relates, on the authority of a person of the name of Boxus, of Persian descent, that when a troop of horses was driven by a lioness in heat as far as the sea, and had passed over to an island, a Persian of the name of Erythras constructed a raft, and was the first person who crossed the sea to it; perceiving the island to be well adapted for inhabitants, he drove the herd back to Persia, and sent out colonists both to this and the other islands and to the coast. He [thus] gave his own name to the sea. But according to others, it was Erythras the son of Perseus who was the king of this country.

According to some writers, from the straits in the Arabian Gulf to the extremity of the cinnamon country is a distance of 5000 stadia,² without distinguishing whether (the direction is) to the south or to the east.

It is said also that the emerald and the beryl are found in the gold mines. According to Poseidonius, an odoriferous salt is found in Arabia.

¹ The above details derived from Artemidorus, and by him from Agatharchides, would not be found in Eratosthenes, who lived before the time of Agatharchides.

² We must not confound this measure with the 5000 stadia mentioned in c. iv. § 4. The distance here in question is that taken along the southern coast of Arabia from the straits to Kesem, the ancient Cane, through which passes now, as in former times, the greater part of the perfumes collected in Hadramaut and Seger. But this harbour is about the middle, and not at the extremity of the cinnamon-bearing country. *Gossellin.*

21. The Nabatæans and Sabæans, situated above Syria, are the first people who occupy Arabia Felix. They were frequently in the habit of overrunning this country before the Romans became masters of it, but at present both they and the Syrians are subject to the Romans.

The capital of the Nabatæans is called Petra. It is situated on a spot which is surrounded and fortified by a smooth and level rock (petra), which externally is abrupt and precipitous, but within there are abundant springs of water both for domestic purposes and for watering gardens. Beyond the enclosure the country is for the most part a desert, particularly towards Judæa. Through this is the shortest road to Jericho, a journey of three or four days, and five days to the Phœnicon (or palm plantation). It is always governed by a king of the royal race. The king has a minister who is one of the Companions, and is called Brother. It has excellent laws for the administration of public affairs.

Athenodorus, a philosopher, and my friend, who had been at Petra, used to relate with surprise, that he found many Romans and also many other strangers residing there. He observed the strangers frequently engaged in litigation, both with one another and with the natives; but the natives had never any dispute amongst themselves, and lived together in perfect harmony.

22. The late expedition¹ of the Romans against the Arabians, under the command of Ælius Gallus, has made us acquainted with many peculiarities of the country. Augustus Cæsar despatched this general to explore the nature of these

¹ Cardinal Noris places these facts in the year of Rome 730, and quotes, besides Strabo, the historian Josephus. In following the last author, the Cardinal places the death of Obodas in the prefecture of C. Sentius Saturninus, about the year of Rome 740. After the death of Obodas, Æneas, afterwards called Aretas, took possession of the kingdom of the Nabatæans. Upon this Syllæus, the late king's minister, went to Rome, and declared before Augustus that Æneas, or Aretas, had no right to the kingdom. How this corrupt minister was punished by Augustus may be seen in Nicolas of Damascus and in Josephus. This Aretas must have reigned for a long time, to at least the last years of Tiberius. *Du Theil*. "The interest attaching to this expedition, which promises so much for the elucidation of the classical geography of Arabia, has hitherto served only still further to perplex it." The author of the article Marsyabæ in *Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, where the subject is discussed at some length.

places and their inhabitants, as well as those of Ethiopia ; for he observed that Troglodytica, which is contiguous to Egypt, bordered upon Ethiopia ; and that the Arabian Gulf was extremely narrow, where it separates the Arabians from the Troglodytæ. It was his intention either to conciliate or subdue the Arabians. He was also influenced by the report, which had prevailed from all time, that this people were very wealthy, and exchanged their aromatics and precious stones for silver and gold, but never expended with foreigners any part of what they received in exchange. He hoped to acquire either opulent friends, or to overcome opulent enemies. He was moreover encouraged to undertake this enterprise by the expectation of assistance from the Nabatæans, who promised to co-operate with him in everything.

23. Upon these inducements Gallus set out on the expedition. But he was deceived by Syllæus, the [king's] minister of the Nabatæans, who had promised to be his guide on the march, and to assist him in the execution of his design. Syllæus was however treacherous throughout ; for he neither guided them by a safe course by sea along the coast, nor by a safe road for the army, as he promised, but exposed both the fleet and the army to danger, by directing them where there was no road, or the road was impracticable, where they were obliged to make long circuits, or to pass through tracts of country destitute of everything ; he led the fleet along a rocky coast without harbours, or to places abounding with rocks concealed under water, or with shallows. In places of this description particularly, the flowing and ebbing of the tide did them the most harm.

The first mistake consisted in building long vessels [of war] at a time when there was no war, nor any likely to occur by sea. For the Arabians, being mostly engaged in traffic and commerce, are not a very warlike people even on land, much less so at sea. Gallus, notwithstanding, built not less than eighty biremes and triremes and galleys (phaseli) at Cleopatra,¹ near the old canal which leads from the Nile. When he discovered his mistake, he constructed a hundred and thirty vessels of burden, in which he embarked with about ten thousand infantry, collected from Egypt, consisting of Romans and allies, among whom were five hundred Jews and

¹ Called also Arsinoë, b. xvii. c. i. § 25. It was near Heroopolis, or Suez,

a thousand Nabatæans, under the command of Syllæus. After enduring great hardships and distress, he arrived on the fifteenth day at Leuce-Come, a large mart in the territory of the Nabatæans, with the loss of many of his vessels, some with all their crews, in consequence of the difficulty of the navigation, but by no opposition from an enemy. These misfortunes were occasioned by the perfidy of Syllæus, who insisted that there was no road for an army by land to Leuce-Come, to which and from which place the camel-traders travel with ease and in safety from Petra, and back to Petra, with so large a body of men and camels as to differ in no respect from an army.

24. Another cause of the failure of the expedition was the fact of king Obodas not paying much attention to public affairs, and especially to those relative to war (as is the custom with all Arabian kings), but placed everything in the power of Syllæus the minister. His whole conduct in command of the army was perfidious, and his object was, as I suppose, to examine as a spy the state of the country, and to destroy, in concert with the Romans, certain cities and tribes; and when the Romans should be consumed by famine, fatigue, and disease, and by all the evils which he had treacherously contrived, to declare himself master of the whole country.

Gallus however arrived at Leuce-Come, with the army labouring under stomacacce and scelotyrbe, diseases of the country, the former affecting the mouth, the other the legs, with a kind of paralysis, caused by the water and the plants [which the soldiers had used in their food]. He was therefore compelled to pass the summer and the winter there, for the recovery of the sick.

Merchandise is conveyed from Leuce-Come to Petra, thence to Rhinocolura in Phœnicia, near Egypt, and thence to other nations. But at present the greater part is transported by the Nile to Alexandria. It is brought down from Arabia and India to Myus Hormus, it is then conveyed on camels to Coptus¹ of the Thebaïs, situated on a canal of the Nile, and to Alexandria. Gallus, setting out again from Leuce-Come on his return with his army, and through the treachery of his guide, traversed such tracts of country, that the army was obliged to carry water with them upon camels. After a

¹ Koft.

march of many days, therefore, he came to the territory of Aretas, who was related to Obodas. Aretas received him in a friendly manner, and offered presents. But by the treachery of Syllæus, Gallus was conducted by a difficult road through the country; for he occupied thirty days in passing through it. It afforded barley, a few palm trees, and butter instead of oil.

The next country to which he came belonged to Nomades, and was in great part a complete desert. It was called Ararene. The king of the country was Sabos. Gallus spent fifty days in passing through this territory, for want of roads, and came to a city of the Negrani, and to a fertile country peacefully disposed. The king had fled, and the city was taken at the first onset. After a march of six days from thence, he came to the river. Here the barbarians attacked the Romans, and lost about ten thousand men; the Romans lost only two men. For the barbarians were entirely inexperienced in war, and used their weapons unskilfully, which were bows, spears, swords, and slings; but the greater part of them wielded a double-edged axe. Immediately afterwards he took the city called Asca, which had been abandoned by the king. He thence came to a city Athrula, and took it without resistance; having placed a garrison there, and collected provisions for the march, consisting of corn and dates, he proceeded to a city Marsiaba, belonging to the nation of the Rhammanitæ, who were subjects of Ilasarus. He assaulted and besieged it for six days, but raised the siege in consequence of a scarcity of water. He was two days' march from the aromatic region, as he was informed by his prisoners. He occupied in his marches a period of six months, in consequence of the treachery of his guides. This he discovered when he was returning; and although he was late in discovering the design against him, he had time to take another road back; for he arrived in nine days at Negrana, where the battle was fought, and thence in eleven days he came to the "Seven Wells," as the place is called from the fact of their existing there. Thence he marched through a desert country, and came to Chaalla a village, and then to another called Malothas, situated on a river. His road then lay through a desert country, which had only a few watering-places, as far as Egra¹

¹ This name is variously written in manuscripts. If Negra be adopted, as by Letronne, it is not the same town as the city of the Negrani above

a village. It belongs to the territory of Obodas, and is situated upon the sea. He accomplished on his return the whole distance in sixty days, in which, on his first journey, he had consumed six months. From Negra he conducted his army in eleven days to Myus Hormus; thence across the country to Coptus, and arrived at Alexandria with so much of his army as could be saved. The remainder he lost, not by the enemy, but by disease, fatigue, famine, and marches through bad roads; for seven men only perished in battle. For these reasons this expedition contributed little in extending our knowledge of the country. It was however of some small service.

Syllæus, the author of these disasters, was punished for his treachery at Rome. He affected friendship, but he was convicted of other offences, besides perfidy in this instance, and was beheaded.

25. The aromatic country, as I have before said,¹ is divided into four parts. Of aromatics, the frankincense and myrrh are said to be the produce of trees, but cassia the growth of bushes; yet some writers say, that the greater part (of the cassia) is brought from India, and that the best frankincense is that from Persia.

According to another partition of the country, the whole of Arabia Felix is divided into five kingdoms (or portions), one of which comprises the fighting men, who fight for all the rest; another contains the husbandmen, by whom the rest are supplied with food; another includes those who work at mechanical trades. One division comprises the myrrh region; another the frankincense region, although the same tracts produce cassia, cinnamon, and nard. Trades are not changed from one family to another, but each workman continues to exercise that of his father.

The greater part of their wine is made from the palm.

A man's brothers are held in more respect than his children. The descendants of the royal family succeed as kings, and are invested with other governments, according to primogeniture. Property is common among all the relations. The eldest is the chief. There is one wife among them all. He who enters

mentioned, which was in the interior; but, as Kramer observes, "*Mire corrupta est hæc ultima libri pars.*"

¹ B. xvi. c. iv. § 2.

the house before any of the rest, has intercourse with her, having placed his staff at the door ; for it is a necessary custom, which every one is compelled to observe, to carry a staff. The woman however passes the night with the eldest. Hence the male children are all brothers. They have sexual intercourse also with their mothers. Adultery is punished with death, but an adulterer must belong to another family.

A daughter of one of the kings was of extraordinary beauty, and had fifteen brothers, who were all in love with her, and were her unceasing and successive visitors ; she, being at last weary of their importunity, is said to have employed the following device. She procured staves to be made similar to those of her brothers ; when one left the house, she placed before the door a staff similar to the first, and a little time afterwards another, and so on in succession, but making her calculation so that the person who intended to visit her might not have one similar to that at her door. On an occasion when the brothers were all of them together at the market-place, one left it, and came to the door of the house ; seeing the staff there, and conjecturing some one to be in her apartment, and having left all the other brothers at the market-place, he suspected the person to be an adulterer ; running therefore in haste to his father, he brought him with him to the house, but it was proved that he had falsely accused his sister.

26. The Nabatæans are prudent, and fond of accumulating property. The community fine a person who has diminished his substance, and confer honours on him who has increased it. They have few slaves, and are served for the most part by their relations, or by one another, or each person is his own servant ; and this custom extends even to their kings. They eat their meals in companies consisting of thirteen persons. Each party is attended by two musicians. But the king gives many entertainments in great buildings. No one drinks more than eleven [appointed] cupfuls, from separate cups, each of gold.

The king courts popular favour so much, that he is not only his own servant, but sometimes he himself ministers to others. He frequently renders an account [of his administration] before the people, and sometimes an inquiry is made into his mode of life.

The houses are sumptuous, and of stone. The cities are without walls, on account of the peace [which prevails among them]. A great part of the country is fertile, and produces everything except oil of olives; [instead of it], the oil of sesamum is used. The sheep have white fleeces, their oxen are large; but the country produces no horses.¹ Camels are the substitute for horses, and perform the [same kind of] labour. They wear no tunics, but have a girdle about the loins, and walk abroad in sandals.² The dress of the kings is the same, but the colour is purple.

Some merchandise is altogether imported into the country, others are not altogether imports, especially as some articles are native products, as gold and silver, and many of the aromatics; but brass and iron, purple garments, styrax, saffron, and costus (or white cinnamon), pieces of sculpture, paintings, statues, are not to be procured in the country.

They look upon the bodies of the dead as no better than dung, according to the words of Heracleitus, "dead bodies more fit to be cast out than dung;" wherefore they bury even their kings beside dung-heaps. They worship the sun, and construct the altar on the top of a house, pouring out libations and burning frankincense upon it every day.

27. When the poet says,

"I went to the country of the Ethiopians, Sidonians, and Erembi,"³ it is doubtful, what people he means by Sidonians, whether those who lived near the Persian Gulf, a colony from which nation are the Sidonians in our quarter (in the same manner as historians relate, that some Tyrian islanders are found there, and Aradii, from whom the Aradii in our country derive their origin), or whether the poet means actually the Sidonians themselves.

But there is more doubt about the Erembi, whether we are to suppose that he means the Troglodytæ, according to the opinion of those who, by a forced etymology, derive the word Erembi from ἔραν ἐμβαίνειν, that is, "entering into the earth," or whether he means the Arabians. Zeno the philosopher of our sect alters the reading in this manner,

"And Sidoni, and Arabes;"

¹ See above, § 2.

² This reminds us of the prophet Elijah and John the Baptist.

³ Od. iv. 84.

but Poseidonius alters it with a small variation,

“And Sidonii, and Arambi,”

as if the poet gave the name Arambi to the present Arabians, from their being so called by others in his time. He says also, that the situation of these three nations close to one another indicates a descent from some common stock, and that on this account they are called by names having a resemblance to one another, as Armenii, Aramæi, Arambi. For as we may suppose one nation to have been divided into three (according to the differences of latitude [in which they lived], which successively became more marked [in proceeding from one to the other]), so in like manner we may suppose that several names were adopted in place of one. The proposed change of reading to Eremni is not probable, for that name is more applicable to the Ethiopians. The poet mentions also the Arimi, whom Poseidonius says are meant here, and not a place in Syria or Cilicia, or any other country, but Syria itself. For the Aramæi lived there. Perhaps these are the people whom the Greeks called Arimæi or Arimi. But the alterations of names, especially of barbarous nations, are frequent, Thus Darius was called Darieces; Parysatis, Pharziris; Athara, Atargata, whom Ctesias again calls Derceto.¹

Alexander might be adduced to bear witness to the wealth of the Arabians, for he intended, it is said, after his return from India, to make Arabia the seat of empire. All his enterprises terminated with his death, which happened suddenly; but certainly one of his projects was to try whether the Arabians would receive him voluntarily, or resist him by force of arms; for having found that they did not send ambassadors to him, either before or after his expedition to India, he was beginning to make preparations for war, as we have said in a former part of this work.

¹ This subject was discussed in b. i. c. ii. § 34.

BOOK XVII.

SUMMARY.

The Seventeenth Book contains the whole of Egypt and Africa.

CHAPTER I.

WHEN we were describing Arabia, we included in the description the gulfs which compress and make it a peninsula, namely the Gulfs of Arabia and of Persis. We described at the same time some parts of Egypt, and those of Ethiopia, inhabited by the Troglodytæ, and by the people situated next to them, extending to the confines of the Cinnamon country.¹

We are now to describe the remaining parts contiguous to these nations, and situated about the Nile. We shall then give an account of Africa, which remains to complete this treatise on Geography.

And here we must previously adduce the opinions of Eratosthenes.

2. He says, that the Nile is distant from the Arabian Gulf towards the west 1000 stadia, and that it resembles (in its course) the letter N reversed. For after flowing, he says, about 2700 stadia from Meroë towards the north, it turns again to the south, and to the winter sunset, continuing its course for about 3700 stadia, when it is almost in the latitude of the places about Meroë. Then entering far into Africa, and having made another bend, it flows towards the north, a distance of 5300 stadia, to the great cataract ;² and inclining a little to the east, traverses a distance of 1200 stadia to the smaller cataract at Syene,³ and 5300 stadia more to the sea.⁴

¹ B. xvi. c. iv, § 2 and § 14.

² Genadil.

³ Assouan.

⁴ Thus Eratosthenes calculated, in following the windings of the Nile, 12,900 stadia, which is 7900 stadia more than he calculated in a straight line, as he made the distance between the same points (Meroë and Syene, B. ii. c. v. § 7) to be 5000 stadia. M. Falconer suspects that there is an

Two rivers empty themselves into it, which issue out of some lakes towards the east, and encircle Meroë, a consider-

error in the text; but the error lies further off. I believe that it is attributable to Eratosthenes himself, and that that geographer did nothing more than convert the days' marches into stadia. According to Pliny, Timosthenes, commander of the fleet of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and consequently anterior to Eratosthenes, said that from Syene to Meroë was a march of 60 days; and this statement agrees tolerably well with that of Herodotus, who calculated 56 days' march between Elephantina and Meroë, besides a small distance the extent of which he does not state.

Procopius, a learned writer, estimates a day's march at 210 stadia; and the employment of this value, in the whole course of his history, proves that it was generally adopted. Now, if we multiply 60 by 210, we shall have 12,600 stadia, and dividing 12,900 by 60, we have 215 stadia, or nearly the amount of a day's march according to Procopius. I am therefore of opinion that Eratosthenes did nothing more than multiply 210 or 215 by the number of 60 days, furnished by Timosthenes; and as the excessive length of 12,900 stadia could not agree with the 5000 stadia, which he had calculated in a straight line for the same interval, he imagined this great difference arose from the excessive winding course of the Nile; consequently he supposed the Nile to change frequently the direction of its course.

This opinion had its influence in the construction of Ptolemy's map, which presents to us nearly all the inflexions which Eratosthenes imagined; in calculating the intervals of positions assigned by Ptolemy along the river, we find a total of 1260 minutes; and adding about $\frac{1}{2}$ for the small windings, we have a total of 1470 minutes, which are equal to 12,400 stadia of the module (700 to the degree) adopted by that geographer.

According to this hypothesis, the distance in Strabo will be thus divided: Setting out from Meroë, the Nile runs,

1.	2700	stadia to the north	days.
				12·8
2.	3700	to the S. and S. W.	17·6
3.	5300	to the N. $\frac{1}{4}$ E.	25
4.	1200	to the N.	5·7

61·1

which nearly corresponds with the account of Timosthenes. The number of days corresponds tolerably well with the distance given by the explorers sent by Nero for the discovery of Meroë: they reported the distance to be 873 miles. If we divide this number by 60, we shall have for the day's mean march 14·55 Roman miles, or 11·64 geographical miles, which is in fact the day's mean march, according to Major Rennell. *Letronne*.

In carefully measuring, upon a large map of Egypt in 47 sheets, the course of the Nile through all its windings, and with the compass opened to 1000 metres, I find—

able island.¹ One of these rivers is called Astaboras,² flowing along the eastern side of the island. The other is the Astapus, or, as some call it, Astasobas. But the Astapus³ is said to be another river, which issues out of some lakes on the south, and that this river forms nearly the body of the (stream of the) Nile, which flows in a straight line, and that it is filled by the summer rains; that above the confluence of the Astaboras and the Nile, at the distance of 700 stadia, is Mercö, a city having the same name as the island; and that there is another island above Meroë, occupied by the fugitive Egyptians, who revolted in the time of Psammitichus,⁴ and are called Sembritæ, or foreigners. Their sovereign is a queen, but they obey the king of Meroë.

The lower parts of the country on each side Meroë, along the Nile towards the Red Sea, are occupied by Megabari and Blemmyes, who are subject to the Ethiopians, and border upon the Egyptians; about the sea are Troglodytæ. The Troglodytæ, in the latitude of Meroë, are distant ten or twelve days' journey from the Nile. On the left of the course of the Nile live Nubæ in Libya, a populous nation. They begin

	metres.
From the middle of Syene to Luxor in the ancient territory of Thebes	218,900
From Luxor to Becous situated at the point of the Delta	727,500
From Becous following the Damietta branch to that city	234,000
	1,180,400

This measure reduced to mean degrees of the earth equals $637^{\circ} 25'$, and represents 5312 stadia of 500 (to the degree). I certainly did not expect to find such an agreement between the new and the ancient measures. The periodic rising of the Nile, I think, must have produced, since the time of Eratosthenes, some partial changes in the windings of the river; but we must acknowledge that these changes, for greater or for less, compensate one another on the whole.

We observe, moreover, as I have already often observed, that the use of the stadium of 500 to the degree is anterior to the Alexandrine school; for at the time of Eratosthenes the stadium of 700 was more particularly made use of in Egypt. *Gosselin.*

¹ Although generally described as an island, it was, like Mesopotamia, a district included between rivers: the city Meroë was situated in lat. $16^{\circ} 44'$.

² Tacazze.

³ Bahr-el-Azrek, or Blue river.

⁴ See b. xvi. c. iv. § 8, and Herod. ii. 30, who calls the Sembritæ, Automoloi, that is, persons who had voluntarily quitted their abode.

from Meroë, and extend as far as the bends (of the river). They are not subject to the Ethiopians, but live independently, being distributed into several sovereignties.

The extent of Egypt along the sea, from the Pelusiæc to the Canobic mouth, is 1300 stadia.

Such is the account of Eratosthenes.

3. We must, however, enter into a further detail of particulars. And first, we must speak of the parts about Egypt, proceeding from those that are better known to those which follow next in order.

The Nile produces some common effects in this and the contiguous tract of country, namely, that of the Ethiopians above it, in watering them at the time of its rise, and leaving those parts only habitable which have been covered by the inundation; it intersects the higher lands, and all the tract elevated above its current on both sides, which however are uninhabited and a desert, from an absolute want of water. But the Nile does not traverse the whole of Ethiopia, nor alone, nor in a straight line, nor a country which is well inhabited. But Egypt it traverses both alone and entirely, and in a straight line, from the lesser cataract above Syene and Elephantina, (which are the boundaries of Egypt and Ethiopia,) to the mouths by which it discharges itself into the sea. The Ethiopians at present lead for the most part a wandering life, and are destitute of the means of subsistence, on account of the barrenness of the soil, the disadvantages of climate, and their great distance from us.

Now the contrary is the case with the Egyptians in all these respects. For they have lived from the first under a regular form of government, they were a people of civilized manners, and were settled in a well-known country; their institutions have been recorded and mentioned in terms of praise, for they seemed to have availed themselves of the fertility of their country in the best possible manner by the partition of it (and by the classification of persons) which they adopted, and by their general care.

When they had appointed a king, they divided the people into three classes, into soldiers, husbandmen, and priests. The latter had the care of everything relating to sacred things (of the gods), the others of what related to man; some had the

management of warlike affairs, others attended to the concerns of peace, the cultivation of the ground, and the practice of the arts, from which the king derived his revenue.

The priests devoted themselves to the study of philosophy and astronomy, and were companions of the kings.

The country was at first divided into nomes.¹ The Thebais contained ten, the Delta ten, and the intermediate tract sixteen. But according to some writers, all the nomes together amounted to the number of chambers in the Labyrinth. Now these were less than thirty [six]. The nomes were again divided into other sections. The greater number of the nomes were distributed into toparchies, and these again into other sections; the smallest portions were the arouræ.

An exact and minute division of the country was required by the frequent confusion of boundaries occasioned at the time of the rise of the Nile, which takes away, adds, and alters the various shapes of the bounds, and obliterates other marks by which the property of one person is distinguished

¹ The Nile valley was parcelled out into a number of cantons, varying in size and number. Each of these cantons was called a nome (*νομός*) by the Greeks, "præfectura oppidorum" by the Romans. Each had its civil governor, the Nomarch, who collected the crown revenues, and presided in the local capital and chief court of justice. Each nome too had its separate priesthood, its temple, chief and inferior towns, its magistrates, registration and peculiar creed, ceremonies and customs; and each was apparently independent of every other nome. At certain seasons, delegates from the various cantons met in the palace of the Labyrinth, for consultation on public affairs (b. xvii. c. i. § 37). According to Diodorus, the nomes date from Sesostris. But they did not originate from that monarch, but emanated probably from the distinctions of animal worship; and the extent of the local worship probably determined the boundary of the nome. Thus in the nome of Thebais, where the ram-headed deity was worshipped, the sheep was sacred, the goat was eaten and sacrificed: in that of Mendes, where the goat was worshipped, the sheep was a victim and an article of food. Again, in the nome of Ombos, divine honours were paid to the crocodile: in that of Tentyra, it was hunted and abominated; and between Ombos and Tentyra there existed an internecine feud.

Ardet adhuc Ombos et Tentyra: summus utrinque
 Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
 Odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
 Esse deos, quos ipse colit. Juv. xv. 35.

The extent and number of the nomes cannot be ascertained. They probably varied with the political state of Egypt. See *Smith*, art. *Ægyptus*.

from that of another. It was consequently necessary to measure the land repeatedly. Hence it is said geometry originated here, as the art of keeping accounts and arithmetic originated with the Phœnicians, in consequence of their commerce.¹

As the whole population of the country, so the separate population in each nome, was divided into three classes ; the territory also was divided into three equal portions.

The attention and care bestowed upon the Nile is so great as to cause industry to triumph over nature. The ground by nature, and still more by being supplied with water, produces a great abundance of fruits. By nature also a greater rise of the river irrigates a larger tract of land ; but industry has completely succeeded in rectifying the deficiency of nature, so that in seasons when the rise of the river has been less than usual, as large a portion of the country is irrigated by means of canals and embankments, as in seasons when the rise of the river has been greater.

Before the times of Petronius there was the greatest plenty, and the rise of the river was the greatest when it rose to the height of fourteen cubits ; but when it rose to eight only, a famine ensued. During the government of Petronius, however, when the Nile rose twelve cubits only, there was a most abundant crop ; and once when it mounted to eight only, no famine followed. Such then is the nature of this provision for the physical state of the country. We shall now proceed to the next particulars.

4. The Nile, when it leaves the boundaries of Ethiopia, flows in a straight line towards the north, to the tract called the Delta, then "cloven at the head," (according to the expression of Plato,) makes this point the vertex, as it were, of a triangle, the sides of which are formed by the streams, which separate on each side, and extend to the sea, one on the right hand to Pelusium, the other on the left to Canobus and the neighbouring Heracleium, as it is called ; the base is the coast lying between Pelusium and the Heracleium.

An island was therefore formed by the sea and by both streams of the river, which is called Delta from the resemblance of its shape to the letter (Δ) of that name. The spot at the vertex of the triangle has the same appellation, because it is

¹ See b. xvi. c. ii. § 24.

the beginning of the above-mentioned triangular figure. The village, also, situated upon it is called Delta.

These then are two mouths of the Nile, one of which is called the Pelusiatic, the other the Canobic and Heracleiote mouth. Between these are five other outlets, some of which are considerable, but the greater part are of inferior importance. For many others branch off from the principal streams, and are distributed over the whole of the island of the Delta, and form many streams and islands; so that the whole Delta is accessible to boats, one canal succeeding another, and navigated with so much ease, that some persons make use of rafts¹ floated on earthen pots, to transport them from place to place.

The whole island is about 3000 stadia in circumference, and is called, as also the lower country, with the land on the opposite sides of the streams, the Delta.

But at the time of the rising of the Nile, the whole country is covered, and resembles a sea, except the inhabited spots, which are situated upon natural hills or mounds; and considerable cities and villages appear like islands in the distant prospect.

The water, after having continued on the ground more than forty days in summer, then subsides by degrees, in the same manner as it rose. In sixty days the plain is entirely exposed to view, and dries up. The sooner the land is dry, so much the sooner the ploughing and sowing are accomplished, and it dries earlier in those parts where the heat is greater.

The country above the Delta is irrigated in the same manner, except that the river flows in a straight line to the distance of about 4000 stadia in one channel, unless where some island intervenes, the most considerable of which comprises the Heracleiote Nome; or, where it is diverted by a canal into a large lake, or a tract of country which it is capable of irrigating, as the lake Mœris and the Arsinoïte Nome, or where the canals discharge themselves into the Mareotis.

¹ In the text *ὄστράκινα πορθμεία* "earthen-ware ferry boats." The translation is not literal, but a paraphrase.

Hac sævit rabie imbelle et inutile vulgus
Parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis,
Et brevibus pictæ remis incumbere testæ.

In short, Egypt, from the mountains of Ethiopia to the vertex of the Delta, is merely a river tract on each side of the Nile, and rarely if anywhere comprehends in one continued line a habitable territory of 300 stadia in breadth. It resembles, except the frequent diversions of its course, a bandage rolled out.¹

The mountains on each side (of the Nile), which descend from the parts about Syene to the Egyptian Sea,² give this shape to the river tract of which I am speaking, and to the country. For in proportion as these mountains extend along that tract, or recede from each other, in the same degree is the river contracted or expanded, and they impart to the habitable country its variety of shape. But the country beyond the mountains is in a great measure uninhabited.

5. The ancients understood more by conjecture than otherwise, but persons in later times learnt by experience as eye-witnesses, that the Nile owes its rise to summer rains, which fall in great abundance in Upper Ethiopia, particularly in the most distant mountains. On the rains ceasing, the fulness of the river gradually subsides. This was particularly observed by those who navigated the Arabian Gulf on their way to the Cinnamon country, and by those who were sent out to hunt elephants, or for such other purposes as induced the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, to despatch persons in that direction. These sovereigns had directed their attention to objects of this kind, particularly Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, who was a lover of science, and on account of bodily infirmities always in search of some new diversion and amusement. But the ancient kings paid little attention to such inquiries, although both they and the priests, with whom they passed the greater part of their lives, professed to be devoted to the study of philosophy. Their ignorance therefore is more surprising, both on this account and because Sesostris had traversed the whole of Ethiopia as far as the Cinnamon country, of which expedition monuments exist even to the present day, such as pillars and inscriptions. Cambyses also, when he was in possession of Egypt, had advanced with the Egyptians as far even as

¹ In the text *κειρία ψυχομένη ἐπὶ μῆκος*, which is evidently corrupt. Kramer proposes to read *ἀναπυσσομένη* or *ἀνεπτυγμένη*, and Groskurd reads *ἀξομένη* for *ψυχομένη*, "lengthened out." Alii alia proposuerunt, infelicia omnia.

² The Mediterranean.

Meroë; and it is said that he gave this name both to the island and to the city, because his sister, or according to some writers his wife, Meroë died there. For this reason therefore he conferred the appellation on the island, and in honour of a woman. It is surprising how, with such opportunities of obtaining information, the history of these rains should not have been clearly known to persons living in those times, especially as the priests registered with the greatest diligence in the sacred books all extraordinary facts, and preserved records of everything which seemed to contribute to an increase of knowledge. And, if this had been the case, would it be necessary to inquire what is even still a question, what can possibly be the reason why rain falls in summer, and not in winter, in the most southerly parts of the country, but not in the Thebais, nor in the country about Syene? nor should we have to examine whether the rise of the water of the Nile is occasioned by rains, nor require such evidence for these facts as Poseidonius adduces. For he says, that Callisthenes asserts that the cause of the rise of the river is the rain of summer. This he borrows from Aristotle, who borrowed it from Thrasylces the Thasian (one of the ancient writers on physics), Thrasylces from some other person, and he from Homer, who calls the Nile "heaven-descended:"

"back to Egypt's heaven-descended stream."¹

But I quit this subject, since it has been discussed by many writers, among whom it will be sufficient to specify two, who have (each) composed in our times a treatise on the Nile, Eudorus and Aristo the Peripatetic philosopher. [They differ little from each other] except in the order and disposition of the works, for the phraseology and execution is the same in both writers. (I can speak with some confidence in this matter), for when at a loss (for manuscripts) for the purpose of comparison and copy, I collated both authors.² But which of them surreptitiously substituted the other's account as his own, we may

¹ Od. iv. 581.

² ἐγὼ γοῦν ἀπορούμενος ἀντιγράφων εἰς τὴν ἀντιβολὴν ἐκ θατέρου θατέρου ἀντέβαλον. Casaubon, who narrates a similar circumstance which occurred to himself, thus explains the passage: Our author, being in want of codices to correct imperfections in his own, and to form a complete copy, availed himself of another author whose account was identical, being either, as he says, the original or a transcript from the first.

go to the temple of Ammon to be informed. Eudorus accused Aristo, but the style is more like that of Aristo.

The ancients gave the name of Egypt to that country only which was inhabited and watered by the Nile, and the extent they assigned to it was from the neighbourhood of Syene to the sea. But later writers, to the present time, have included on the eastern side almost all the tract between the Arabian Gulf and the Nile (the Æthiopians however do not make much use of the Red Sea); on the western side, the tract extending to the Auases and the parts of the sea-coast from the Canobic mouth of the Nile to Catabathmus, and the kingdom of Cyrenæa. For the kings who succeeded the race of the Ptolemies had acquired so much power, that they became masters of Cyrenæa, and even joined Cyprus to Egypt. The Romans, who succeeded to their dominions, separated Egypt, and confined it within the old limits.

The Egyptians give the name of Auases (Oases) to certain inhabited tracts, which are surrounded by extensive deserts, and appear like islands in the sea. They are frequently met with in Libya, and there are three contiguous to Egypt, and dependent upon it.

This is the account which we have to give of Egypt in general and summarily. I shall now describe the separate parts of the country and their advantages.

6. As Alexandria and its neighbourhood occupy the greatest and principal portion of the description, I shall begin with it.

In sailing towards the west, the sea-coast from Pelusium to the Canobic mouth of the Nile is about 1300 stadia in extent, and constitutes, as we have said, the base of the Delta. Thence to the island Pharos are 150 stadia more.

Pharos is a small oblong island, and lies quite close to the continent, forming towards it a harbour with a double entrance. For the coast abounds with bays, and has two promontories projecting into the sea. The island is situated between these, and shuts in the bay, lying lengthways in front of it.

Of the extremities of the Pharos, the eastern is nearest to the continent and to the promontory in that direction, called Lochias, which is the cause of the entrance to the port being narrow. Besides the narrowness of the passage, there are rocks, some under water, others rising above it, which at all times increase the violence of the waves rolling in upon them

from the open sea. This extremity itself of the island is a rock, washed by the sea on all sides, with a tower upon it of the same name as the island, admirably constructed of white marble, with several stories. Sostratus of Cnidus, a friend of the kings, erected it for the safety of mariners, as the inscription imports.¹ For as the coast on each side is low and without harbours, with reefs and shallows, an elevated and conspicuous mark was required to enable navigators coming in from the open sea to direct their course exactly to the entrance of the harbour.

The western mouth does not afford an easy entrance, but it does not require the same degree of caution as the other. It forms also another port, which has the name of Eunostus, or Happy Return : it lies in front of the artificial and close harbour. That which has its entrance at the above-mentioned tower of Pharos is the great harbour. These (two) lie contiguous in the recess called Heptastadium, and are separated from it by a mound. This mound forms a bridge from the continent to the island, and extends along its western side, leaving two passages only through it to the harbour of Eunostus, which are bridged over. But this work served not only as a bridge, but as an aqueduct also, when the island was inhabited. Divus Cæsar devastated the island, in his war against the people of Alexandria, when they espoused the party of the kings. A few sailors live near the tower.

The great harbour, in addition to its being well enclosed by the mound and by nature, is of sufficient depth near the shore to allow the largest vessel to anchor near the stairs. It is also divided into several ports.

The former kings of Egypt, satisfied with what they possessed, and not desirous of foreign commerce, entertained a dislike to all mariners, especially the Greeks (who, on account of the poverty of their own country, ravaged and coveted the property of other nations), and stationed a guard here, who had orders to keep off all persons who approached. To the guard was assigned as a place of residence the spot called Rhacotis, which is now a part of the city of Alexandria, situated above the arsenal. At that time, however, it was a village. The country about the village was given up to herds-

¹ The words "Sostratus of Cnidus, son of Dexiphanes, to the gods preservers," are rejected by Kramer as being introduced from the margin.

men, who were also able (from their numbers) to prevent strangers from entering the country.

When Alexander arrived, and perceived the advantages of the situation, he determined to build the city on the (natural) harbour. The prosperity of the place, which ensued, was intimated, it is said, by a presage which occurred while the plan of the city was tracing. The architects were engaged in marking out the line of the wall with chalk, and had consumed it all, when the king arrived; upon which the dispensers of flour supplied the workmen with a part of the flour, which was provided for their own use; and this substance was used in tracing the greater part of the divisions of the streets. This, they said, was a good omen for the city.

7. The advantages of the city are of various kinds. The site is washed by two seas; on the north, by what is called the Egyptian Sea, and on the south, by the sea of the lake Mareia, which is also called Mareotis. This lake is filled by many canals from the Nile, both by those above and those at the sides, through which a greater quantity of merchandise is imported than by those communicating with the sea. Hence the harbour on the lake is richer than the maritime harbour. The exports by sea from Alexandria exceed the imports. This any person may ascertain, either at Alexandria or Dicearchia, by watching the arrival and departure of the merchant vessels, and observing how much heavier or lighter their cargoes are when they depart or when they return.

In addition to the wealth derived from merchandise landed at the harbours on each side, on the sea and on the lake, its fine air is worthy of remark: this results from the city being on two sides surrounded by water, and from the favourable effects of the rise of the Nile. For other cities, situated near lakes, have, during the heats of summer, a heavy and suffocating atmosphere, and lakes at their margins become swampy by the evaporation occasioned by the sun's heat. When a large quantity of moisture is exhaled from swamps, a noxious vapour rises, and is the cause of pestilential disorders. But at Alexandria, at the beginning of summer, the Nile, being full, fills the lake also, and leaves no marshy matter which is likely to occasion malignant exhalations. At the same period, the Etesian winds blow from the north, over a large expanse of sea, and the Alexandrines in consequence pass their summer very pleasantly.

8. The shape of the site of the city is that of a chlamys or military cloak. The sides, which determine the length, are surrounded by water, and are about thirty stadia in extent; but the isthmuses, which determine the breadth of the sides, are each of seven or eight stadia, bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by the lake. The whole city is intersected by roads for the passage of horsemen and chariots. Two of these are very broad, exceeding a plethrum in breadth, and cut one another at right angles. It contains also very beautiful public grounds and royal palaces, which occupy a fourth or even a third part of its whole extent. For as each of the kings was desirous of adding some embellishment to the places dedicated to the public use, so, besides the buildings already existing, each of them erected a building at his own expense; hence the expression of the poet may be here applied,

“one after the other springs.”¹

All the buildings are connected with one another and with the harbour, and those also which are beyond it.

The Museum is a part of the palaces. It has a public walk and a place furnished with seats, and a large hall, in which the men of learning, who belong to the Museum, take their common meal. This community possesses also property in common; and a priest, formerly appointed by the kings, but at present by Cæsar, presides over the Museum.

A part belonging to the palaces consists of that called Sema, an enclosure, which contained the tombs of the kings and that of Alexander (the Great). For Ptolemy the son of Lagus took away the body of Alexander from Perdiccas, as he was conveying it down from Babylon; for Perdiccas had turned out of his road towards Egypt, incited by ambition and a desire of making himself master of the country. When Ptolemy had attacked [and made him prisoner], he intended to [spare his life and] confine him in a desert island, but he met with a miserable end at the hand of his own soldiers, who rushed upon and despatched him by transfixing him with the long Macedonian spears. The kings who were with him, Aridæus, and the children of Alexander, and Roxana his wife, departed to Macedonia. Ptolemy carried away the body

¹ Od. xvii. 266.

of Alexander, and deposited it at Alexandria in the place where it now lies; not indeed in the same coffin, for the present one is of hyalus (alabaster?) whereas Ptolemy had deposited it in one of gold: it was plundered by Ptolemy surnamed Cocce's son and Pareisactus, who came from Syria and was quickly deposed, so that his plunder was of no service to him.

9. In the great harbour at the entrance, on the right hand, are the island and the Pharos tower; on the left are the reef of rocks and the promontory Lochias, with a palace upon it: at the entrance, on the left hand, are the inner palaces, which are continuous with those on the Lochias, and contain numerous painted apartments and groves. Below lies the artificial and close harbour, appropriated to the use of the kings; and Antirrhodus a small island, facing the artificial harbour, with a palace on it, and a small port. It was called Antirrhodus, a rival as it were of Rhodes.

Above this is the theatre, then the Poseidium, a kind of elbow projecting from the Emporium, as it is called, with a temple of Neptune upon it. To this Antony added a mound, projecting still further into the middle of the harbour, and built at the extremity a royal mansion, which he called Timonium. This was his last act, when, deserted by his partisans, he retired to Alexandria after his defeat at Actium, and intended, being forsaken by so many friends, to lead the [solitary] life of Timon for the rest of his days.

Next are the Cæsarium, the Emporium, and the Apostaseis, or magazines: these are followed by docks, extending to the Heptastadium. This is the description of the great harbour.

10. Next after the Heptastadium is the harbour of Eunostus, and above this the artificial harbour, called Cibotus (or the Ark), which also has docks. At the bottom of this harbour is a navigable canal, extending to the lake Mareotis. Beyond the canal there still remains a small part of the city. Then follows the suburb Necropolis, in which are numerous gardens, burial-places, and buildings for carrying on the process of embalming the dead.

On this side the canal is the Sarapium and other ancient sacred places, which are now abandoned on account of the erection of the temples at Nicopolis; for [there are situated] an amphitheatre and a stadium, and there are celebrated

quinquennial games; but the ancient rites and customs are neglected.

In short, the city of Alexandria abounds with public and sacred buildings. The most beautiful of the former is the Gymnasium, with porticos exceeding a stadium in extent. In the middle of it are the court of justice and groves. Here also is a Paneium, an artificial mound of the shape of a fir-cone, resembling a pile of rock, to the top of which there is an ascent by a spiral path. From the summit may be seen the whole city lying all around and beneath it.

The wide street extends in length along the Gymnasium from the Necropolis to the Canobic gate. Next is the Hippodromos (or race-course), as it is called, and other buildings¹ near it, and reaching to the Canobic canal. After passing through the Hippodromos is the Nicopolis, which contains buildings fronting the sea not less numerous than a city. It is 30 stadia distant from Alexandria. Augustus Cæsar distinguished this place, because it was here that he defeated Antony and his party of adherents. He took the city at the first onset, and compelled Antony to put himself to death, but Cleopatra to surrender herself alive. A short time afterwards, however, she also put an end to her life secretly, in prison, by the bite of an asp, or (for there are two accounts) by the application of a poisonous ointment. Thus the empire of the Lagidæ, which had subsisted many years, was dissolved.

11. Alexander was succeeded by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, the son of Lagus by Philadelphus, Philadelphus by Euergetes; next succeeded Philopator the lover² of Agathocleia, then Epiphanes, afterwards Philometor, the son (thus far) always succeeding the father. But Philometor was succeeded by his brother, the second Euergetes, who was also called Physcon. He was succeeded by Ptolemy surnamed Lathurus, Lathurus by Auletes of our time, who was the father of Cleopatra. All these kings, after the third Ptolemy, were corrupted by luxury and effeminacy, and the affairs of government were very badly administered by them; but worst of all by the fourth, the seventh, and the last (Ptolemy), Auletes (or the Piper),

¹ Some word, such as *καρικίαι*, seems here to be wanting; *ὄδοι*, which some commentators suppose to be here understood, would be unsuitable to the passage, nor would it convey a proper meaning. *Kramer*.

² The word *ἐπασρής* must be here understood, and not *υἱός*. *Groskurd*.

who, besides other deeds of shamelessness, acted the piper; indeed he gloried so much in the practice, that he scrupled not to appoint trials of skill in his palace; on which occasions he presented himself as a competitor with other rivals. He was deposed by the Alexandrines; and of his three daughters, one, the eldest, who was legitimate, they proclaimed queen; but his two sons, who were infants, were absolutely excluded from the succession.

As a husband for the daughter established on the throne, the Alexandrines invited one Cybiosactes from Syria, who pretended to be descended from the Syrian kings. The queen after a few days, unable to endure his coarseness and vulgarity, rid herself of him by causing him to be strangled. She afterwards married Archelaus, who also pretended to be the son of Mithridates Eupator, but he was really the son of that Archelaus¹ who carried on war against Sylla, and was afterwards honourably treated by the Romans. He was grandfather of the last king of Cappadocia in our time, and priest of Comana in Pontus.² He was then (at the time we are speaking of) the guest of Gabinius, and intended to accompany him in an expedition against the Parthians,³ but unknown to Gabinius, he was conducted away by some (friends) to the queen, and declared king.

At this time Pompey the Great entertained Auletes as his guest on his arrival at Rome, and recommended him to the senate, negotiated his return, and contrived the execution of most of the deputies, in number a hundred, who had undertaken to appear against him: at their head was Dion the academic philosopher.

Ptolemy (Auletes) on being restored by Gabinius, put to death both Archelaus and his daughter;⁴ but not long after⁵ he was reinstated in his kingdom, he died a natural death, leaving two sons and two daughters, the eldest of whom was Cleopatra.

The Alexandrines declared as sovereigns the eldest son and Cleopatra. But the adherents of the son excited a se-

¹ The celebrated general of Mithridates.

² See b. xii. c. i. § 2.

³ He was prevented from carrying on this war by the senate. See b. xii. c. iii. § 34

⁴ The elder sister of Cleopatra.

⁵ Six months after.

dition, and banished Cleopatra, who retired with her sister into Syria.¹

It was about this time that Pompey the Great, in his flight from Palæ-pharsalus,² came to Pelusium and Mount Casium. He was treacherously slain by the king's party. When Cæsar arrived, he put the young prince to death, and sending for Cleopatra from her place of exile, appointed her queen of Egypt, declaring also her surviving brother, who was very young, and herself joint sovereigns.

After the death of Cæsar and the battle at Pharsalia, Antony passed over into Asia; he raised Cleopatra to the highest dignity, made her his wife, and had children by her. He was present with her at the battle of Actium, and accompanied her in her flight. Augustus Cæsar pursued them, put an end to their power, and rescued Egypt from misgovernment and revelry.

12. At present Egypt is a (Roman) province, pays considerable tribute, and is well governed by prudent persons, who are sent there in succession. The governor thus sent out has the rank of king. Subordinate to him is the administrator of justice, who is the supreme judge in many causes. There is another officer, who is called Idiologus, whose business it is to inquire into property for which there is no claimant, and which of right falls to Cæsar. These are accompanied by Cæsar's freedmen and stewards, who are intrusted with affairs of more or less importance.

Three legions are stationed in Egypt, one in the city, the rest in the country. Besides these there are also nine Roman cohorts, three quartered in the city, three on the borders of Ethiopia in Syene, as a guard to that tract, and three in other parts of the country. There are also three bodies of cavalry distributed in convenient posts.

Of the native magistrates in the cities, the first is the expounder of the law, who is dressed in scarlet; he receives the customary honours of the country, and has the care of providing what is necessary for the city. The second is the writer of records, the third is the chief judge. The fourth is the commander of the night guard. These magistrates existed in the time of the kings, but in consequence of the bad administration of affairs by the latter, the prosperity of the city was ruined by

¹ About B. C. 49.

² B. ix. c. v. § 6.

licentiousness. Polybius expresses his indignation at the state of things when he was there: he describes the inhabitants of the city to be composed of three classes; the (first) Egyptians and natives, acute but indifferent citizens, and meddling with civil affairs. The second, the mercenaries, a numerous and undisciplined body; for it was an ancient custom to maintain foreign soldiers, who, from the worthlessness of their sovereigns, knew better how to govern than to obey. The third were the Alexandrines, who, for the same reason, were not orderly citizens;¹ but still they were better than the mercenaries, for although they were a mixed race, yet being of Greek origin, they retained the customs common to the Greeks. But this class was extinct nearly about the time of Euergetes Physcon, in whose reign Polybius came to Alexandria. For Physcon, being distressed by factions, frequently exposed the multitude to the attacks of the soldiery, and thus destroyed them. By such a state of things in the city the words of the poet (says Polybius) were verified:

“The way to Egypt is long and vexatious.”²

13. Such then, if not worse, was the condition of the city under the last kings. The Romans, as far as they were able, corrected, as I have said, many abuses, and established an orderly government, by appointing vice-governors, nomarchs, and ethnarchs, whose business it was to superintend affairs of minor importance.

The greatest advantage which the city possesses arises from its being the only place in all Egypt well situated by nature for communication with the sea by its excellent harbour, and with the land by the river, by means of which everything is easily transported and collected together into this city, which is the greatest mart in the habitable world.

These may be said to be the superior excellencies of the city. Cicero, in one of his orations,³ in speaking of the revenues of Egypt, states that an annual tribute of 12,500 talents was paid to (Ptolemy) Auletes, the father of Cleopatra. If then a king, who administered his government in the worst possible manner, and with the greatest negligence, obtained so large a revenue, what must we suppose it to be at present,

¹ I have adopted the reading, ἀπολιτικὸν, “not understanding or ill-adapted for the duties of citizens,” suggested by Kramer.

² Od. iv. 481.

³ No longer existing.

when affairs are administered with great care, and when the commerce with India and with Troglodytica has been so greatly increased? For formerly not even twenty vessels ventured to navigate the Arabian Gulf, or advance to the smallest distance beyond the straits at its mouth; but now large fleets are despatched as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia, from which places the most valuable freights are brought to Egypt, and are thence exported to other parts, so that a double amount of custom is collected, arising from imports on the one hand, and from exports on the other. The most expensive description of goods is charged with the heaviest impost; for in fact Alexandria has a monopoly of trade, and is almost the only receptacle for this kind of merchandise and place of supply for foreigners. The natural convenience of the situation is still more apparent to persons travelling through the country, and particularly along the coast which commences at the Catabathmus; for to this place Egypt extends.

Next to it is Cyrenæa, and the neighbouring barbarians, the Marmaridæ.

14. From the Catabathmus¹ to Parætonium is a run of 900 stadia for a vessel in a direct course. There is a city and a large harbour of about 40 stadia in extent, by some called the city Parætonium,² by others, Ammonia. Between these is the village of the Egyptians, and the promontory Ænesisphyra, and the Tyndareian rocks, four small islands, with a harbour; then Drepanum a promontory, and Ænesippeia an island with a harbour, and Apis a village, from which to Parætonium are 100 stadia; [from thence] to the temple of Ammon is a journey of five days. From Parætonium to Alexandria are about 1300 stadia. Between these are, first, a promontory of white earth, called Leuce-Acte, then Phœnicus a harbour, and Pnigeus a village; after these the island Sidonia (Pèdonia?) with a harbour; then a little further off from the sea, Antiphraë. The whole of this country produces no wine of a good quality, and the earthen jars contain more sea-water than wine, which is called Libyan;³ this and beer are the

¹ Akabet el Kebira or Marsa Sollom.

² Baretoun, or Berek-Marsa. "Alexander, after passing 1600 stadia through that part of the desert where water was to be found to Parætonium, then turned inland to visit the oracle of Ammon." *Arrian*, b. iii. § 3.

³ "Wines which have been very carefully prepared with sea-water

principal beverage of the common people of Alexandria. Antiphæ in particular was a subject of ridicule (on account of its bad wine).

Next is the harbour Derrhis,¹ which has its name from an adjacent black rock, resembling δέρρις, a hide. The neighbouring place is called Zephyrium. Then follows another harbour, Leucaspis (the white shield), and many others; then the Cynossema (or dog's monument); then Taposeiris, not that situated upon the sea; here is held a great public festival. There is another Taposeiris,² situated at a considerable distance beyond the city (Alexandria). Near this, and close to the sea, is a rocky spot, which is the resort of great numbers of people at all seasons of the year, for the purpose of feasting and amusement. Next is Plinthine,³ and the village of Nicium, and Cherronesus a fortress, distant from Alexandria and the Necropolis about 70 stadia.

The lake Mareia, which extends as far as this place, is more than 150 stadia in breadth, and in length less than 300 stadia. It contains eight islands. The whole country about it is well inhabited. Good wine also is produced here, and in such quantity that the Mareotic wine is racked in order that it may be kept to be old.⁴

15. The byblus⁵ and the Egyptian bean grow in the marshes and lakes; from the latter the ciborium is made.⁶ never cause head-aches." *Athenæus*, b. i. c. i. 59, p. 54. Bohn's Classical Library.

¹ Cape Deras.

² The exact site is not ascertained, but it was not far from Aboukir.

³ "Hellanicus says that the vine was first discovered in Plinthine, a city of Egypt," and that for those "who, on account of their poverty, could not get wine, there was introduced a custom of drinking beer made of barley." *Athenæus*, b. i. c. i. 61, p. 56. Bohn's Classical Library.

⁴ "The Mareotic wine is erroneously stated by Athenæus (p. 55. Bohn's Classical Library) to have obtained its name from a fountain called Marea. The fountain and town derived their name from Maro, who was one of the companions of Bacchus." The wine is praised by Horace, Odes I. xxxvii. 14:

Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
Redegit in veros timores.

Virgil, *Geor.* ii. 91, calls a vine by this name:

Sunt Thasiæ vites, sunt et Mareotides albæ.

⁵ The Papyrus.

⁶ "There is also the ciborium. Hegesander the Delphian says that Euphorion the poet, when supping with Prytanis, his host, exhibited to him some ciboria, which appeared to be made in a most exquisite and

The stalks of the bean are nearly of equal height, and grow to the length of ten feet. The byblus is a bare stem, with a tuft on the top. But the bean puts out leaves and flowers in many parts, and bears a fruit similar to our bean, differing only in size and taste. The bean-grounds present an agreeable sight, and afford amusement to those who are disposed to recreate themselves with convivial feasts. These entertainments take place in boats with cabins; they enter the thickest part of the plantation, where they are overshadowed with the leaves, which are very large, and serve for drinking-cups and dishes, having a hollow which fits them for the purpose. They are found in great abundance in the shops in Alexandria, where they are used as vessels. One of the sources of land revenue is the sale of these leaves. Such then is the nature of this bean.

The byblus does not grow here in great abundance, for it is not cultivated. But it abounds in the lower parts of the Delta. There is one sort inferior to the other.¹ The best is the hieratica. Some persons intending to augment the revenue, employed in this case a method which the Jews practised with the palm, especially the caryotic, and with the balsamum.² In many places it is not allowed to be cultivated, and the price is enhanced by its rarity: the revenue is indeed thus increased, but the general consumption [of the article] is injured.

16. On passing through the Canobic gate of the city, on the right hand is the canal leading to Canobus, close to the lake. They sail by this canal to Schedia, to the great river, and to Canobus, but the first place at which they arrive is Eleusis. This is a settlement near Alexandria and Nicopolis, and situated on the Canobic canal. It has houses of entertainment which command beautiful views, and hither

costly manner. Didymus says that it is a kind of drinking-cup, and perhaps it may be the same as that which is called scyphium, which derives its name from being contracted to a narrow space at the bottom, like the Egyptian ciboria." *Athenæus*, b. xi. § 54, p. 761. Bohn's Classical Library.

¹ The two kinds known at present are the Egyptian and the Syracusan, which, according to Professor Parlatori, have the same general appearance, but differ in the number of flower-lobes.

² That is, the juice was extracted for its sugar; see b. xvi. c. ii. § 41, and Pliny, xiii. 12.

resort men and women who are inclined to indulge in noisy revelry, a prelude to Canobic life, and the dissolute manners of the people of Canobus.

At a little distance from Eleusis, on the right hand, is the canal leading towards Schedia. Schedia is distant four schœni from Alexandria. It is a suburb of the city, and has a station for the vessels with cabins, which convey the governors when they visit the upper parts of the country. Here is collected the duty on merchandise, as it is transported up or down the river. For this purpose a bridge of boats is laid across the river, and from this kind of bridge the place has the name of Schedia.

Next after the canal leading to Schedia, the navigation thence to Canobus is parallel to the sea-coast, extending from Pharos to the Canobic mouth. For between the sea and the canal, is a narrow band of ground, on which is situated the smaller Taposeiris, which lies next after Nicopolis, and Zephyrium a promontory, on which is a small temple dedicated to Venus Arsinoë.

Anciently, it is said, a city called Thonis stood there, which bears the name of the king, who entertained as his guests Menelaus and Helen. The poet thus speaks of the drugs which were given to Helen,

“the potent drugs, which Polydamna, the wife of Thon, gave to Helen.”¹

17. Canobus is a city, distant by land from Alexandria 120 stadia. It has its name from Canobus, the pilot of Menelaus, who died there. It contains the temple of Sarapis, held in great veneration, and celebrated for the cure of diseases; persons even of the highest rank confide in them, and sleep there themselves on their own account, or others for them. Some persons record the cures, and others the veracity of the oracles which are delivered there. But remarkable above everything else is the multitude of persons who resort to the public festivals, and come from Alexandria by the canal. For day and night there are crowds of men and women in boats, singing and dancing, without restraint, and with the utmost licentiousness. Others, at Canobus itself, keep hostelries situated on the banks of the canal, which are well adapted for such kind of diversion and revelry.

18. Next to Canobus is Heracleium, in which is a temple

¹ Od. iv. 228.

of Hercules; then follows the Canobic mouth,¹ and the commencement of the Delta.

On the right of the Canobic canal is the Menelaïte Nome, so called from the brother of the first Ptolemy, but certainly not from the hero (Menelaus), as some writers assert, among whom is Artemidorus.

Next to the Canobic mouth is the Bolbitine, then the Sebennytic, and the Phatnitic, which is the third in magnitude compared with the first two, which form the boundaries of the Delta. For it branches off into the interior, not far from the vertex of the Delta. The Mendesian is very near the Phatnitic mouth; next is the Tanitic, and lastly the Pelusiatic mouth. There are others, which are of little consequence, between these, since they are as it were false mouths.

The mouths have entrances which are not capable of admitting large vessels, but lighters only, on account of the shallows and marshes. The Canobic mart is principally used as a mart for merchandise, the harbours at Alexandria being closed, as I have said before.

After the Bolbitine mouth there runs out to a great distance a low and sandy promontory. It is called Agnuceras (or Willow Point). Then follows the watch-tower of Perseus,² and the fortress of the Milesians. For in the time of Psammitichus, and when Cyaxares was king of the Medes, some Milesians with 30 vessels steered into the Bolbitine mouth, disembarked there, and built the above-mentioned fortress. Some time afterwards they sailed up to the Saitic Nome, and having conquered Inarus in an engagement at sea, founded the city Naucratis, not far above Schedia.

Next after the fortress of the Milesians, in proceeding towards the Sebennytic mouth, are lakes, one of which is called Butice, from the city Butus; then the city Sebennydice and Sais, the capital of the lower country; here Minerva is worshipped. In the temple there of this goddess, is the tomb of Psammitichus. Near Butus is Hermopolis, situated in an island, and at Butus is an oracle of Latona.

¹ The Canobic mouth was situated in the bay of Aboukir; the Bolbitine is the Rosetta mouth; the Sebennytic is the Burlos mouth; the Phatnitic, the Damietta mouth; the Mendesian is that at Dibeh; the Tanitic, that at Omm. Faregeh; the Pelusiatic, that at Terraneh.

² The watch-tower of Perseus was at the western end of the Delta, according to Herodotus, ii. 15.

19. In the interior above the Sebennytic and Phatnitic mouths is Xoïs, both an island and a city in the Sebennytic Nome. There are also Hermopolis, Lycopolis, and Mendes, where Pan¹ is worshipped, and of animals a goat. Here, according to Pindar, goats have intercourse with women.

Near Mendes are Diospolis, and the lakes about it, and Leontopolis; then further on, the city Busiris,² in the Busirite Nome, and Cynopolis.

Eratosthenes says, "That to repel strangers is a practice common to all barbarians, but that this charge against the Egyptians is derived from fabulous stories related of (one) Busiris and his people in the Busirite Nome, as some persons in later times were disposed to charge the inhabitants of this place with inhospitality, although in truth there was neither king nor tyrant of the name of Busiris: that besides there was a common saying,

'The way to Egypt is long and vexatious,'³

which originated in the want of harbours, and in the state of the harbour at Pharos, which was not of free access, but watched and guarded by herdsmen, who were robbers, and attacked those who attempted to sail into it. The Carthaginians drown [he says] any strangers who sail past, on their voyage to Sardinia or to the Pillars. Hence much of what is related of the parts towards the west is discredited. The Persians also were treacherous guides, and conducted the ambassadors along circuitous and difficult ways."

20. Contiguous to the Busirite Nome are the Athribite Nome and the city Athribis; next the Prosopite Nome, in which latter is Aphroditopolis (the city of Venus). Above the Mendesian and the Tanitic mouths are a large lake, and the Mendesian and Leontopolite Nomes, and a city of Aphrodite (or Venus) and the Pharbetite Nome. Then follows the Tanitic, which some call the Saïtic mouth, and the Tanite Nome,⁴ and in it Tanis a large city.

21. Between the Tanitic and the Pelusiatic mouths are lakes

¹ The horned Pan.

² The people of Busiris worshipped Isis, and at one epoch, according to Hellenic tradition, sacrificed red men, who came over the sea, i. e. the nomades of Syria and Arabia.

³ Od. iv. 481.

⁴ In this nome tradition affirmed that the Hebrew legislator was born and educated.

and large and continuous marshes, among which are numerous villages. Pelusium itself has many marshes lying around it, which some call Barathra (or water holes), and swamps. It is situated at a distance of more than 20 stadia from the sea. The circumference of the wall is 20 stadia. It has its name from the mud (*πηλοῦ*) of the swamps.¹ On this quarter Egypt is difficult of access, i. e. from the eastern side towards Phœnicia and Judæa, and on the side of Arabia Nabatæa, which is contiguous; through which countries the road to Egypt lies.

The country between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf is Arabia, and at its extremity is situated Pelusium. But the whole is desert, and not passable by an army. The isthmus between Pelusium and the recess of the Arabian Gulf near Heroopolis is 1000 stadia; but, according to Poseidonius, less than 1500 stadia in extent. Besides its being sandy and without water, it abounds with reptiles, which burrow in the sand.

22. In sailing up the river from Schedia to Memphis,² on the right hand, are a great many villages extending as far as the lake Mareia, among which is that called the village of Chabrias. Upon the river is Hermopolis, then Gynæcopolis, and the Gynæcopolite Nome; next Momemphis and the Momemphite Nome. Between these places are many canals, which empty themselves into the lake Mareotis. The Momemphitæ worship Venus, and a sacred cow is kept there, as Apis is maintained at Memphis, and Mneyis³ at Heliopolis.

¹ *kai* is omitted in the translation, as Groskurd proposes.

² Memphis was the residence of the Pharaohs, who succeeded Psammitichus, B. C. 616. The Memphite Nome rose into importance on the decline of the kingdom of Thebais, and was itself in turn eclipsed by the Hellenic kingdom of Alexandria. The village of Mitranieh, half concealed in a grove of palm trees, about ten miles south of Gizeh, marks the site of the ancient Memphis. The successive conquerors of the land, indeed, have used its ruins as a stone quarry, so that its exact situation has been a subject of dispute. Major Rennell, however, brings incontestable evidence of the correspondence of Mitranieh with Memphis. Its remains extend over many hundred acres of ground, which are covered with blocks of granite, broken obelisks, columns, and colossal statues. The principal mound corresponds probably with the area of the great temple of Ptah. *Smith.*

³ The Egyptians say that the ox Mneyis is sacred to the sun, and that Apis is dedicated to the moon. *Ælian de Nat. Animal. ii. 11.*

These animals are regarded as gods, but there are other places, and these are numerous, both in the Delta and beyond it, in which a bull or a cow is maintained, which are not regarded as gods, but only as sacred.

23. Above Momemphis are two nitre mines, which furnish nitre in large quantities, and the Nitriote Nome. Here Sarpis is worshipped, and they are the only people in Egypt who sacrifice a sheep. In this nome and near this place is a city called Menelaus. On the left hand in the Delta, upon the river, is Naucratis. At the distance of two schœni from the river is Saïs,¹ and a little above it the asylum of Osiris,

¹ Saïs stood in lat. 30° 4' N., on the right bank of the Canopic arm of the Nile. The site of the ancient city is determined not only by the appellation of the modern town Sa-el-Hadjar, which occupies a portion of its area, but also by mounds of ruin corresponding in extent to the importance of Saïs, at least, under the later Pharaohs. The city was artificially raised high above the level of the Delta to be out of the reach of the inundations of the Nile, and served as a landmark to all who ascended the arms of the river, from the Mediterranean to Memphis. Its ruins have been very imperfectly explored, yet traces have been found of the lake on which the mysteries of Isis were performed, as well as of the temple of Neith (Athene) and the necropolis of the Saïte kings. The wall of unburnt brick which surrounded the principal buildings of the city was 70 feet thick, and probably, therefore, at least 100 feet high. It enclosed an area 2325 feet in length by 1960 in breadth. Beyond this enclosure were also two large cemeteries, one for the citizens generally, and the other reserved for the nobles and priests of the higher orders.

Saïs was one of the sacred cities of Egypt: its principal deities were Neith, who gave oracles there, and Isis. The mysteries of the latter were celebrated with unusual pomp on the evening of the Feast of Lamps. Herodotus (ii. 59) terms this festival the third of the great feasts in the Egyptian calendar. It was held by night; and every one intending to be present at the sacrifices was required to light a number of lamps in the open air around his house. At what season of the year the feast of burning lamps was celebrated, Herodotus knew, but deemed it wrong to tell (ii. 62); it was, however, probably at either the vernal or autumnal equinox, since it apparently had reference to one of the capital revolutions in the solar course. An inscription, in the temple of Neith, declared her to be the Mother of the Sun. It ran thus, "I am the things that have been, and that are, and that will be; no one has uncovered my skirts; the fruit which I brought forth became the Sun." It is probable, accordingly, that the kindling of the lamps referred to Neith, as the author of light. On the same night, apparently, were performed what the Egyptians designated as the "Mysteries of Isis." Saïs was one of the supposed places of interment of Osiris, for that is evidently the deity whom Herodotus will not name (ii. 171), when he says that there is a burial-place of *him* at Saïs in the temple of Athene. The mysteries were sym-

in which it is said Osiris is buried. This, however, is questioned by many persons, and particularly by the inhabitants of Philæ, which is situated above Syene and Elephantina. These people tell this tale, that Isis placed coffins of Osiris in various places, but that one only contained the body of Osiris, so that no one knew which of them it was; and that she did this with the intention of concealing it from Typhon,¹ who might come and cast the body out of its place of deposit.

24. This is the description of the country from Alexandria to the vertex of the Delta.

Artemidorus says, that the navigation up the river is 28 schœni, which amount to 840 stadia, reckoning the schœnus at 30 stadia. When we ourselves sailed up the river, schœni of different measures were used at different places in giving the distances, so that sometimes the received schœnus was a measure of 40 stadia and even more. That the measure of the schœnus was unsettled among the Egyptians, Artemidorus himself shows in a subsequent place. In reckoning the distance from Memphis to Thebais, he says that each schœnus consists of 120 stadia, and from the Thebais to Syene of 60 stadia. In sailing up from Pelusium to the same vertex of the Delta, is a distance, he says, of 25 schœni, or 750 stadia, and he employs the same measure.

On setting out from Pelusium, the first canal met with is that which fills the lakes, "near the marshes," as they are called. There are two of these lakes, situated upon the left hand of the great stream above Pelusium in Arabia. He mentions other lakes also, and canals in the same parts beyond the Delta.

The Sethroïte Nome extends along one of the two lakes. He reckons this as one of the ten nomes in the Delta. There are two other canals, which discharge themselves into the same lakes.

25. There is another canal also, which empties itself into the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf, near the city Arsinoë, which some call Cleopatris.² It flows through the Bitter Lakes, as

bolical representations of the sufferings of Osiris, especially his dismemberment by Typhon. They were exhibited on the lake behind the temple of Neith. Portions of the lake may be still discerned near the hamlet Sa-el-Hadjar. *Smith, Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, Art. Saïs.*

¹ The evil or destroying genius.

² Suez.

they are called, which were bitter formerly, but when the above-mentioned canal was cut, the bitter quality was altered by their junction with the river, and at present they contain excellent fish, and abound with aquatic birds.

The canal was first cut by Sesostris before the Trojan times, but according to other writers, by the son of¹ Psammitichus, who only began the work, and afterwards died; lastly, Darius the First succeeded to the completion of the undertaking, but he desisted from continuing the work, when it was nearly finished, influenced by an erroneous opinion that the level of the Red Sea was higher than Egypt, and that if the whole of the intervening isthmus were cut through, the country would be overflowed by the sea. The Ptolemaic kings however did cut through it, and placed locks upon the canal,² so that they sailed, when they pleased, without obstruction into the outer sea, and back again [into the canal].

We have spoken of the surfaces of bodies of water in the first part of this work.³

26. Near Arsinoë are situated in the recess of the Arabian Gulf towards Egypt, Heroopolis and Cleopatris; harbours,

¹ Pharaoh Necho, under whom and in the execution of the work 120,000 labourers perished. Herod. ii. 158.

² κλειστόν ἐποίησαν τὸν Εὐριπὸν, "closed the Euripus." Diodorus Siculus, i. 33, thus speaks of this same work. "Darius the Persian left the canal unfinished, as he was informed by some persons, that by cutting through the isthmus he would be the cause of inundating Egypt; for they pointed out to him that the Red Sea was higher than the level of Egypt. The second Ptolemy afterwards completed the canal, and in the most convenient part constructed an artfully contrived barrier, (διάφραγμα.) which he could open when he liked for the passage of vessels, and quickly close again, the operation being easily performed."

The immediate communication therefore between the sea and the canal was cut off by a lock; and as there must have been two, there would be a flux and reflux of water between them on the passage of vessels. This probably suggested to our author the word Euripus, and is to be understood as applying to that portion of the canal included between the locks. By the word Euripus is generally understood the channel between Negropont and the mainland, which is subject to an ebb and flow of the sea. The storing up of water, and the distribution of it for the purposes of irrigation, was no doubt well known to the Egyptians. Diodorus, b. i. 19, ascribes to Osiris the invention. "Osiris confined the Nile by embankments on both sides, so that at the period of its rising it might not inconveniently spread over the country, but that, by gates (διὰ θυρῶν) adapted for the purpose, the stream might be gently discharged as occasion required.

³ B. i. c. i. § 20.

suburbs, many canals, and lakes are also near. There also is the Phagroriopolite Nome, and the city Phagroriopolis. The canal, which empties itself into the Red Sea, begins at the village Phaccusa, to which the village of Philon is contiguous. The canal is 100 cubits broad, and its depth sufficient to float a vessel of large burden. These places are near the apex of the Delta.

27. There also are the city Bubastus¹ and the Bubastite Nome, and above it the Heliopolite Nome. There too is Heliopolis, situated upon a large mound. It contains a temple of the sun, and the ox Mneyis, which is kept in a sanctuary, and is regarded by the inhabitants as a god, as Apis is regarded by the people of Memphis. In front of the mound are lakes, into which the neighbouring canal discharges itself. At present the city is entirely deserted. It has an ancient temple constructed after the Egyptian manner, bearing many proofs of the madness and sacrilegious acts of Cambyses, who did very great injury to the temples, partly by fire, partly by violence, mutilating [in some] cases, and applying fire [in others]. In this manner he injured the obelisks, two of which, that were not entirely spoilt, were transported to Rome.² There are others both here and at Thebes, the present Diospolis, some of which are standing, much corroded by fire, and others lying on the ground.

28. The plan of the temples is as follows.

At the entrance into the temenus is a paved floor, in breadth about a plethrum, or even less; its length is three or four times as great, and in some instances even more. This part is called Dromos, and is mentioned by Callimachus,

“this is the Dromos, sacred to Anubis.”

Throughout the whole length on each side are placed stone sphinxes, at the distance of 20 cubits or a little more from each other, so that there is one row of sphinxes on the right hand, and another on the left. Next after the sphinxes is a large propylon, then on proceeding further, another propylon, and then another. Neither the number of the propyla nor of the sphinxes is determined by any rule. They are different in different temples, as well as the length and breadth of the Dromi.

¹ Bubastis or Artemis, Diana. Herod. ii. 59, 67, 137.

² Among those no doubt now at Rome.

Next to the propyla is the naos, which has a large and considerable pronaos; the sanctuary in proportion; there is no statue, at least not in human shape, but a representation of some of the brute animals. On each side of the pronaos project what are called the wings. These are two walls of equal height with the naos. At first the distance between them is a little more than the breadth of the foundation of the naos.¹ As you proceed onwards, the [base] lines incline towards one another till they approach within 50 or 60 cubits. These walls have large sculptured figures, very much like the Tyrrhenian (Etruscan) and very ancient works among the Greeks.

There is also a building with a great number of pillars, as at Memphis, in the barbaric style; for, except the magnitude and number and rows of pillars, there is nothing pleasing nor easily described,² but rather a display of labour wasted.

29. At Heliopolis we saw large buildings in which the priests lived. For it is said that anciently this was the principal residence of the priests, who studied philosophy and astronomy. But there are no longer either such a body of persons or such pursuits. No one was pointed out to us on the spot, as presiding over these studies, but only persons who performed sacred rites, and who explained to strangers [the peculiarities of] the temples.

A person of the name of Chæremon accompanied the governor, Ælius Gallus, in his journey from Alexandria into Egypt, and pretended to some knowledge of this kind, but he was generally ridiculed for his boasting and ignorance. The houses of the priests, and the residences of Plato and of Eudoxus, were shown to us. Eudoxus came here with Plato, and, according to some writers, lived thirteen years in the society of the priests. For the latter were distinguished for their knowledge of the heavenly bodies, but were mysterious and uncommunicative, yet after a time were prevailed upon by courtesy to acquaint them with some of the principles of their science, but the barbarians concealed the greater part of them. They had, however, communicated the knowledge of the additional

¹ This description is illustrated by the remains of the great temple at Philæ, dedicated to Ammon Osiris.

² οὐδὲ γραφικόν. These words have been understood by some writers as signifying that there were no paintings, but Letronne has clearly shown that they do not convey this meaning.

portions of the day and night, in the space of 365 days, necessary to complete the annual period; and, at that time, the length of the year was unknown to the Greeks, as were many other things, until later astronomers received them from the persons who translated the records of the priests into the Greek language, and even now derive knowledge from their writings and from those of the Chaldeans.¹

30. After Heliopolis is the "Nile above the Delta." The country on the right hand, as you go up the Nile, is called Libya, as well as that near Alexandria and the lake Mareotis; the country on the left hand is called Arabia. The territory belonging to Heliopolis is in Arabia, but the city Cercesura is in Libya, and situated opposite to the observatory of Eudoxus. For there is shown an observing station in front of Heliopolis, as there is in front of Cnidus, where Eudoxus marked certain motions of the heavenly bodies. This is the Letopolite Nome.

In sailing up the river we meet with Babylon, a strong fortress, built by some Babylonians who had taken refuge there, and had obtained permission from the kings to establish a settlement in that place. At present it is an encampment for one of the three legions which garrison Egypt. There is a mountainous ridge, which extends from the encampment as far as the Nile. At this ridge are wheels and screws, by which water is raised from the river, and one hundred and fifty prisoners are [thus] employed.

The pyramids on the other side [of the river] at Memphis may be clearly discerned from this place, for they are not far off.

31. Memphis itself also, the residence of the kings of Egypt, is near, being only three schoeni distant from the Delta. It contains temples, among which is that of Apis, who is the same as Osiris. Here the ox Apis is kept in a sort of sanctuary, and is held, as I have said, to be a god. The forehead and some other small parts of its body are white; the other parts are black. By these marks the fitness of the successor

¹ George (Syncellus, or companion of the Patriarch), a writer of the eighth century, and who had the reputation of being well versed in history, says that "Ptolemy Philadelphus collected all the writings of Greeks, Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Romans, and had such of them as were not Greek translated into that language, and deposited 100,000 volumes at Alexandria. M. Letronne is disposed to think that Hipparchus, Eratosthenes, Ptolemy, and others borrowed from these sources.

is always determined, when the animal to which they pay these honours dies. In front of the sanctuary is a court, in which there is another sanctuary for the dam of Apis. Into this court the Apis is let loose at times, particularly for the purpose of exhibiting him to strangers. He is seen through a door in the sanctuary, and he is permitted to be seen also out of it. After he has frisked about a little in the court, he is taken back to his own stall.

The temple of Apis is near the Hephæsteium (or temple of Vulcan); the Hephæsteium¹ itself is very sumptuously constructed, both as regards the size of the naos and in other respects. In front of the Dromos is a colossal figure consisting of a single stone. It is usual to celebrate bull-fights in this Dromos; the bulls are bred expressly for this purpose, like horses. They are let loose, and fight with one another, the conqueror receiving a prize.

At Memphis also there is a temple of Venus, who is accounted a Grecian deity. But some say that it is a temple dedicated to Selene, or the moon.²

32. There is also a temple of Sarapis, situated in a very sandy spot, where the sand is accumulated in masses by the wind. Some of the sphinxes which we saw were buried in this sand up to the head, and one half only of others was visible. Hence we may conceive the danger, should any one, in his way to the temple, be surprised by a [sand] storm.

The city is large and populous; it ranks next to Alexandria, and, like that place, is inhabited by mixed races of people. There are lakes in front of the city and of the palaces, which at present are in ruins and deserted. They are situated upon an eminence, and extend as far as the lower part of the city.

Close to this place are a grove and a lake.

33. At the distance of 40 stadia from Memphis is a brow

¹ "Sesoosis (Sesostris) raised two obelisks of hard stone, 120 cubits in height, on which were inscribed the greatness of his power, the amount of his revenue, and the number of the nations which he had conquered. At Memphis, in the temple of Vulcan, he erected monolithic images of himself and his wife, 30 cubits in height, and images of his sons, 20 cubits in height," in memory of his escape from fire when his brother Armais attempted to burn him with his wife and children. Diod. Sic. i. 57.

² Probably the statue of Venus bore a crescent on the forehead.

of a hill, on which are many pyramids, the tombs of the kings.¹ Three of them are considerable. Two of these are reckoned among the seven wonders [of the world]. They are a stadium in height, and of a quadrangular shape. Their height somewhat exceeds the length of each of the sides.² One pyramid is a little larger than the other. At a moderate height in one of the sides³ is a stone, which may be taken out; when that is removed, there is an oblique passage [leading] to the tomb. They are near each other, and upon the same level. Farther on, at a greater height of the mountain, is the third pyramid, which is much less than the two others, but constructed at much greater expense; for from the found-

¹ We have reason to be surprised that Strabo, who had seen the pyramids, has said so little concerning them. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus enter into more particulars, and in general are more exact. Some idea of the immense labour required may be obtained from considerations such as follow:—

The base and height being given, we find for the solid contents—

	cubic yards.
1. of the great pyramid	2,864,000
2. of Chephren	2,056,000
3. of Mycerinus	211,000

So that if a wall of (three mètres) about $9\frac{1}{4}$ feet in height, and a foot in thickness, were built with the materials of these pyramids, we should have a wall—

	miles.
1. from the great pyramid in length	1626
2. from Chephren or Cheops	1167
3. from Mycerinus	117

The stones, therefore, of the three pyramids would form such a wall 2910 miles in length, or one sufficient to reach from Alexandria to the coast of Guinea. *Letronne*.

² This is a palpable error, and greater than that of Herodotus, who makes the base equal to the height. The ratio of the height to the base in the great pyramid was as 0.627 to 1; and in the second, as 0.640 to 1. Diodorus approaches nearest of all to the truth, as he makes this ratio to be as 6 to 7 or as 0.817 to 1. Strabo should rather have said, “the sides are rather greater than the height;” but all that he says respecting the pyramids is vague and inexact.

³ *ἐν ὑψει μέσως πως μᾶς τῶν πλευρῶν μᾶς* is adopted, although not introduced into the text, by Kramer; *μέσως πως* is connected with *ἐν ὑψει*, and not with *τῶν πλευρῶν*, in the sense of “moderately,” in which it is also used in b. xi. c. ii. § 18. “The kings who succeeded to the possession of the country, (*μέσως ἔπραττον*) were moderately successful.” The moveable stone has been taken away, and the aperture is at most at about one-twelfth the whole height of the pyramid from its base.

ation nearly as far as the middle, it is built of black stone. Mortars are made of this stone, which is brought from a great distance; for it comes from the mountains of Ethiopia, and being hard and difficult to be worked, the labour is attended with great expense. It is said to be the tomb of a courtesan, built by her lovers, and whose name, according to Sappho the poetess, was Doriche. She was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who traded to the port of Naucratis with wine of Lesbos. Others call her Rhodopis.¹

¹ Chembes the Memphite built the largest of the three pyramids, which are reckoned among the seven most remarkable works in the world. They are situated by the side of Libya, distant 120 stadia from Memphis, and 45 from the Nile. These works, by their size and by the artifice and labour employed in their construction, strike the beholder with astonishment and wonder. The base of the largest, the plan of which is quadrilateral, is seven plethra on each side; the height is more than six plethra; the pyramid gradually contracts towards the top, of which each side measures six cubits, and the whole is built of hard stone. Its construction must have been accompanied with great difficulty, but its permanence will be eternal; for although, it is said, not less than a thousand years have passed away to our day (some even say more than 3400 years) since they were built, yet the stones still remain, preserving their original position, and their whole arrangement uninjured by time. The stone is said to have come from a great distance in Arabia, and the process of building was carried on by raising mounds of earth; for at that period no machines had been invented. But it is most marvellous that although such an immense undertaking has been completed, and the whole country around is composed of sand, not a single trace remains of the mounds raised, nor of the fragments of stone broken off by the workmen: indeed the pyramids do not seem to have been raised by the gradual labour of man, but to have been placed by some divine hand in a mass, perfectly formed, down upon the surrounding sands. Some Egyptians undertake to narrate wondrous stories respecting them, such, for instance, that the mounds above-mentioned were composed of salt and nitre, which melted away upon the rising of the river, and completely disappeared without the intervention of human labour. But this cannot be true, for the same number of hands which constructed the mounds would be able to reduce them again to their former state; and 360,000 men, it is said, were employed in the undertaking. The whole was completed in a little less than twenty years.

On the death of this king, he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who reigned 56 years. According to some writers, it was not a brother, but a son, named Chabryis, who was his successor. But all agree that the successor, whoever he was, desired to imitate his predecessor's conception, and built the second pyramid, which resembled the first in its artificial construction, but was inferior to it in size, the sides of the base being a stadium each in length.

On the greater pyramid is an inscription which states the amount expended on herbs and radishes for the workmen, and it informs us that 1600 talents were paid for this purpose.

A story is told of her, that, when she was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals from the hands of her female attendant and carried it to Memphis; the eagle soaring over the head of the king, who was administering justice at the time, let the sandal fall into his lap. The king, struck with the shape of the sandal, and the singularity of the accident,

The lesser pyramid bears no inscription, and it has an ascent formed in it through an opening in one of the sides. But although the kings built these pyramids for their own tombs, yet it has so happened that none of them have ever been buried in them. For the population, in consequence of the misery to which these works exposed them, and of the cruelty and tyranny of the kings, were incensed against them as the causes of their sufferings; and moreover threatened to tear their bodies in pieces, and to cast them out with insult from their place of burial. Every king therefore, on the approach of death, enjoined his relations to bury his body secretly in a place undistinguished by marks.

These were succeeded by king Mycerinus, (whom some call Mecherinus,) son of the king who built the first pyramid. He designed to build a third, but died before he accomplished it. Each side of the base of this pyramid was three plethra in length, and fifteen tiers of the building were raised of black stone like the Thebaic stone, but the rest was filled up with a stone resembling that of the other pyramids. This work is inferior to the two former in size, but far surpasses them in artificial construction and in the expensiveness of the stone. On its northern side the name of Mycerinus is inscribed, as the person who caused it to be built. He is said to have held in abhorrence the cruelty of his predecessors, and to have been ambitious of leading a just life, and beneficial to his subjects. He performed many actions by which he called forth the affection of his people towards him; and among others he expended a great sum of money in public causes, rewarding the judges who delivered upright judgments, which was not commonly the case.

There are three other pyramids, the sides of which are two plethra in length; in workmanship they entirely resemble the others, except in magnitude. These pyramids, it is said, were built by the three before-mentioned kings in honour of their own wives. These works by universal consent are the most remarkable in Egypt, not only in their ponderous construction, but also in the art displayed. We ought, we are told, to admire more the architects than the kings, who supplied the means, for the architects brought their designs to completion by force of mind and the influence of an honourable ambition, but the kings by the power of that wealth which was their portion, or by injuries inflicted on others. There is no agreement whatever, either between the natives of the country or between authors, respecting the pyramids; for some assert that the kings before mentioned built them, others that they were not the builders, but that Armæus built the first and largest; Amasis, the second; and Inaro, the third: but this last is said by some to be the burial-place of Rhodopis, a courtesan, whose lovers were certain governors of nomes, who from affection towards her undertook this great work, and completed it at their common charge. Diodorus Siculus, b. . 63, 64.

sent over the country to discover the woman to whom it belonged. She was found in the city of Naucratis, and brought to the king, who made her his wife. At her death she was honoured with the above-mentioned tomb.

34. One extraordinary thing which I saw at the pyramids must not be omitted. Heaps of stones from the quarries lie in front of the pyramids. Among these are found pieces which in shape and size resemble lentils.¹ Some contain substances like grains half peeled. These, it is said, are the remnants of the workmen's food converted into stone; which is not probable.² For at home in our country (Asia), there is a long hill in a plain, which abounds with pebbles of a porous stone,³ resembling lentils. The pebbles of the sea-shore and of rivers suggest somewhat of the same difficulty [respecting their origin]; some explanation may indeed be found in the motion [to which these are subject] in flowing waters, but the investigation of the above fact presents more difficulty. I have said elsewhere,⁴ that in sight of the pyramids, on the other side in Arabia, and near the stone quarries from which they are built, is a very rocky mountain, called the Trojan mountain; beneath it there are caves, and near the caves and the river a village called Troy, an ancient settlement of the captive Trojans who had accompanied Menelaus and settled there.⁵

¹ Niebuhr says, that in these stones are found small petrified substances in the form of lentils, which appear to be of the same kind of shell of which he collected several at Bushir. Clarke also says, that at the base of the pyramids a variety of calcareous stone is found in detached masses, exactly such as Strabo has described, and appear to be the petrified remains of some unknown animal. Forskal calls them "testacea fossilia kakiensia." Diodorus, as quoted above, says that there are no vestiges of fragments.

² The translation follows Letronne's correction, ἐπέοικε for ἀπέοικε.

³ In the text λίθου πυρωφίας, Groskurd reads πυρίνου, which word occurs in Herod. v. 62, and translates it "tufstein."

⁴ No passage is to be found in his Geography to this effect, it has either been lost from the text, or existed in his other works.

⁵ "It is said that the captives from Babylon revolted from the king (Sesostris), being unable to endure the sufferings to which they were exposed in the public works. They seized upon a strong place on the banks of the river, and maintained for some time a contest with the Egyptians, destroying the neighbouring district. At last, having obtained security from molestation, they made a regular settlement of the place, and called it Babylon, after their native city. Under similar circumstances,

35. Next to Memphis is the city Acanthus, situated also in Libya, and the temple of Osiris, and the grove of the Thebaic acantha, from which gum is procured. Next is the Aphroditopolite Nome, and the city in Arabia of the same name, where is kept a white cow, considered sacred. Then follows the Heracleote Nome, in a large island, near which is the canal on the right hand, which leads into Libya, in the direction of the Arsinoïte Nome; so that the canal has two entrances, a part of the island on one side being interposed between them.¹ This nome is the most considerable of all in appearance, natural properties, and embellishment. It is the only nome planted with large, full-grown olive trees, which bear fine fruit. If the produce were carefully collected, good oil might be obtained; but this care is neglected, and although a large quantity of oil is obtained, yet it has a disagreeable smell. (The rest of Egypt is without the olive tree, except the gardens near Alexandria, which are planted with olive trees, but do not furnish any oil.) It produces wine in abundance, corn, pulse, and a great variety of other grains. It has also the remarkable lake Mœris, which in extent is a sea, and the colour of its waters resembles that of the sea. Its borders also are like the sea-shore, so that we may make the same suppositions respecting these as about the country near Ammon. For they are not very far distant from one another and from Parætonium; and we may conjecture from a multitude of proofs, that as the temple of Ammon was once situated upon the sea, so this tract of country also bordered on the sea at some former period. But Lower Egypt and the country as far as the Lake Sirbonis were sea, and confluent perhaps

it is said, a place received the name of Troy which still exists on the banks of the Nile. For Menelaus, on his return from Troy with captives, came to Egypt. The Trojan captives revolted, took up a position, and carried on a war, until having obtained safety for themselves by treaty, they founded a city bearing the name of their native place." I am aware that Ctesias gives a different account of these cities, and says that some of the soldiers who accompanied Semiramis in her invasion of Egypt founded these cities, and gave to them the names of their native cities. Diod. Sic. i. 56.

¹ This passage presents great difficulties. Kramer expresses himself dissatisfied with any explanation hitherto given. Und so dass der Kanal zwei Mündungen hat, zwischen welche ein Theil der Insel seitwärts anfält. *Groskurd.*

with the Red Sea at Heroopolis, and the Ælanitic recess of the gulf.

36. We have treated these subjects at length in the First Book of the Geography. At present we shall make a few remarks on the operations of nature and of Providence conjointly.—On the operations of nature, that all things converge to a point, namely, the centre of the whole, and assume a spherical shape around it. The earth is the densest body, and nearer the centre than all others: the less dense and next to it is water; but both land and water are spheres, the first solid, the second hollow, containing the earth within it.—On the operations of Providence, that it has exercised a will, is disposed to variety, and is the artificer of innumerable works. In the first rank, as greatly surpassing all the rest, is the generation of animals, of which the most excellent are gods and men, for whose sake the rest were formed. To the gods Providence assigned heaven; and the earth to men, the extreme parts of the world; for the extreme parts of the sphere are the centre and the circumference. But since water encompasses the earth, and man is not an aquatic, but a land-animal, living in the air, and requiring much light, Providence formed many eminences and cavities in the earth, so that these cavities should receive the whole or a great part of the water which covers the land beneath it; and that the eminences should rise and conceal the water beneath them, except so much as was necessary for the use of the human race, the animals and plants about it.

But as all things are in constant motion, and undergo great changes, (for it is not possible that things of such a nature, so numerous and vast, could be otherwise regulated in the world,) we must not suppose the earth or the water always to continue in this state, so as to retain perpetually the same bulk, without increase or diminution, or that each preserves the same fixed place, particularly as the reciprocal change of one into the other is most consonant to nature from their proximity; but that much of the land is changed into water, and a great portion of water becomes land, just as we observe great differences in the earth itself. For one kind of earth crumbles easily, another is solid and rocky, and contains iron; and so of others. There is also a variety in the quality of water; for some waters are saline, others sweet and potable, others

medicinal, and either salutary or noxious, others cold or hot. Is it therefore surprising that some parts of the earth which are now inhabited should formerly have been occupied by sea, and that what are now seas should formerly have been inhabited land? so also fountains once existing have failed, and others have burst forth; and similarly in the case of rivers and lakes: again, mountains and plains have been converted reciprocally one into the other. On this subject I have spoken before at length,¹ and now let this be said:

37. The lake Moeris, by its magnitude and depth, is able to sustain the superabundance of water which flows into it at the time of the rise of the river, without overflowing the inhabited and cultivated parts of the country. On the decrease of the water of the river, it distributes the excess by the same canal at each of the mouths; and both the lake and the canal preserve a remainder, which is used for irrigation. These are the natural and independent properties of the lake, but in addition, on both mouths of the canal are placed locks, by which the engineers store up and distribute the water which enters or issues from the canal.

We have here also the Labyrinth, a work equal to the Pyramids, and adjoining to it the tomb of the king who constructed the Labyrinth.² After proceeding beyond the first entrance of the canal about 30 or 40 stadia, there is a table-shaped plain, with a village and a large palace composed of as many palaces as there were formerly nomes. There are an equal number of aulæ, surrounded by pillars, and contiguous to one another, all in one line and forming one building, like a long wall having the aulæ in front of it. The entrances into the aulæ are opposite to the wall. In front of the entrances there are long and numerous covered ways, with winding passages communicating with each other, so that no stranger could find his way into the aulæ or out of them without a guide. The (most) surprising circumstance is that the roofs of these dwellings consist of a single stone each, and that the covered ways through their whole range were roofed in the same manner with single slabs of stone of extraordinary size, without the intermixture of timber or of any other material. On ascending the roof,—which is not of great height, for it

¹ Book i. c. iii. § 4.

² Herod. ii. 148; Diod. i. 66. See below, § 42.

consists only of a single story,—there may be seen a stone-field, thus composed of stones. Descending again and looking¹ into the aulæ, these may be seen in a line supported by twenty-seven pillars, each consisting of a single stone. The walls also are constructed of stones not inferior in size to these.

At the end of this building, which occupies more than a stadium, is the tomb, which is a quadrangular pyramid, each side of which is about four plethra in length, and of equal height. The name of the person buried there is Imandes.² They built, it is said, this number of aulæ, because it was the custom for all the nomes to assemble there together according to their rank, with their own priests and priestesses, for the purpose of performing sacrifices and making offerings to the gods, and of administering justice in matters of great importance. Each of the nomes was conducted to the aula appointed for it.

38. Sailing along to the distance of 100 stadia, we come to the city Arsinoë, formerly called Crocodilopolis; for the inhabitants of this nome worship the crocodile. The animal is accounted sacred, and kept apart by himself in a lake; it is tame, and gentle to the priests, and is called Suchus. It is fed with bread, flesh, and wine, which strangers who come to see it always present. Our host, a distinguished person, who was our guide in examining what was curious, accompanied us to the lake, and brought from the supper table a small cake, dressed meat, and a small vessel containing a mixture of honey and milk. We found the animal lying on the edge of the lake. The priests went up to it; some of them opened its mouth, another put the cake into it, then the meat, and afterwards poured down the honey and milk. The animal then leaped into the lake, and crossed to the other side. When another stranger arrived with his offering, the priests took it, and running round the lake, caught the crocodile, and gave him what was brought, in the same manner as before.

39. Next after the Arsinoïte and Heracleotic Nomes, is the city of Hercules, in which the ichneumon is worshipped, in opposition to the Arsinoïtes, who worship crocodiles;

¹ The translator adopts Kramer's suggestion, of reading *εἰσβλέποντα* for *ἐκπίπτοντα*.

² The founder, according to Diodorus Siculus, was Mendes or Marrus. B. i. 61.

hence the canal and the lake Moeris is full of these animals ; for they venerate them, and are careful to do them no harm : but the Heracleotæ worship the ichneumon, which is most destructive both to crocodiles and asps. The ichneumons destroy not only the eggs of the latter, but the animals themselves. The ichneumons are protected by a covering of mud, in which they roll, and then dry themselves in the sun. They then seize the asps by the head or tail, and dragging them into the river, so kill them.

They lie in wait for the crocodiles, when the latter are basking in the sun with their mouths open ; they then drop into their jaws, and eating through their intestines and belly, issue out of the dead body.

40. Next follows the Cynopolite Nome and Cynopolis, where they worship the dog Anubis, and pay certain honours to dogs ; a subsistence is there provided for them, as sacred animals.

On the other side of the river is the city Oxyrynchus,¹ and a nome of the same name. They worship the oxyrynchus, and have a temple dedicated to this animal ; but all the other Egyptians worship the oxyrynchus.² For all the Egyptians worship in common certain animals ; three among the land animals, the ox, the dog, and the cat ; two among the winged tribe, the hawk and the ibis ; and two of the aquatic animals, the fish lepidotus and the oxyrynchus. There are also other animals which each people, independently of others, worship ; as the Saïtæ and Thebaïtæ, a sheep ; the Latopolitæ, the latus, a fish inhabiting the Nile ; the people of Lycopolis, a wolf ; those of Hermopolis,³ the cynocephalus ; those of Babylon,⁴ near Memphis, a cephus, which has the countenance of a satyr, and in other respects is between a dog and a bear ; it is bred in Ethiopia. The inhabitants of Thebes worship an eagle ; the Leontopolitæ, a lion ; the Mendesians, a male and female goat ; the Athribitæ, a shrewmouse ; different people worshipping different animals. They do not, however, assign the same reasons for this difference of worship.

¹ Bekneseh.

² This fish, a species of sturgeon, received its name from the shape of the head (sharp-pointed), and was said to have been produced from the blood of the wounded Osiris. Ælian. Hist. Animal. x. 46.

³ Eshmoon.

⁴ Babouit.

41. Then follows the Hermopolite Castle, a place where is collected the toll on merchandise brought down from the Thebaïs. At this place begins the reckoning by schoeni of sixty stadia each, which is continued to Syene and Elephantina. Next is the Thebaïc Keep, and a canal leading to Tanis. Then follow Lycopolis, Aphroditopolis, and Panopolis, an old settlement belonging to masons and weavers of linen.

42. Then follows Ptolemaïs,¹ the largest city in the Thebaïs, not inferior to Memphis, with a form of government after the Grecian mode. Above this city is Abydos, where is the palace of Memnon, constructed in a singular manner, entirely of stone,² and after the plan of the Labyrinth, which we have described, but not composed of many parts. It has a fountain situated at a great depth. There is a descent to it through an arched passage built with single stones, of remarkable size and workmanship.

There is a canal which leads to this place from the great river. About the canal is a grove of Egyptian acanthus, dedicated to Apollo. Abydos seems once to have been a large city, second to Thebes. At present it is a small town. But if, as they say, Memnon is called Ismandes by the Egyptians, the Labyrinth might be a Memnonium, and the work of the same person who constructed those at Abydos and at Thebes; for in those places, it is said, are some Memnonia. In the latitude of Abydos is the first Auasis (Oasis) of the three which are said to be in Africa. It is distant from Abydos a journey of seven days through a desert. It is an inhabited place, well supplied with good water and wine, and sufficiently provided with other articles. The second is that near the lake Mœris. The third is that at the oracle of Ammon: these are considerable settlements.

43. Having before spoken at length of the temple of Ammon, we wish to add this only, that in ancient times divination in general and oracles were held in greater esteem than at present. Now they are greatly neglected; for the Romans are satisfied with the oracles of the Sibyl, and with Tyrrhenian divination by the entrails of animals, the flight of birds, and portentous appearances. Hence the oracle of Ammon, which was formerly held in great esteem, is now nearly deserted. This

¹ The ruins are supposed to be at the modern hamlet of Mensieh.

² ὀλόλιθον, probably an interpolation. *Kramer.*

appears chiefly from the historians who have recorded the actions of Alexander, adding, indeed, much that has the appearance of flattery, but yet relating what is worthy of credit. Callisthenes, for instance, says that Alexander was ambitious of the glory of visiting the oracle, because he knew that Perseus and Hercules had before performed the journey thither. He set out from Parætonium, although the south winds were blowing, and succeeded in his undertaking by vigour and perseverance. When out of his way on the road, he escaped being overwhelmed in a sand-storm by a fall of rain, and by the guidance of two crows, which directed his course. These things are stated by way of flattery, as also what follows : that the priest permitted the king alone to pass into the temple in his usual dress, whereas the others changed theirs ; that all heard the oracles on the outside of the temple, except Alexander, who was in the interior of the building ; that the answers were not given, as at Delphi and at Branchidæ, in words, but chiefly by nods and signs, as in Homer ;

“ the son of Saturn nodded with his sable brows,”¹

the prophet imitating Jupiter. This, however, the man told the king, in express terms, that he was the son of Jupiter. Callisthenes adds, (after the exaggerating style of tragedy,) that when Apollo had deserted the oracle among the Branchidæ, on the temple being plundered by the Branchidæ (who espoused the party of the Persians in the time of Xerxes,) and the spring had failed, it then re-appeared (on the arrival of Alexander) ; that the ambassadors also of the Milesians carried back to Memphis numerous answers of the oracle respecting the descent of Alexander from Jupiter, and the future victory which he should obtain at Arbela, the death of Darius, and the political changes at Lacedæmon. He says also that the Erythræan Athenais, who resembled the ancient Erythræan Sibyl, had declared the high descent of Alexander. Such are the accounts of historians.

44. At Abydos Osiris is worshipped ; but in the temple of Osiris no singer, nor player on the pipe, nor on the cithara, is permitted to perform at the commencement of the ceremonies celebrated in honour of the god, as is usual in rites celebrated in honour of the other gods. Next to Abydos is

¹ Il. i. 528.

the lesser Diospolis,¹ then the city Tentyra,² where the crocodile is held in peculiar abhorrence, and is regarded as the most odious of all animals. For the other Egyptians, although acquainted with its mischievous disposition, and hostility towards the human race, yet worship it, and abstain from doing it harm. But the people of Tentyra track and destroy it in every way. Some however, as they say of the Psyllians of Cyrenæa, possess a certain natural antipathy to snakes, and the people of Tentyra have the same dislike to crocodiles, yet they suffer no injury from them, but dive and cross the river when no other person ventures to do so. When crocodiles were brought to Rome to be exhibited, they were attended by some of the Tentyritæ. A reservoir was made for them with a sort of stage on one of the sides, to form a basking-place for them on coming out of the water, and these persons went into the water, drew them in a net to the place, where they might sun themselves and be exhibited, and then dragged them back again to the reservoir. The people of Tentyra worship Venus. At the back of the fane of Venus is a temple of Isis; then follow what are called the Typhoneia, and the canal leading to Coptos,³ a city common both to the Egyptians and Arabians.

45. Then follows the isthmus, extending to the Red Sea near Berenice,⁴ which has no harbour, but good landing-places, because the isthmus is conveniently situated. Philadelphus is said to be the first person that opened, by means of his army, this road, which had no supply of water, and to have provided stations.⁵ This he did because the navigation of the Red Sea was difficult, particularly to those who set out from the recess of the bay. Experience showed the great utility of this plan, and at present all the Indian, Arabian, and such Ethiopian merchandise as is imported by the Arabian Gulf is carried to Coptos, which is the mart for such commodities. Not far from Berenice is Myos Hormus,⁶ a city with a naval station

¹ Hu.² Dendera.³ Keft.⁴ The ruins are situated lat. 23° 56' N., and about 35° 34' E.⁵ After *σταθμούς*, in the text, follows *ὑπερ τοῖς ἐμπορίοις ὁδεύμασι καὶ διὰ τῶν καμήλων*, which Kramer considers to be an interpolation. Groskurd corrects, and reads *σταθμούς προσφόρους τοῖς ἐμπόροις ὁδεύουσι καὶ πεζῇ καὶ διὰ τῶν καμήλων*, "stations for the service of travellers on foot and on camels."⁶ Near old Kosseir; the "Veneris Portus" of Pliny. It was found-

for vessels which navigate this sea ; at no great distance from Coptos is the city of Apollo, so that two cities are the boundaries of the isthmus, one on each side. But at present Coptos and Myos Hormus are in repute, and they are frequented.

Formerly, the camel-merchants travelled in the night, directing their course by observing the stars, and, like mariners, carried with them a supply of water. But now watering-places are provided : water is also obtained by digging to a great depth, and rain-water is found, although rain rarely falls, which is also collected in reservoirs. It is a journey of six or seven days.

On this isthmus are mines, in which the emeralds and other precious stones are found by the Arabians, who dig deep subterraneous passages.

46. Next to the city of Apollo is Thebes, now called Diospolis,

“with her hundred gates, through each of which issue two hundred men, with horses and chariots,”¹

according to Homer, who mentions also its wealth ;

“not all the wealth the palaces of Egyptian Thebes contain.”²

Other writers use the same language, and consider Thebes as the metropolis of Egypt. Vestiges of its magnitude still exist, which extend 80 stadia in length. There are a great number of temples, many of which Cambyses mutilated. The spot is at present occupied by villages. One part of it, in which is the city, lies in Arabia ; another is in the country on the other side of the river, where is the Memnonium. Here are two colossal figures near one another, each consisting of a single stone. One is entire ; the upper parts of the other, from the chair, are fallen down, the effect, it is said, of an earthquake. It is believed, that once a day a noise as of a slight blow issues from the part of the statue which remains

ed by Ptolemy Philadelphus, B. C. 274. The Greek name may signify, “Harbour of the Mouse,” but more probably it means the “Harbour of the Mussel,” (*μύειν*, to close, e. g. the shell,) since on the neighbouring coast the pearl-mussel is collected in large quantities. It is uncertain whether the ruins at the village of Abuschaar, represent the site of the ancient Myos Hormus. See Smith’s Dict., art. *Myos Hormus*

¹ Il. ix. 383.

² Il. ix. 381.

in the seat and on its base. When I was at those places with Ælius Gallus, and numerous friends and soldiers about him, I heard a noise at the first hour (of the day), but whether proceeding from the base or from the colossus, or produced on purpose by some of those standing around the base, I cannot confidently assert. For from the uncertainty of the cause, I am disposed to believe anything rather than that stones disposed in that manner could send forth sound.

Above the Memnonium are tombs of kings in caves, and hewn out of the stone, about forty in number; they are executed with singular skill, and are worthy of notice. Among the tombs¹ are obelisks with inscriptions, denoting the wealth of the kings of that time, and the extent of their empire, as reaching to the Scythians, Bactrians, Indians, and the present Ionia; the amount of tribute also, and the number of soldiers, which composed an army of about a million of men.

The priests there are said to be, for the most part, astronomers and philosophers. The former compute the days, not by the moon, but by the sun, introducing into the twelve months of thirty days each five days every year. But in order to complete the whole year, because there is (annually) an excess of a part of a day, they form a period from out of whole days and whole years, the supernumerary portions of which in that period, when collected together, amount to a day.² They

¹ For *θήκαις*, "tombs," in the text, Kramer is of opinion that we should read *Θήβαις*, Thebes, which is also the translation of the passage by Guarini.

² The meaning of the passage is clear, and can be understood, as critics have already explained, only as implying the intercalation of a 366th day every fourth year. Some have asserted that Julius Cæsar adopted this method of intercalating a day from the civil practice of the Alexandrines; others, on the contrary, appear disposed to believe that J. Cæsar was the first to give an idea of it, according to the advice of Sosigenes. There is truth and error in both these opinions.

On the one hand, it is certain that Strabo, who visited Egypt a short time after the conquest of the country by the Romans, would not have omitted to attribute to them the institution of this year, if it really belonged to them. So far from doing so, he says (above, § 29) distinctly, that this method of intercalation was known and practised by the priests of Heliopolis and Thebes. Diodorus Siculus, who visited Egypt just at the time of the first arrival of the Romans, gives the same account as Strabo. Can we therefore believe that the Egyptians before this period were ignorant of the bissextile intercalation?

On the other hand, it is not less certain that this method of intercala-

ascribe to Mercury all knowledge of this kind. To Jupiter, whom they worship above all other deities, a virgin of the greatest beauty and of the most illustrious family (such persons the Greeks call pallades) is dedicated. She prostitutes herself with whom she pleases, until the time occurs for the natural purification of the body ; she is afterwards married ; but before her marriage, and after the period of prostitution, they mourn for her as for one dead.

47. Next after Thebes is the city Hermonthis, in which both Apollo and Jupiter are worshipped. They also keep an ox there (for worship).

Next is the city of Crocodiles, the inhabitants of which worship this animal ; then Aphroditopolis (the city of Venus),¹ and next to it, Latopolis, where Minerva is worshipped, and the (fish) Latus ; next, the city of Eileithyia, and a temple. In the country on the other side of the river is Hieraconpolis (the city of hawks), where a hawk is worshipped ; then Apollonopolis, the inhabitants of which are at war with crocodiles.

48. Syene is a city situated on the borders of Ethiopia and Egypt. Elephantina is an island in the Nile, at the distance of half a stadium in front of Syene ; in this island is a city with a temple of Cnuphis, and a nilometer like that at Memphis. The nilometer is a well upon the banks of the Nile, constructed of close-fitting stones, on which are marked the greatest, least, and mean risings of the Nile ; for the water in the well and in the river rises and subsides simultaneously. Upon the wall of the well are lines, which indicate the complete rise of the river, and other degrees of its rising. Those

tion was only introduced into civil use at Alexandria from the time of Julius Cæsar : before this period, the incomplete year of 365 days was adopted throughout the whole of Egypt, as is attested by a host of authorities, and confirmed by the date of the Rosetta stone, which only applies to this method of reckoning. Hence we see (I.) that Julius Cæsar really obtained the idea of a fixed year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days from the Egyptians, where it was employed for scientific or religious purposes only, whilst the incomplete year was the vulgar and common year ; (II.) that he made this fixed year the common year, both among the Romans and Alexandrines, who were a people most readily disposed to adopt foreign innovations. It is, however, probable that the rest of Egypt preserved the ancient use of the incomplete year.

¹ Strabo, I think, is the only author who places Crocodilopolis and Aphroditopolis in this part of Egypt. *Letronne.*

who examine these marks communicate the result to the public for their information. For it is known long before, by these marks, and by the time¹ elapsed from the commencement, what the future rise of the river will be, and notice is given of it. This information is of service to the husbandmen with reference to the distribution of the water; for the purpose also of attending to the embankments, canals, and other things of this kind. It is of use also to the governors, who fix the revenue; for the greater the rise of the river, the greater it is expected will be the revenue.

At Syene there is a well which indicates the summer solstice, because these places lie under the tropical circle,² [and occasions the gnomons to cast no shadows at mid-day].³ For on proceeding from the places in our country, in Greece I mean, towards the south, the sun is there first over

¹ For *καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν* of the text, Casanbon reads *τεκμηρίων*, "signs." Coray proposes *καὶ μέτρων*, "measures." The expression in the text is obscure, and the translation is a conjecture of the meaning.

² This was the general opinion of antiquity, and was reproduced by Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Ptolemy, and others; in short, by all the Alexandrine school.

At the time of Eratosthenes, the obliquity of the ecliptic was $23^{\circ} 45' 17''$. Syene was therefore $20' 6''$ from being exactly under the tropic; for $24^{\circ} 5' 23''$ (latitude of Syene) — $23^{\circ} 45' 17'' = 20' 6''$. This would be the distance of the centre of the sun from the zenith of Syene; whence it follows that the northern limb of the sun was about $5'$ from it.

In the time of Strabo, the obliquity was only $23^{\circ} 42' 22''$; the difference between the zenith of Syene and the northern limb of the sun was about $8'$.

Lastly, about 140 of the vulgar era, the obliquity was reduced to $23^{\circ} 41' 7''$. Syene was then $24' 16''$ from the tropic, and its zenith was about $10'$ from the northern limb of the sun; when the shadows of gnomons of any tolerable size must have been perceptible, and Syene could not have been any longer considered as lying under the tropic.

As regards the well which served to ascertain the instant of the solstice, Pliny and Arrian both mention it. The formation of it no doubt belonged to a very remote period. In the time of Strabo, the rays of the sun could not have reached entirely to the bottom, but the shadow was so small that it was not sufficient to shake the ancient opinion. In fact, the angle being about $8'$, and supposing the depth to have been 50 feet, the northern side would have projected a shadow of about 18 lines; the rest would have remained in full light, and the reflexion would have caused the whole circumference of the well to appear illuminated.

Letronne.

³ Krainer considers the passage between brackets to be an interpolation, as the same sense is conveyed in the passage which immediately follows.

our head, and occasions the gnomons to be without shadows at noon. When the sun is vertical to us, it must necessarily cast its rays down wells, however deep they may be, to the water. For we ourselves stand in a perpendicular position, and wells are dug perpendicular to the surface.

Here are stationed three Roman cohorts as a guard.

49. A little above Elephantine is the lesser cataract, where the boatmen exhibit a sort of spectacle to the governors.

The cataract is in the middle of the river, and is formed by a ridge of rock, the upper part [or commencement] of which is level, and thus capable of receiving the river, but terminating in a precipice, where the water dashes down. On each side towards the land there is a stream, up which is the chief ascent for vessels. The boatmen sail up by this stream, and, dropping down to the cataract, are impelled with the boat to the precipice, the crew and the boats escaping unhurt.

A little above the cataract is Philæ, a common settlement, like Elephantina, of Ethiopians and Egyptians, and equal in size, containing Egyptian temples, where a bird, which they call hierax, (the hawk,) is worshipped; but it did not appear to me to resemble in the least the hawks of our country nor of Egypt, for it was larger, and very different in the marks of its plumage. They said that the bird was Ethiopian, and is brought from Ethiopia when its predecessor dies, or before its death. The one shown to us when we were there was sick and nearly dead.

50. We came from Syene to Philæ in a waggon, through a very flat country, a distance of about 100 stadia.¹ Along the whole road on each side we could see, in many places, very high rocks, round, very smooth, and nearly spherical, of black hard stone, of which mortars are made: each rested upon a greater stone, and upon this another: they were like hermæa.² Sometimes these stones consisted of one mass. The largest was not less than twelve feet in diameter, and all of them exceeded this size by one half. We crossed over to the island in a pacton, which is a small boat made of rods,

¹ The number here given is nearly twice too great. Kramer quotes G. Parthey (de Philis insula) for correcting the error to 50 stadia, and for perceiving that it arose from the very frequent substitution in manuscripts of the letter P (100) for N (50).

² Unhewn stones, with a head of Mercury upon them.

whence it resembles woven-work. Standing then in the water, (at the bottom of the boat,) or sitting upon some little planks, we easily crossed over, with some alarm indeed, but without good cause for it, as there is no danger if the boat is not overloaded.

51. Throughout the whole of Egypt, the palm tree is of a bad species, and produces no good edible fruit in the places about the Delta and Alexandria; yet the best kind is found in the Thebais. It is a subject of surprise how countries in the same latitude as Judæa, and bordering upon the Delta and Alexandria, should be so different; for Judæa, in addition to other kinds of date-palms, produces the caryotic, which is not inferior to the Babylonian. There are, however, two kinds of dates in the Thebais and in Judæa, the caryotic and another. The Thebaic is firmer, but the flavour is more agreeable. There is an island remarkable for producing the best dates, and it also furnishes the largest revenue to the governors. It was appropriated to the kings, and no private person had any share in the produce; at present it belongs to the governors.

52. Herodotus¹ and other writers trifle very much when they introduce into their histories the marvellous, like (an interlude of) music and song, or some melody; for example, in asserting that the sources of the Nile are near the numerous islands, at Syene and Elephantina, and that at this spot the river has an unfathomable depth. In the Nile there are many islands scattered about, some of which are entirely covered, others in part only, at the time of the rise of the waters. The very elevated parts are irrigated by means of screw-pumps.

53. Egypt was from the first disposed to peace, from having resources within itself, and because it was difficult of access to strangers. It was also protected on the north by a harbourless coast and the Egyptian Sea; on the east and west by the desert mountains of Libya and Arabia, as I have said before.² The remaining parts towards the south are occupied by Troglodytæ, Blemmyes, Nubæ, and Megabari, Ethiopians above Syene. These are nomades, and not numerous nor warlike, but accounted so by the ancients, be-

¹ Herod. ii. 28, who, however, seems to doubt the veracity of his informant.

² Above, § 8.

cause frequently, like robbers, they attacked defenceless persons. Neither are the Ethiopians, who extend towards the south and Meroë, numerous nor collected in a body; for they inhabit a long, narrow, and winding tract of land on the river-side, such as we have before described; nor are they well prepared either for war or the pursuit of any other mode of life.

At present the whole country is in the same pacific state, a proof of which is, that the upper country is sufficiently guarded by three cohorts, and these not complete. Whenever the Ethiopians have ventured to attack them, it has been at the risk of danger to their own country. The rest of the forces in Egypt are neither very numerous, nor did the Romans ever once employ them collected into one army. For neither are the Egyptians themselves of a warlike disposition, nor the surrounding nations, although their numbers are very large.

Cornelius Gallus, the first governor of the country appointed by (Augustus) Cæsar, attacked the city Heroopolis, which had revolted,¹ and took it with a small body of men. He suppressed also in a short time an insurrection in the Thebais, which originated as to the payment of tribute. At a later period Petronius resisted, with the soldiers about his person, a mob of myriads of Alexandrines, who attacked him by throwing stones. He killed some, and compelled the rest to desist.

We have before² related how Ælius Gallus, when he invaded Arabia with a part of the army stationed in Egypt, exhibited a proof of the unwarlike disposition of the people; and if Syllæus had not betrayed him, he would have conquered the whole of Arabia Felix.

54. The Ethiopians, emboldened in consequence of a part of the forces in Egypt being drawn off by Ælius Gallus, who was engaged in war with the Arabs, invaded the Thebais, and attacked the garrison, consisting of three cohorts, near Syene; surprised and took Syene, Elephantina, and Philæ, by a sudden inroad; enslaved the inhabitants, and threw down the statues of Cæsar. But Petronius, marching with less than 10,000 infantry and 800 horse against an army of 30,000 men, first compelled them to retreat to Pselchis, an Ethiopian city. He then sent deputies to demand restitution of what they had taken, and the reasons which had induced them to begin the

¹ B. C. 28.

² B. xvi. c. 4, § 23.

war. On their alleging that they had been ill treated by the nomarchs, he answered, that these were not the sovereigns of the country, but Cæsar. When they desired three days for consideration, and did nothing which they were bound to do, Petronius attacked and compelled them to fight. They soon fled, being badly commanded, and badly armed; for they carried large shields made of raw hides, and hatchets for offensive weapons; some, however, had pikes, and others swords. Part of the insurgents were driven into the city, others fled into the uninhabited country; and such as ventured upon the passage of the river escaped to a neighbouring island, where there were not many crocodiles on account of the current. Among the fugitives, were the generals of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians in our time, a masculine woman, and who had lost an eye. Petronius, pursuing them in rafts and ships, took them all and despatched them immediately to Alexandria. He then attacked Pselchis¹ and took it. If we add the number of those who fell in battle to the number of prisoners, few only could have escaped.

From Pselchis Petronius went to Premnis,² a strong city, travelling over the hills of sand, beneath which the army of Cambyses was overwhelmed by the setting in of a whirlwind. He took the fortress at the first onset, and afterwards advanced to Napata.³ This was the royal seat of Candace; and her son was there, but she herself was in a neighbouring stronghold. When she sent ambassadors to treat of peace, and

¹ The modern hamlet of Dakkeh occupies a portion of the site of ancient Pselchis.

² Called Primis by Ptolemy and Pliny. It is placed by the former beyond Napata, and just above Meroë. Hence it is identified with Ibrim.

³ There is great difficulty in determining the true position of Napata, as our author places it much farther north than Pliny; and there is reason for supposing that it is the designation of a royal residence, which might be moveable, rather than of a fixed locality. Ritter brings Napata as far north as Primis and the ruins at Ipsambul, while Mannert, Ukert, and other geographers, believe it to have been Merawe, on the farthest northern point of the region of Meroë. It is, however, generally placed at the east extremity of that great bend of the Nile which skirts the desert of Bahiouda, and near Mount Birkel.

Among the ruins which probably cover the site of the ancient Napata are two lions of red granite, one bearing the name of Amuneph III., the other Amuntuonch. They were brought to England by Lord Prudhoe, and now stand at the entrance of the Gallery of Antiquities in the British Museum. See Smith's Dict., art. *Napata*.

to offer the restitution of the prisoners brought from Syene, and the statues, Petronius attacked and took Napata, from which her son had fled, and then razed it. He made prisoners of the inhabitants, and returned back again with the booty, as he judged any farther advance into the country impracticable on account of the roads. He strengthened, however, the fortifications of Premnis, and having placed a garrison there, with two years' provisions for four hundred men, returned to Alexandria. Some of the prisoners were publicly sold as booty, and a thousand were sent to Cæsar, who had lately returned from the Cantabrians,¹ others died of various diseases.

In the mean time Candace² attacked the garrison with an army of many thousand men. Petronius came to its assistance, and entering the fortress before the approach of the enemy, secured the place by many expedients. The enemy sent ambassadors, but he ordered them to repair to Cæsar: on their replying, that they did not know who Cæsar was, nor where they were to find him, Petronius appointed persons to conduct them to his presence. They arrived at Samos, where Cæsar was at that time, and from whence he was on the point of proceeding into Syria, having already despatched Tiberius into Armenia. The ambassadors obtained all that they desired, and Cæsar even remitted the tribute which he had imposed.

CHAPTER II.

1. In the preceding part³ of this work we have spoken at length of Ethiopia, so that its description may be said to be included in that of Egypt.

In general, then, the extreme parts of the habitable world adjacent to the intemperate region, which is not habitable by reason either of heat or cold, must necessarily be defective and inferior, in respect to physical advantages, to the temper-

¹ The inhabitants of Biscay. See b. iii. c. iii. § 8.

² This name was common to the queens of Ethiopia. Acts viii. 27.

³ B. xvi. c. iv. § 8 et seqq.

ate region. This is evident from the mode of life of the inhabitants, and their want of what is requisite for the use and subsistence of man. For the mode of life [of the Ethiopians] is wretched; they are for the most part naked, and wander from place to place with their flocks. Their flocks and herds are small in size, whether sheep, goats, or oxen; the dogs also, though fierce and quarrelsome, are small.¹ It was perhaps from the diminutive size of these people, that the story of the Pygmies originated, whom no person, worthy of credit, has asserted that he himself has seen.

2. They live on millet and barley, from which also a drink is prepared. They have no oil, but use butter and fat instead.² There are no fruits, except the produce of trees in the royal gardens. Some feed even upon grass, the tender twigs of trees, the lotus, or the roots of reeds. They live also upon the flesh and blood of animals, milk, and cheese. They reverence their kings as gods, who are for the most part shut up in their palaces.

Their largest royal seat is the city of Meroë, of the same name as the island. The shape of the island is said to be that of a shield. Its size is perhaps exaggerated. Its length is about 3000, and its breadth 1000 stadia. It is very mountainous, and contains great forests. The inhabitants are nomades, who are partly hunters and partly husbandmen. There are also mines of copper, iron, gold, and various kinds of precious stones. It is surrounded on the side of Libya by great hills of sand, and on that of Arabia by continuous precipices. In the higher parts on the south, it is bounded by the confluent³ streams of the rivers Astaboras,⁴ Astapus,⁵ and Astasobas. On the north is the continuous course of the Nile to Egypt, with its windings, of which we have spoken before.

¹ Groskurd corrects the text, and translates, "the inhabitants also are small."

² The translation follows the proposed correction of the text by Kramer.

³ ταῖς συμβολαῖς. The passage presents a great difficulty, because Strabo has before asserted that Meroë is surrounded by these rivers, and that their union takes place below, that is, to the north, and not to the south of the city and island; and this notion corresponds with all the ancients have said on the subject. I declare, without hesitation, that I do not understand my author. *Letronne*. Groskurd attempts to avoid the difficulty by translating, "is within the compass of."

⁴ The Tacazze.

⁵ Bahr-el-Azrek, or Blue River.

The houses in the cities are formed by interweaving split pieces of palm wood or of bricks.¹ They have fossil salt, as in Arabia. Palm, the perseæ² (peach), ebony, and carob trees are found in abundance. They hunt elephants, lions, and panthers. There are also serpents, which encounter elephants, and there are many other kinds of wild animals, which take refuge, from the hotter and parched districts, in watery and marshy districts.

3. Above Meroë is Psebo,³ a large lake, containing a well-inhabited island. As the Libyans occupy the western bank of the Nile, and the Ethiopians the country on the other side of the river, they thus dispute by turns the possession of the islands and the banks of the river, one party repulsing the other, or yielding to the superiority of its opponent.

The Ethiopians use bows of wood four cubits long, and hardened in the fire. The women also are armed, most of whom wear in the upper lip a copper ring. They wear sheepskins, without wool; for the sheep have hair like goats. Some go naked, or wear small skins or girdles of well-woven hair round the loins.

They regard as God one being who is immortal, the cause of all things; another who is mortal, a being without a name, whose nature is not clearly understood.

In general they consider as gods benefactors and royal persons, some of whom are their kings, the common saviours and guardians of all; others are private persons, esteemed as gods by those who have individually received benefits from them.

Of those who inhabit the torrid region, some are even supposed not to acknowledge any god, and are said to abhor even the sun, and to apply opprobrious names to him, when they behold him rising, because he scorches and tortures them with his heat; these people take refuge in the marshes.

The inhabitants of Meroë worship Hercules, Pan, and Isis, besides some other barbaric deity.⁴

Some tribes throw the dead into the river; others keep them in the house, enclosed in hyalus (oriental alabaster?).

¹ Reading *διαπλεκόμενων ἢ πλίνθων* for *διαπλεκόμεναι τοίχων ἢ πλίνθων*.

² The trees called persiai (or perseai) produce a fruit of great sweetness, which was introduced from Ethiopia by the Persians, when Cambyses conquered that country. Diod. Sic. i. 34.

³ Tsana.

⁴ According to Diod. Sic. iii. 9, this was Jupiter.

Some bury them around the temples in coffins of baked clay. They swear an oath by them, which is revered as more sacred than all others.

Kings are appointed from among persons distinguished for their personal beauty, or by their breeding of cattle, or for their courage, or their riches.

In Meroë the priests anciently held the highest rank, and sometimes sent orders even to the king, by a messenger, to put an end to himself, when they appointed another king in his place. At last one of their kings abolished this custom, by going with an armed body to the temple where the golden shrine is, and slaughtering all the priests.

The following custom exists among the Ethiopians. If a king is mutilated in any part of the body, those who are most attached to his person, as attendants, mutilate themselves in the same manner, and even die with him. Hence the king is guarded with the utmost care. This will suffice on the subject of Ethiopia.

4. To what has been said concerning Egypt, we must add these peculiar products; for instance, the Egyptian bean, as it is called, from which is obtained the ciborium,¹ and the papyrus, for it is found here and in India only; the perseæ (peach) grows here only, and in Ethiopia; it is a lofty tree, and its fruit is large and sweet; the sycamine, which produces the fruit called the sycomorus, or fig-mulberry, for it resembles a fig, but its flavour is not esteemed. The corsium also (the root of the Egyptian lotus) grows there, a condiment like pepper, but a little larger.

There are in the Nile fish in great quantity and of different kinds, having a peculiar and indigenous character. The best known are the oxyrinchus,² and the lepidotus,³ the latus,⁴ the alabes,⁵ the coracinus,⁶ the chœrus, the phagrorius, called also the piagrus. Besides these are the silurus, the citharus,⁷ the thrissa,⁸ the cestreus,⁹ the lychnus, the physa, the bous (or ox), and large shell-fish which emit a sound like that of wailing.

¹ Above, c. i. § 15.

² The sturgeon.

³ *Cyprinus bynni*.

⁴ *Perea Nilotica*. *Cuvier*, *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons*, xii. 5.

⁵ *Silurus anguillaris*. *Linn.*

⁶ *Pliny*, xxxii. 5. *Coracini pisces Nilo quidem peculiare sunt*. *Athenæus*, b. vii. c. 83, p. 484. *Bohn's Classical Library*.

⁷ Called by the Arabs *gamor-el-Lelleh*, or star of the night, *Cuvier*.

⁸ The shad.

⁹ The mullet.

The animals peculiar to the country are the ichneumon and the Egyptian asp, having some properties which those in other places do not possess. There are two kinds, one a span in length, whose bite is more suddenly mortal than that of the other; the second is nearly an orguia¹ in size, according to Nicander, the author of the Theriaca.

Among the birds, are the ibis and the Egyptian hawk, which, like the cat, is more tame than those elsewhere. The ncticorax is here peculiar in its character; for with us it is as large as an eagle, and its cry is harsh; but in Egypt it is the size of a jay, and has a different note. The tamest animal, however, is the ibis; it resembles a stork in shape and size. There are two kinds, which differ in colour; one is like a stork, the other is entirely black. Every street in Alexandria is full of them. In some respects they are useful; in others troublesome. They are useful, because they pick up all sorts of small animals and the offal thrown out of the butchers' and cooks' shops. They are troublesome, because they devour everything, are dirty, and with difficulty prevented from polluting in every way what is clean and what is not given to them.

5. Herodotus² truly relates of the Egyptians, that it is a practice peculiar to them to knead clay with their hands, and the dough for making bread with their feet. Caces is a peculiar kind of bread which restrains fluxes. Kiki (the castor-oil bean) is a kind of fruit sowed in furrows. An oil is expressed from it which is used for lamps almost generally throughout the country, but for anointing the body only by the poorer sort of people and labourers, both men and women.

The coccina are Egyptian textures made of some plant,³ woven like those made of rushes, or the palm-tree.

¹ About six feet. Nicander is the author of two Greek poems that are still extant, and of several others that have been lost. He may be supposed to have been in reputation for about fifty years, cir. B. C. 185—135. The longest of his poems that remains is named Theriaca. It treats (as the name implies) of venomous animals, and the wounds inflicted by them, and contains some curious and interesting zoological passages, together with numerous absurd fables. The other treats of poisons and their antidotes. His works are only consulted by those who are interested in points of zoological and medical antiquities. He is frequently quoted by Athenæus. See Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography, art. *Nicander*.

² Herod. ii. 36.

³ Strabo does not appear to have been acquainted with the plant from

Barley beer is a preparation peculiar to the Egyptians. It is common among many tribes, but the mode of preparing it differs in each.

This, however, of all their usages is most to be admired, that they bring up all children that are born. They circumcise the males, and spay the females, as is the custom also among the Jews, who are of Egyptian origin, as I said when I was treating of them.¹

According to Aristobulus, no fishes ascend the Nile from the sea, except the cestreus, the thrissa, and dolphins, on account of the crocodiles; the dolphin, because it can get the better of the crocodile; the cestreus, because it is accompanied by the chœri along the bank, in consequence of some physical affinity subsisting between them. The crocodiles abstain from doing any hurt to the chœri, because they are of a round shape, and have spines on their heads, which are dangerous to them. The cestreus runs up the river in spring, when in spawn; and descends a little before the setting of the pleiad, in great numbers, when about to cast it, at which time they are taken in shoals, by falling into inclosures (made for catching them). Such also, we may conjecture, is the reason why the thrissa is found there.

So much then on the subject of Egypt.

CHAPTER III.

1. WE shall next describe Africa, which is the remaining portion of the whole description of the earth.

We have before said much respecting it; but at present I shall further describe what suits my purpose, and add what has not been previously mentioned.²

which these tissues were made. Their true name seems to have been cucina, and were made from a palm-tree (the Doum palm), called by Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 4, 2) *κουκιοφόρον*, and by Pliny "cuci" (h. xiii. 9): "At e diverso, cuci in magno honore, palmæ similis, quando et ejus foliis utuntur ad textilia."

¹ B. xvi. c. 2, § 34.

² B. ii. c. 3, § 4; and c. 4, § 3.

The writers who have divided the habitable world according to continents, divide it unequally. But a threefold division denotes a division into three equal parts. Africa, however, wants so much of being a third part of the habitable world, that, even if it were united to Europe, it would not be equal to Asia; perhaps it is even less than Europe; in resources it is very much inferior, for a great part of the inland and maritime country is desert. It is spotted over with small habitable parts, which are scattered about, and mostly belonging to nomade tribes. Besides the desert state of the country, its being a nursery of wild beasts is a hindrance to settlement in parts which could be inhabited. It comprises also a large part of the torrid zone.

All the sea-coast in our quarter, situated between the Nile and the Pillars, particularly that which belonged to the Carthaginians, is fertile and inhabited. And even in this tract, some spots destitute of water intervene, as those about the Syrtes, the Marmaridæ, and the Catabathmus.

The shape of Africa is that of a right-angled triangle, if we imagine its figure to be drawn on a plane surface. Its base is the coast opposite to us, extending from Egypt and the Nile to Mauretania and the Pillars; at right angles to this is a side formed by the Nile to Ethiopia, which side we continue to the ocean; the hypotenuse of the right angle is the whole tract of sea-coast lying between Ethiopia and Mauretania.

As the part situated at the vertex of the above-mentioned figure, and lying almost entirely under the torrid zone, is inaccessible, we speak of it from conjecture, and therefore cannot say what is the greatest breadth of the country. In a former¹ part of this work we have said, that the distance proceeding from Alexandria southwards to Meroë, the royal seat of the Ethiopians, is about 10,000 stadia; thence in a straight line to the borders of the torrid zone and the habitable country, 3000 stadia. The sum, therefore, may be assumed as the greatest breadth of Africa, which is 13,000 or 14,000 stadia: its length may be a little less than double this sum. So much then on the subject of Africa in general. I am now to describe its several parts, beginning from the most celebrated on the west.

¹ B. i. c. 4, § 2.

2. Here dwell a people called by the Greeks Maurusii, and by the Romans and the natives Mauri, a populous and flourishing African nation, situated opposite to Spain, on the other side of the strait, at the Pillars of Hercules, which we have frequently mentioned before. On proceeding beyond the strait at the Pillars, with Africa on the left hand, we come to a mountain which the Greeks call Atlas, and the barbarians Dyris. Thence projects into the sea a point formed by the foot of the mountain towards the west of Mauretania, and called the Coteis.¹ Near it is a small town, a little above the sea, which the barbarians call Trinx; Artemidorus, Lynx; and Eratosthenes, Lixus.² It lies on the side of the strait opposite to Gadeira,³ from which it is separated by a passage of 800 stadia, the width of the strait at the Pillars between both places. To the south, near Lixus and the Coteis, is a bay called Emporicus,⁴ having upon it Phœnician mercantile settlements. The whole coast continuous with this bay abounds with them. Subtracting these bays, and the projections of land in the triangular figure which I have described, the continent may rather be considered as increasing in magnitude in the direction of south and east. The mountain which extends through the middle of Mauretania, from the Coteis to the Syrtes, is itself inhabited, as well as others running parallel to it, first by the Maurusii, but deep in the interior of the country by the largest of the African tribes, called Gætuli.

3. Historians, beginning with the voyage of Ophelas (Apellas?),⁵ have invented a great number of fables respecting the sea-coast of Africa beyond the Pillars. We have mentioned them before, and mention them now, requesting our readers

¹ Cape Spartel, or Espartel. Ampelusia, vine-clad, was the Greek name,—a translation of the native name.

² Groskurd reads Trinx, and also with Letronne observes that our author has mistaken two places for one. Trinx, or Trinx=Tangiers. Lixus=Al-Harâch, or Laraiche.

³ Cadiz.

⁴ Situated between the town Sala (Salee) and Lixus (El-Harâch).

⁵ Tyrwhitt reads Apellas, for Ophellas of the text. Apellas was a Cyrenæan navigator, whose Periplus is mentioned by Marcianus of Heracleia. There was an Ophellas of Cyrene, who advanced at the head of an army along the coast, to unite himself to Agathocles, who was then besieging Carthage, B. C. 310. He was put to death by Agathocles soon after his arrival, and no Periplus of his said to have existed; his course also to Carthage was by land.

to pardon the introduction of marvellous stories, whenever we may be compelled to relate anything of the kind, being unwilling to pass them over entirely in silence, and so in a manner to mutilate our account of the country.

It is said, that the Sinus Emporicus (or merchants' bay) has a cave which admits the sea at high tide to the distance even of seven stadia, and in front of this bay a low and level tract with an altar of Hercules upon it, which, they say, is not covered by the tide. This I, of course, consider to be one of the fictitious stories. Like this is the tale, that on other bays in the succeeding coast there were ancient settlements of Tyrians, now abandoned, which consisted of not less than three hundred cities, and were destroyed by the Pharusii¹ and the Nigritæ. These people, they say, are distant thirty days' journey from Lynx.

4. Writers in general are agreed that Mauretania is a fertile country, except a small part which is desert, and is supplied with water by rivers and lakes. It has forests of trees of vast size, and the soil produces everything. It is this country which furnishes the Romans with tables, formed of one piece of wood, of the largest dimensions, and most beautifully variegated. The rivers are said to contain crocodiles and other kinds of animals similar to those in the Nile. Some suppose that even the sources of the Nile are near the extremities of Mauretania. In a certain river leeches are bred seven cubits in length, with gills, pierced through with holes, through which they respire. This country is also said to

¹ A people on the west coast of N. Africa, about the situation of whom Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy are in perfect agreement with one another, if the thirty days' journey of Strabo between them and Lixus on the west coast of Morocco, to the south of Cape Spartel, be set aside, as an error either of his information or of the text; which latter is not improbable, as numbers in MSS. are so often corrupt. Nor is this mere conjecture, because Strabo contradicts himself, by asserting in another place (b. xvii. c. 3. § 7) that the Pharusii had a great desert between them and Mauretania. When Ezekiel prophesies the fall of Tyre, it is said, (xxvii. 10,) "The men of Pheres (the common version reads Persia) and Lud and Phut were in thine armies." These Pheres thus joined with Phut, or Mauretanians, and the Ludim, who were nomads of Africa (the Septuagint and the Vulgate understand the Lydians), may be reasonably supposed to belong to the same region. Without the vowel points, the name will represent the powerful and warlike tribe whom the Greeks call Pharusii. *Smith*, art. Pharusii.

produce a vine, the girth of which two men can scarcely compass, and bearing bunches of grapes of about a cubit in size. All plants and pot-herbs are tall, as the arum and dracontium;¹ the stalks of the staphylinus,² the hippomarathum,³ and the scolymus⁴ are twelve cubits in height, and four palms in thickness. The country is the fruitful nurse of large serpents, elephants, antelopes, buffaloes, and similar animals; of lions also, and panthers. It produces weasels (jerboas?) equal in size and similar to cats, except that their noses are more prominent; and multitudes of apes, of which Poseidonius relates, that when he was sailing from Gades to Italy, and approached the coast of Africa, he saw a forest low upon the sea-shore full of these animals, some on the trees, others on the ground, and some giving suck to their young. He was amused also with seeing some with large dugs, some bald, others with ruptures, and exhibiting to view various effects of disease.

5. Above Mauretania, on the exterior sea (the Atlantic), is the country of the western Ethiopians, as they are called, which, for the most part, is badly inhabited. Iphicrates⁵ says, that camel-leopards are bred here, and elephants, and the animals called rhizeis,⁶ which in shape are like bulls, but in manner of living, in size, and strength in fighting, resemble elephants. He speaks also of large serpents, and says that even grass grows upon their backs; that lions attack the young of the elephants, and that when they have wounded them, they fly on the approach of the dams; that the latter, when they see their young besmeared with blood, kill them; and that the lions return to the dead bodies, and devour them; that Bogus king of the Mauretians, during his expedition against the western Ethiopians, sent, as a present to his wife, canes similar to the Indian canes, each joint of which contained eight chœnices,⁷ and asparagus of similar magnitude.

6. On sailing into the interior sea, from Lynx, there are Zelis⁸ a city and Tingis,⁹ then the monuments of the Seven Brothers,¹⁰ and the mountain lying below, of the name of Abyle,¹¹

¹ Arum esculentum (snake-weed), and arum dracuncululus.

² Parsnip (?). ³ Fennel.

⁴ Artichoke.

⁵ Groskurd reads Hypsicrates.

⁶ The rhinoceros.

⁷ About six quarts, according to the lowest value of the (chœnix).

⁸ Arzila.

⁹ Tiga in the text.

¹⁰ The Septem-Frateres of Pliny.

¹¹ Jebel-el-Mina, or Ximiera, near Ceuta (a corruption of *ἑπτά*, or septem?).

abounding with wild animals and trees of a great size. They say, that the length of the strait at the pillars is 120 stadia, and the least breadth at Elephas¹ 60 stadia. On sailing further along the coast, we find cities and many rivers, as far as the river Molochath,² which is the boundary between the territories of the Mauretians and of the Masæsyli. Near the river is a large promontory, and Metagonium,³ a place without water and barren. The mountain extends along the coast, from the Coteis nearly to this place. Its length from the Coteis to the borders of the Masæsylii⁴ is 5000 stadia. Metagonium is nearly opposite to New Carthage.⁵ Timosthenes is mistaken in saying that it is opposite to Massalia.⁶ The passage across from New Carthage to Metagonium is 3000 stadia, but the voyage along the coast to Massalia is above 6000 stadia.

7. Although the Mauretians inhabit a country, the greatest part of which is very fertile, yet the people in general continue even to this time to live like nomades. They bestow care to improve their looks by plaiting their hair, trimming their beards, by wearing golden ornaments, cleaning their teeth, and paring their nails; and you would rarely see them

¹ Ape mountain.

² The Muluwi, which now forms the frontier between Morocco and Algeria, as it did anciently between the Mauretians and Numidians.

³ Cape Hone, or Ras-el-Harsbak. Groskurd corrects the text, and translates: "Near the river is a large promontory, and a neighbouring settlement called Metagonium." Kramer's proposed correction is followed.

⁴ Numidia is the central tract of country on the north coast of Africa, which forms the largest portion of the country now occupied by the French, and called Algeria, or Algérie. The continuous system of highlands which extends along the coast of the Mediterranean was in the earliest period occupied by a race of people consisting of many tribes, of whom the *Berbers* of the Algerine territories, or the *Kabyles* or *Quabaily*, as they are called by the inhabitants of the cities, are the representatives. These people, speaking a language which was once spoken from the Fortunate Islands in the west to the cataracts of the Nile, and which still explains many names in ancient African topography, and embracing tribes of quite different characters, whites as well as blacks (though not negroes), were called by the Romans Numidæ; not a proper name, but a common denomination from the Greek form, *νομάδες*. Afterwards Numida and Numidia became the name of the nation and the country. Sometimes they were called Maurusii Numidæ, while the later writers always speak of them under the general name of Mauri. The most powerful among these tribes were the Massyli, whose territories extended from the river Ampsaga to Tretum promontory; and the Massæsyli, occupying the country to the west, as far as the river Mulucha. *Smith, Dict. art. Numidia.*

⁵ Cartagena.

⁶ Marseilles.

touch one another as they walk, lest they should disturb the arrangement of their hair.

They fight for the most part on horseback, with a javelin; and ride on the bare back of the horse, with bridles made of rushes. They have also swords. The foot-soldiers present against the enemy, as shields, the skins of elephants. They wear the skins of lions, panthers, and bears, and sleep in them. These tribes, and the Masæsylii next to them, and for the most part the Africans in general, wear the same dress and arms, and resemble one another in other respects; they ride horses which are small, but spirited and tractable, so as to be guided by a switch. They have collars¹ made of cotton or of hair, from which hangs a leading-rein. Some follow, like dogs, without being led.

They have a small shield of leather, and small lances with broad heads. Their tunics are loose, with wide borders; their cloak is a skin, as I have said before, which serves also as a breastplate.

The Pharusii and Nigretes, who live above these people, near the western Ethiopians, use bows and arrows, like the Ethiopians. They have chariots also, armed with scythes. The Pharusii rarely have any intercourse with the Mauretians in passing through the desert country, as they carry skins filled with water, fastened under the bellies of their horses. Sometimes, indeed, they come to Cirta,² passing through places abounding with marshes and lakes. Some of them are said to live like the Troglodytæ, in caves dug in the ground. It is said that rain falls there frequently in summer, but that during the winter drought prevails. Some of the barbarians in that quarter wear the skins of serpents and fishes, and use them as coverings for their beds. Some say that the Mauretians³ are Indians, who accompanied Hercules hither. A little before my time, the kings Bogus and Bocchus, allies of the

¹ The words *περιτραχήλια ξύλινα* offer some difficulty. Paul Louis Courier, who is of authority on this subject, says that Strabo, having little experience in horses, has mistaken the first word for another, and intended to speak of the horse's nose, and not his neck. Letronne and Groskurd both agree that *ξύλινα* is rightly to be translated, "of cotton."

² Constantine.

³ The Pharusii, and not the Mauretians, came with Hercules from the East, according to Pliny, Mela, and Sallust; hence Letronne conjectures that we should read here Pharusii.

Romans, possessed this country; after their death, Juba succeeded to the kingdom, having received it from Augustus Cæsar, in addition to his paternal dominions. He was the son of Juba who fought, in conjunction with Scipio, against divus Cæsar. Juba died¹ lately, and was succeeded by his son Ptolemy, whose mother was the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra.

8. Artemidorus censures Eratosthenes for saying that there is a city called Lixus, and not Lynx, near the extremities of Mauretania; that there are a very great number of Phœnician cities destroyed,² of which no traces are to be seen; and that among the western Ethiopians, in the evenings and the mornings, the air is misty and dense;—for how could this take place where there is drought and excessive heat? But he himself relates of these same parts what is much more liable to objection. For he speaks of some tribes of Lotophagi, who had left their own country, and might have occupied the tract destitute of water; whose food might be a lotus, a sort of herb, or root, which would supply the want of drink; that these people extend as far as the places above Cyrene, and that they live there on milk and flesh, although they are situated in the same latitude.

Gabinus, the Roman historian, indulges in relating marvelous stories of Mauretania. He speaks of a sepulchre of Antæus at Lynx, and a skeleton of sixty feet in length, which Sertorius exposed, and afterwards covered it with earth.³ His stories also about elephants are fabulous. He says, that other animals avoid fire, but that elephants resist and fight against it, because it destroys the forests; that they engage with men in battle, and send out scouts before them; that when they perceive their enemies fly, they take to flight themselves; and that when they are wounded, they hold out as suppliant branches of a tree, or a plant, or throw up dust.

9. Next to Mauretania is the country of the Masæsylii, beginning from the river Molocath, and ending at the promontory which is called Tretum,⁴ the boundary of the country of

¹ A. D. 18 or 19 at latest, but the exact date is uncertain.

² Groskurd corrects the text, and translates, "there existed in the Bay Emporicus very many Phœnician cities."

³ *Plutarch.* Sertorius.

⁴ Ebba-Ras.

the Masæsyli and of the Masylies. From Metagonium to Tretum are 6000 stadia; according to others, the distance is less.

Upon the sea-coast are many cities and rivers, and a country which is very fertile. It will be sufficient to mention the most renowned. The city of Siga,¹ the royal seat of Syphax, is at the distance of 1000 stadia from the above-mentioned boundaries. It is now razed. After Syphax, the country was in the possession of Masanasses, then of Micipsa, next of his successors, and in our time of Juba, the father of the Juba who died lately. Zama,² which was Juba's palace, was destroyed by the Romans. At the distance of 600 stadia from Siga is Theon-limen (port of the gods);³ next are some other obscure places.

Deep in the interior of the country are mountainous and desert tracts scattered here and there, some of which are inhabited and occupied by Gætuli extending to the Syrtes. But the parts near the sea are fertile plains, in which are numerous cities, rivers, and lakes.

10. Poseidonius says, but I do not know whether truly, that Africa is traversed by few, and those small rivers; yet he speaks of the same rivers, namely those between Lynx and Carthage, which Artemidorus describes as numerous and large. This may be asserted with more truth of the interior of the country, and he himself assigns the reason of it, namely, that in the northern parts of Africa (and the same is said of Ethiopia) there is no rain; in consequence therefore of the drought, pestilence frequently ensues, the lakes are filled with mud only, and locusts appear in clouds.

Poseidonius besides asserts that the eastern parts are moist, because the sun quickly changes its place after rising; and that the western parts are dry, because the sun there turns in his course. Now, drought and moisture depend upon the abundance or scarcity of water, and on the presence or absence of the sun's rays. But Poseidonius means to speak of the effects produced by the sun, which all writers determine by the latitude, north or south; but east and west, as applied to the residence of men, differ in different places, according to

¹ Probably Tafna.

² Jama.

³ According to Shaw, who however did visit the place, its ruins are still to be seen by the present Tucumbrit; others identify it with Areschkul of the Arabs, at the mouth of the Tafna near Rasgun.

the position of each inhabited spot and the change of horizon; so that it cannot be asserted generally of places indefinite in number, that those lying to the east are moist, and those to the west dry: but as applied to the whole earth and such extremes of it as India and Spain, his expressions (east and west) may be just; yet what truth or probability is there in his (attempted) explanation (of the causes of drought and moisture)? for in the continuous and unceasing circuit of the sun, what turn can there be in his course? The rapidity too of his passage through every part is equal. Besides, it is contrary to evidence to say, that the extreme parts of Spain or Mauretania towards the west are drier than all other places, when at the same time they are situated in a temperate climate and have water in great abundance. But if we are to understand the turning of the sun in this way, that there at the extremities of the habitable world he is above the earth, how does that tend to produce drought? for there, and in other places situated in the same latitude, he leaves them for an equal portion of the night and returns again and warms the earth.

11. Somewhere there, also, are copper mines; and a spring of asphaltus; scorpions of enormous size,¹ both with and without wings, are said to be found there, as well as tarantulas, remarkable for their size and numbers. Lizards also are mentioned of two cubits in length. At the base of the mountains precious stones are said to be found, as those called the *Lychnitis* (the ruby) and the *Carchedonius* (the carbuncle?). In the plains are found great quantities of oyster and mussel shells, similar to those mentioned in our description of Ammon. There is also a tree called *melilotus*, from which a wine is made. Some obtain two crops from the ground and have two harvests, one in the spring, the other in the summer. The straw is five cubits in height, and of the thickness of the little finger; the produce is 250-fold. They do not sow in the spring, but bush-harrow the ground with bundles of the *paliurus*, and find the seed-grain sufficient which falls from

¹ In the text *μεγέθει δὲ ἑπτασπονδύλων*, scorpions "of seven joints" in the tail; the correction of Letronne, which Kramer supports, is adopted. Groskurd however retains the text, and reads *μεγέθει δὲ [ὑπερβαλόντων καὶ ἑσθ' ὅτε] ἑπτασπονδύλων*, "of enormous size, and sometimes of seven joints."

the sheaves during harvest to produce the summer crop. In consequence of the number of reptiles, they work with coverings on the legs; other parts of the body also are protected by skins.

12. On this coast was a city called Iol,¹ which Juba, the father of Ptolemy, rebuilt and changed its name to Cæsarea. It has a harbour and a small island in front of it. Between Cæsarea and Tretum² is a large harbour called Salda,³ which now forms the boundary between the territories subject to Juba and the Romans; for the country has been subject to many changes, having had numerous occupants; and the Romans, at various times, have treated some among them as friends, others as enemies, conceding or taking away territories without observing any established rule.

The country on the side of Mauretania produced a greater revenue and was more powerful, whilst that near Carthage and of the Masylies was more flourishing and better furnished with buildings, although it suffered first in the Carthaginian wars, and subsequently during the war with Jugurtha, who successfully besieged Adarbal in Ityca (Utica),⁴ and put him to death as a friend of the Romans, and thus involved the whole country in war. Other wars succeeded one another, of which the last was that between divus Cæsar and Scipio, in which Juba lost his life. The death of the leaders was accompanied by the destruction of the cities Tisiæus,⁵ Vaga,⁶ Thala,⁷ Capsa⁸ (the treasure-hold of Jugurtha), Zama,⁹ and Zincha. To these must be added those cities in the neighbourhood of which divus Cæsar obtained victories over Scipio, namely, first at Ruspinum,¹⁰ then at Uzita, then at Thapsus and the neighbouring lake, and at many others. Near are the free

¹ Cherchell, a corruption of Cæsarea-Iol.

² Ebba Ras (the seven capes) or Bougaron.

³ Bougie.

⁴ Shaw has the merit of having first pointed out the true situation of this celebrated city. Before his time it was sought sometimes at Biserta, sometimes at Farina, but he fixed it near the little miserable "Douar," which has a holy tomb called Boushatter, and with this view many writers have agreed. Adherbal, however, was besieged and captured in Cirta (Constantine), B. C. 109.

⁵ An unknown name. Letroune supposes Thisica to be meant, mentioned by Ptolemy, iv. 3.

⁶ Vaga or Vacca, now Bayjah.

⁷ Shaw takes Ferreanah to have been the ancient Thala or Telepte, but Lapie seeks it at Haouch-el-Khima.

⁸ Cafsa.

⁹ Jama.

¹⁰ Probably near the ruins of Leptis Parva.

cities Zella and Acholla.¹ Cæsar also captured at the first onset the island Cercinna,² and Thena, a small city on the sea-coast. Some of these cities utterly disappeared, and others were abandoned, being partly destroyed. Phara was burnt by the cavalry of Scipio.

13. After Tretum follows the territory of the Masylies, and that of the Carthaginians which borders upon it. In the interior is Cirta, the royal residence of Masanasses and his successors. It is a very strong place and well provided with everything, which it principally owes to Micipsa, who established a colony of Greeks in it, and raised it to such importance, that it was capable of sending out 10,000 cavalry and twice as many infantry. Here, besides Cirta, are the two cities Hippo,³ one of which is situated near Ityca, the other further off near Tretum, both royal residences. Ityca is next to Carthage in extent and importance. On the destruction of Carthage it became a metropolis to the Romans, and the head quarters of their operations in Africa. It is situated in the very bay itself of Carthage, on one of the promontories which form it, of which the one near Ityca is called Apollonium, the other Hermæa. Both cities are in sight of each other. Near Ityca flows the river Bagradas.⁴ From Tretum to Carthage are 2,500 stadia, but authors are not agreed upon this distance, nor on the distance (of Carthage) from the Syrtes.

14. Carthage is situated upon a peninsula, comprising a circuit of 360 stadia, with a wall, of which sixty stadia in length are upon the neck of the peninsula, and reach from sea to sea. Here the Carthaginians kept their elephants, it being a wide open place. In the middle of the city was the acropolis, which they called Byrsa, a hill of tolerable height with dwellings round it. On the summit was the temple of Esculapius, which was destroyed when the wife of Asdrubas burnt herself to death there, on the capture of the city. Below the Acropolis were the harbours and the Cothon, a circular island, surrounded by a canal communicating with the sea (Euripus), and on every side of it (upon the canal) were situated sheds for vessels.

¹ El Aliah.

² Karkenah or Ramlah.

³ Hippo Regius, Bonah; and Hippo Zaritus, Bizerta.

⁴ Wady Mejerdah.

15. Carthage was founded by Dido, who brought her people from Tyre. Both this colony and the settlements in Spain and beyond the Pillars proved so successful to the Phœnicians, that even to the present day they occupy the best parts on the continent of Europe and the neighbouring islands. They obtained possession of the whole of Africa, with the exception of such parts as could only be held by nomade tribes. From the power they acquired they raised a city to rival Rome, and waged three great wars against her. Their power became most conspicuous in the last war, in which they were vanquished by Scipio Æmilianus, and their city was totally destroyed. For at the commencement of this war, they possessed 300 cities in Africa, and the population of Carthage amounted to 700,000 inhabitants. After being besieged and compelled to surrender, they delivered up 200,000 complete suits of armour and 3000¹ engines for throwing projectiles, apparently with the intention of abandoning all hostilities; but having resolved to recommence the war, they at once began to manufacture arms, and daily deposited in store 140 finished shields, 300 swords, 500 lances, and 1000 projectiles for the engines, for the use of which the women-servants contributed their hair. In addition to this, although at this moment they were in possession of only twelve ships, according to the terms of the treaty concluded in the second war, and had already taken refuge in a body at the Byrsa, yet in two months they equipped 120 decked vessels; and, as the mouth of the Cothon was closed against them, cut another outlet (to the sea) through which the fleet suddenly made its appearance. For wood had been collected for a long time, and a multitude of workmen were constantly employed, who were maintained at the public expense.

Carthage, though so great, was yet taken and levelled to the ground.

The Romans made a province of that part of the country which had been subject to Carthage, and appointed ruler of the rest Masanasses and his descendants, beginning with Micipsa. For the Romans paid particular attention to Masanasses on account of his great abilities and friendship for them. For

¹ Letrenne corrects this reading to 2000, which is the number given by Polybius and Arrian.

he it was who formed the nomades to civil life, and directed their attention to husbandry. Instead of robbers he taught them to be soldiers. A peculiarity existed among these people; they inhabited a country favoured in everything except that it abounded with wild beasts; these they neglected to destroy, and so to cultivate the soil in security; but turning their arms against each other, abandoned the country to the beasts of prey. Hence their life was that of wanderers and of continual change, quite as much as that of those who are compelled to it by want and barrenness of soil or severity of climate. An appropriate name was therefore given to the *Masæsylii*, for they were called Nomades.¹ Such persons must necessarily be sparing livers, eaters of roots more than of flesh, and supported by milk and cheese. Carthage remained a desolate place for a long time, for nearly the same period, indeed, as Corinth, until it was restored about the same time (as the latter city) by *divus Cæsar*, who sent thither such Romans to colonize it as elected to go there, and also some soldiers. At present it is the most populous city in Africa.

16. About the middle of the gulf of Carthage is the island *Corsura*.² On the other side of the strait opposite to these places is Sicily and *Lilybæum*,³ at the distance of (about) 1500 stadia; for this is said to be the distance from *Lilybæum* to Carthage. Not far from *Corsura* and Sicily are other islands, among which is *Ægimurus*.⁴ From Carthage there is a passage of 60 stadia to the nearest opposite coast, from whence there is an ascent of 120 stadia to *Nepheris*, a fortified city built upon a rock. On the same gulf as Carthage, is situated a city *Tunis*; hot springs and stone quarries are also found there; then the rugged promontory *Hermæa*,⁵

¹ By the Romans, *Numidæ*.

² *Pantellaria*.

³ *Marsala*.

⁴ *Kramer* is of opinion that this passage from the beginning of the section is an interpolation. *Cossura* (the island *Pantellaria*) is nowhere else spelt *Corsura*; *Cossuros* is the spelling observed immediately below. Its distance from *Aspis* is differently stated in b. vi. c. ii. § 11, to be 88 miles from *Aspis*.

Ægimurus is the small island *Zembra*, near *Cape Bon*; near it is also another small low rocky island. From the shape and appearance of the former, more especially in some positions, we may attribute the name *Aræ* (altars), given to them, as in *Pliny*: "*Ægimuræ Aræ, scopuli verius quam insulæ*;" and they are the "*Aræ*" of *Virgil*, *Æn.* i. 108.

⁵ i. e. sacred to *Mercury*. *Cape Bon*.

on which is a city of the same name; then Neapolis; then Cape Taphitis,¹ on which is a hillock named Aspis, from its resemblance (to a shield), at which place Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, collected inhabitants when he made his expedition against Carthage. These cities were destroyed by the Romans, together with Carthage. At the distance of 400 stadia from Taphitis is an island Cossuros, with a city of the same name, lying opposite to the river Selinus in Sicily. Its circuit is 150 stadia, and its distance from Sicily about 600 stadia. Melite,² an island, is 500 stadia distant from Cossuros. Then follows the city Adrumes,³ with a naval arsenal; then the Taracheiæ, numerous small islands; then the city Thapsus,⁴ and near it Lopadussa,⁵ an island situated far from the coast; then the promontory of Ammon Balithon, near which is a look-out for⁶ the approach of thunny; then the city Thena, lying at the entrance of the Little Syrtis.⁷ There are many small cities in the intervening parts, which are not worthy of notice. At the entrance of the Syrtis, a long island stretches parallel to the coast, called Cercinna; it is of considerable size, with a city of the same name; there is also another smaller island Cercinnitis.

17. Close, in the neighbourhood (of these islands), is the Little Syrtis, which is also called the Syrtis Lotophagitis (or the lotus-eating Syrtis). The circuit of this gulf is 1600, and the breadth of the entrance 600 stadia; at each of the promontories which form the entrance and close to the mainland is an island, one of which, just mentioned, is Cercinna, and the other Meninx;⁸ they are nearly equal in size. Meninx is supposed to be the "land of the lotus-eaters"⁹ mentioned by Homer. Certain tokens (of this) are shown, such as an altar of Ulysses and the fruit itself. For the tree called the lotus-tree is found in abundance in the island, and the fruit is very sweet to the taste. There are many small cities in it, one of which bears the same name as the island. On the coast of the Syrtis itself are also some small cities. In the recess (of

¹ Cape Aclibia, from the Latin Clypea. B. vi. c. 2, § 11.

² Malta. ³ Sousah. ⁴ Demass. ⁵ Lampedusa.

⁶ Kramer's proposed emendation is followed. ⁷ Gulf of Cebes.

⁸ Jerba or Zerbi. It produced the "lotus-zizyphus" or the carob, now common in the islands of the Mediterranean and on the continent.

⁹ Od. ix. 84.

the Syrtis) is a very considerable mart for commerce, where a river discharges itself into the gulf. The effects of the flux and reflux of the tides extend up to this point, and at the proper moment the neighbouring inhabitants eagerly rush (to the shore) to capture the fish (thrown up).

18. After the Syrtis, follows the lake Zuchis, 400 stadia (in circuit?), with a narrow entrance, where is situated a city of the same name, containing factories for purple dyeing and for salting of all kinds; then follows another lake much smaller; after this the city Abrotonon¹ and some others. Close by is Neapolis, which is also called Leptis.² From hence the passage across to the Locri Epizephyrii³ is a distance of 3600 stadia. Next is the river [Cinyps].⁴ Afterwards is a walled dam, constructed by the Carthaginians, who thus bridged over some deep swamps which extend far into the country. There are some places here without harbours, although the rest of the coast is provided with them. Next is a lofty wooded promontory, which is the commencement of the Great Syrtis, and called Cephalæ (The Heads),⁵ from whence to Carthage is a distance of a little more than 5000 stadia.

19. Above the sea-coast from Carthage to Cephalæ (on the one hand) and to the territory of the Masæsyli (on the other) lies the territory of the Libo-Phœnicians, extending (into the interior) to the mountainous country of the Gætuli, which belongs to Africa Proper. Above the Gætuli is the country of the Garamantes, lying parallel to the former, and from whence are brought the Carthaginian pebbles (carbuncles). The Garamantes are said to be distant from the Ethiopians, who live on the borders of the ocean, nine or ten days' journey, and from the temple of Ammon fifteen days. Between the Gætuli and the coast of our sea (the Mediterranean) there are many plains and many mountains, great lakes and rivers, some of which sink into the earth and disappear. The inhabitants are simple in their mode of life and in their dress; they marry numerous wives, and have a numerous offspring; in other respects they resemble the nomade Arabians. The

¹ Sabrata?² Lebida.³ Gerace. See b. vi. c. i. § 7, 8.⁴ The Cinifo or Wadi-Quasam.⁵ Cape Canan or Mesrata.

necks both of horses and oxen are longer than in other countries.

The breeding of horses is most carefully attended to by the kings (of the country); so much so, that the number of colts is yearly calculated at 100,000. Sheep are fed with milk and flesh, particularly near Ethiopia. These are the customs of the interior.

20. The circuit of the Great Syrtis is about 3930 stadia,¹ its depth to the recess is 1500 stadia, and its breadth at the mouth is also nearly the same. The difficulty of navigating both these and the Lesser Syrtis [arises from the circumstances of] the soundings in many parts being soft mud. It sometimes happens, on the ebbing and flowing of the tide, that vessels are carried upon the shallows, settle down, and are seldom recovered. Sailors therefore, in coasting, keep at a distance (from the shore), and are on their guard, lest they should be caught by a wind unprepared, and driven into these gulfs. Yet the daring disposition of man induces him to attempt everything, and particularly the coasting along a shore. On entering the Great Syrtis on the right, after passing the promontory Cephalæ, is a lake of about 300 stadia in length, and 70 stadia in breadth, which communicates with the gulf, and has at its entrance small islands and an anchorage. After the lake follows a place called *Aspis*, and a harbour, the best of all in the Syrtis. Near this place is the tower *Euphrantas*, the boundary between the former territory of Carthage and Cyrenaica under Ptolemy (Soter). Then another place, called *Charax*,² which the Carthaginians frequented as a place of commerce, with cargoes of wine, and loaded in return with silphium and its juice, which they received from merchants who brought it away clandestinely from Cyrene; then the *Altars of the Philæni*;³ after these *Automola*, a fortress defended by a garrison, and situated in the recess of the whole gulf. The parallel passing through this recess is more to the south than that passing through

¹ See b. ii. c. v. § 20.

² Its position, like that of so many places on the Great Syrtis, can hardly be determined with certainty. A full discussion of these localities will be found in Barth's *Wanderungen*.

³ About the middle of the fourth century, B. C., according to a story in Sallust, these monuments commemorated the patriotic sacrifice of two *Philæni*, Carthaginian envoys.

Alexandreia by 1000 stadia, and than that passing through Carthage by less than 2000 stadia; but it would coincide with the parallel passing, on one side, through Heroopolis, which is situated in the recess¹ of the Arabian Gulf, and passing, on the other, through the interior of the territory of the Masæsylii and the Mauretians. The rest of the sea-coast, to the city Berenice,² is 1500 stadia in length. Above this length of coast, and extending to the Altars of the Philæni, are situated an African nation called Nasamones. The intervening distance (between the recess of the Syrtis and Berenice) contains but few harbours, and watering-places are rare.

On a promontory called Pseudopenias is situated Berenice, near a lake Tritonis, in which is to be observed a small island with a temple of Venus upon it. There also is a lake of the Hesperides, into which flows a river (called) Lathon. On this side of Berenice is a small promontory called Boreion³ (or North Cape), which with Cephalæ forms the entrance of the Syrtis. Berenice lies opposite to the promontories of Peloponnesus, namely, those called Ichthys⁴ and [Chelonatas],⁵ and also to the island Zacynthus,⁶ at an interval of 3600 stadia. Marcus Cato marched from this city, round the Syrtis, in thirty days, at the head of an army composed of more than 10,000 men, separated into divisions on account of the watering-places; his course lay through deep sand, under burning heat. After Berenice is a city Taucheira,⁷ called also Arsinoë; then Barca,⁸ formerly so called, but now Pto-

¹ Gulf of Suez.

² Ben Ghazi. Berenice previously bore the name Hesperides, which name seems to have been derived from the fancy which found the fabled Gardens of the Hesperides in the fertile terraces of Cyrenaïca.

³ Ras-Teyonas.

⁴ Cape Catacolo.

⁵ Groskurnd justly supposes that the name Chelonatas (Cape Tornese) is here wanting in the text.

⁶ Zante.

⁷ Tochira.

⁸ The name has survived to the present day in that of the district of which it was the capital, the province of Barca, in the regency of Tripoli. The position of Barca is accurately described by Scylax, who places its harbour 500 stadia from Cyrene, and 620 from Hesperides, and the city itself 100 stadia from the sea. It stood on the summit of the terraces which overlook the west coast of the Greater Syrtis, in a plain now called El-Merjeh; and the same name is often given to the ruins which mark the site of Barca, but the Arabs call them El-Medinah. See Smith, art. *Barca*.

lemaïs ; then the promontory Phycus,¹ which is low, but extends further to the north than the rest of the African coast : it is opposite to Tænarum,² in Laconia, at the distance³ of 2800 stadia ; on it there is also a small town of the same name as the promontory. Not far from Phycus, at a distance of about 170 stadia, is Apollonias, the naval arsenal of Cyrene ; from Berenice it is distant 1000 stadia, and 80 stadia from Cyrene, a considerable city situated on a table-land, as I observed it from the sea.

21. Cyrene was founded by the inhabitants of Thera,⁴ a Lacedæmonian island which was formerly called Calliste, as Callimachus says,

“ Calliste once its name, but Thera in later times, the mother of my home, famed for its steeds.”

The harbour of Cyrene is situated opposite to Criu-Metopon,⁵ the western cape of Crete, distant 2000 stadia. The passage is made with a south-south-west wind. Cyrene is said to have been founded by Battus,⁶ whom Callimachus claims to have been his ancestor. The city flourished from the excellence of the soil, which is peculiarly adapted for breeding horses, and the growth of fine crops. It has produced many men of distinction, who have shown themselves capable of worthily maintaining the freedom of the place, and firmly resisting the barbarians of the interior ; hence the city was independent in ancient times, but subsequently⁷ it was attacked [successfully] by the Macedonians, (who had conquered Egypt, and thus increased their power,) under the command of Thibron the murderer of Harpalus : having continued for some time to be governed by kings, it finally came under the power of the Romans, and with Crete forms a single province. In the neighbourhood of Cyrene are Apollonia, Barca, Taucheira, Berenice, and other small towns close by.

22. Bordering upon Cyrenaïca is the district which produces silphium, and the juice called Cyrenaic, which the silphium discharges from incisions made in it. The plant was once

¹ Ras-al-Razat or Ras Sem. Scylax here placed the gardens and lake of the Hesperides.

² Cape Matapan, which is more than a degree and a half more to the east than Phycus.

³ In b. viii. c. v. § 1, it is stated to be 3000.

⁴ Santorin.

⁵ Kavo Krio.

⁶ B. c. 631.

⁷ B. c. 330.

nearly lost, in consequence of a spiteful incursion of barbarians, who attempted to destroy all the roots. The inhabitants of this district are nomades.

Remarkable persons of Cyrene were Aristippus,¹ the Socratic philosopher, who established the Cyrenaic philosophy, and his daughter named Arete, who succeeded to his school; she again was succeeded by her son Aristippus, who was called Metrodidactos, (mother-taught,) and Anniceris, who is supposed to have reformed the Cyrenaic sect, and to have introduced in its stead the Anniceric sect. Callimachus and Eratosthenes² were also of Cyrene, both of whom were held in honour by the kings of Egypt; the former was both a poet and a zealous grammarian; the latter followed not only these pursuits, but also philosophy, and was distinguished above all others for his knowledge of mathematics. Carneades³ also came from

¹ Flourished about B. C. 366. The Cyrenaic system resembles in most points those of Heraclitus and Protagoras, as given in Plato's *Theætetus*. The doctrines that a subject only knows objects through the prism of the impression which he receives, and that man is the measure of all things, are stated or implied in the Cyrenaic system, and lead at once to the consequence, that what we call reality is appearance; so that the whole fabric of human knowledge becomes a fantastic picture. The principle on which it rests, viz. that knowledge is sensation, is the foundation of Locke's *Modern Ideology*, though he did not perceive its connexion with the consequences to which it led the Cyrenaics. To revive these was reserved for Hume. *Smith's Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*.

² This great astronomer and learned man, whose name so frequently occurs in the course of this work, was born about B. C. 276. He was placed, by Ptolemy Euergetes, over the library of Alexandria. His greatest work, and that which must always make his name conspicuous in scientific history, is the attempt which he made to measure the magnitude of the earth, in which he brought forward and used the method which is employed to this day. See vol. i. page 9, of this translation, note ⁹.

³ Carneades was born about B. C. 213. In the year B. C. 155, when he was fifty-eight years old, he was chosen with Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic, to go as ambassador to Rome, to deprecate the fine of 500 talents, which had been imposed on the Athenians, for the destruction of Oropus. During his stay at Rome, he attracted great notice from his eloquent declamations on philosophical subjects, and it was here that, in the presence of Cato the Elder, he delivered his famous orations on Justice. The first oration was in commendation of virtue; in the second justice was proved not to be a virtue, but a mere matter of compact, for the maintenance of civil society. The honest mind of Cato was shocked at this, and he moved the senate to send the philosopher home to his school, and save the Roman youth from his demoralizing doctrines. He left no writings, and all that is known of his lectures is derived from his intimate

thence, who by common consent was the first of the Academic philosophers, and Apollonius Cronos, the master of Diodorus the Dialectician, who was also called Cronos, for the epithet of the master was by some transferred to the scholar.

The rest of the sea-coast of Cyrene from Apollonia to Catabathmus is 2200 stadia in length; it does not throughout afford facilities for coasting along it; for harbours, anchorage, habitations, and watering-places are few. The places most in repute along the coast are the Naustathmus,¹ and Zephyrium with an anchorage, also another Zephyrium, and a promontory called Chersonesus,² with a harbour situated opposite to and to the south of Corycus³ in Crete, at the distance of 2500 stadia; then a temple of Hercules, and above it a village Paliurus; then a harbour Menelaus, and a low promontory Ardanixis, (Ardanis),⁴ with an anchorage; then a great harbour, which is situated opposite to Chersonesus in Crete, at a distance of about 3000 (2000 ?) stadia; for the whole of Crete, which is (a) long and narrow (island), lies opposite and nearly parallel to this coast. After the great harbour is another harbour, Plynos, and about it Tetra-pyrgia (the four towers). The place is called Catabathmus.⁵ Cyrenæa extends to this point; the remainder (of the coast) to Parætonium,⁶ and from thence to Alexandria, we have spoken of in our account of Egypt.⁷

23. The country deep in the interior, and above the Syrtis and Cyrenæa, a very sterile and dry tract, is in the possession of Libyans. First are the Nasamones, then Psylli, and some Gætuli, then Garamantes; somewhat more towards the east (than the Nasamones) are the Marmaridæ, who are situated for the most part on the boundaries of Cyrenæa, and extend to the temple of Ammon. It is asserted, that persons directing their course from the recess of the Great Syrtis, (namely,) from about the neighbourhood of Automala,⁸ in the direction of the winter

friend and pupil, Cleitomachus. See Smith, Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography.

¹ Marsa-al-Halal or Al Natroun.

² Ras-al-Tyn.

³ Grabusa.

⁴ Ras-el-Milhr.

⁵ Marsa Sollom, or Akabet-el-Kebira, the present boundary of Tripoli and Egypt.

⁶ Baretoun or Berek Marsa.

⁷ Kramer's reading of this passage is followed.

⁸ Groskurd has a long note on this passage, and reads *τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας*. The words in the original text, *τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸ μαλακῶς*,

sunrise, arrive on the fourth day at Augila.¹ This place resembles Ammon, and is productive of palm trees, and is well supplied with water. It is situated beyond Cyrenæa to the south: for 100 stadia the soil produces trees; for another 100 stadia the land is only sown, but from excessive heat does not grow rice.

Above these parts is the district which produces silphium, then follows the uninhabited tract, and the country of the Garamantes. The district which produces silphium is narrow, long, and dry, extending in an easterly direction about 1000 stadia, but in breadth 300 stadia, or rather more, at least as far as has been ascertained. For we may conjecture that all countries which lie on the same parallel (of latitude) have the same climate, and produce the same plants; but since many deserts intervene, we cannot know every place. In like manner, we have no information respecting the country beyond (the temple of) Ammon, nor of the oases, as far as Ethiopia, nor can we state distinctly what are the boundaries of Ethiopia, nor of Africa, nor even of the country close upon Egypt, still less of the parts bordering on the ocean.

24. Such, then, is the disposition of the parts of the world which we inhabit.² But since the Romans have surpassed (in power) all former rulers of whom we have any record, and possess the choicest and best known parts of it, it will be suitable to our subject briefly to refer to their Empire.

It has been already stated³ how this people, beginning from present the great difficulty; but Kramer reads *τοῦ* for *τούς*, and has adopted in the text Falconer's proposed correction, *κατ' Αὐτομάλά πως*. The name Augila is wanting in the text; it is supplied by Groskurd, and approved by Kramer, who refers to Herod. iv. 172, 182.

¹ Aujela, an oasis in the desert of Barca; it still retains its ancient name, and forms one of the chief stations on the caravan route from Cairo to Fezzan.

² *Τῆς κατ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης*, Groskurd translates as inhabited to our time; but Strabo refers to the then known world, having before, b. i. c. iv. § 6, in a remarkable manner conjectured the existence of other habitable worlds (such as America) in the latitude of Athens. "We call that (part of the temperate zone) the habitable earth (*οἰκουμένην*) in which we dwell, and with which we are acquainted; but it is possible, that in the same temperate zone there may be two or even more habitable earths, especially near the circle of latitude drawn through Athens and the Atlantic Ocean." The latitudes of Athens and Washington do not differ by one degree.

³ B. vi. c. iv. § 2.

the single city of Rome, obtained possession of the whole of Italy, by warfare and prudent administration; and how, afterwards, following the same wise course, they added the countries all around it to their dominion.

Of the three continents, they possess nearly the whole of Europe, with the exception only of the parts beyond the Danube, (to the north,) and the tracts on the verge of the ocean, comprehended between the Rhine and the Tanaïs (Don).

Of Africa, the whole sea-coast on the Mediterranean is in their power; the rest of that country is uninhabited, or the inhabitants only lead a miserable and nomade life.

Of Asia likewise, the whole sea-coast in our direction (on the west) is subject to them, unless indeed any account is to be taken of the Achæi, Zygi, and Heniochi,¹ who are robbers and nomades, living in confined and wretched districts. Of the interior, and of the parts far inland, the Romans possess one portion, and the Parthians, or the barbarians beyond them, the other; on the east and north are Indians, Bactrians, and Scythians; then (on the south) Arabians and Ethiopians; but territory is continually being abstracted from these people by the Romans.

Of all these countries some are governed by (native) kings, but the rest are under the immediate authority of Rome, under the title of provinces, to which are sent governors and collectors of tribute; there are also some free cities, which from the first sought the friendship of Rome, or obtained their freedom as a mark of honour. Subject to her also are some princes, chiefs of tribes, and priests, who (are permitted) to live in conformity with their national laws.

25. The division into provinces has varied at different periods, but at present it is that established by Augustus Cæsar; for after the sovereign power had been conferred upon him by his country for life, and he had become the arbiter of peace and war, he divided the whole empire into two parts, one of which he reserved to himself, the other he assigned to the (Roman) people. The former consisted of such parts as required military defence, and were barbarian, or bordered upon nations not as yet subdued, or were barren and uncultivated, which though ill provided with everything else, were yet well furnished with strongholds, and might thus dispose

¹ B. ii. c. v. § 31.

the inhabitants to throw off the yoke and rebel. All the rest, which were peaceable countries, and easily governed without the assistance of arms, were given over to the (Roman) people. Each of these parts was subdivided into several provinces, which received respectively the titles of "provinces of Cæsar" and "provinces of the People."

To the former provinces Cæsar appoints governors and administrators, and divides the (various) countries sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, directing his political conduct according to circumstances.

But the people appoint commanders and consuls to their own provinces, which are also subject to divers divisions when expediency requires it.

(Augustus Cæsar) in his first organization of (the Empire) created two consular governments, namely, (1.) the whole of Africa in possession of the Romans, excepting that part which was under the authority, first of Juba, but now of his son Ptolemy; and (2.) Asia within the Halys and Taurus, except the Galatians and the nations under Amyntas, Bithynia, and the Propontis. He appointed also ten consular governments in Europe and in the adjacent islands. Iberia Ulterior (Further Spain) about the river Bætis¹ and Celtica Narbonensis² (composed the two first). The third was Sardinia, with Corsica; the fourth Sicily; the fifth and sixth Illyria, districts near Epirus, and Macedonia; the seventh Achaia, extending to Thessaly, the Ætoliensians, Acarnanians, and the Epirotic nations who border upon Macedonia; the eighth Crete, with Cyrenæa; the ninth Cyprus; the tenth Bithynia, with the Propontis and some parts of Pontus.

Cæsar possesses other provinces, to the government of which he appoints men of consular rank, commanders of armies, or knights;³ and in his (peculiar) portion (of the empire) there are and ever have been kings, princes, and (municipal) magistrates.

¹ Guadalquiver (Wad-el-Kebir, the Great River).

² B. iv. c. i. § 6.

³ B. iii. c. iv. § 20.

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